

CO-PRODUCING THE SCHOOL?

**A CASE STUDY OF YOUTH
PARTICIPATION IN TIME BANKING**

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ABSTRACT

Co-production has attracted increasing interest from the public and voluntary sectors. It is an approach that repositions users and community members as more central to the design and delivery of public services, a practice that Bovaird (2007: 846) has described as 'revolutionary'. A growing movement aims to embody the principles of co-production in practice is time banking (Cahn 2000a). Time banking is a community currency that operates on the reciprocal exchange of skills and services. This thesis reports on a multi-method, qualitative case study into the implementation of a time bank in a Welsh secondary school. It explores the extent to which time banking can be used as a mechanism for facilitating co-productive relationships between young people, community members and the school.

Drawing on empirical data gained from ethnographic methods and a participatory approach with young people, the research follows the time bank unfolding in practice. It explores the 'who, how and why' of youth participation in time banking and charts the development and implementation of the time bank in question. Importantly, the thesis gives voice to young people, exploring their experiences of participation. This research makes an original contribution to generating understanding of the complexity and difficulty of undertaking youth-based time banking in institutional settings. In doing so it shows how these initiatives may benefit young people, in such a way as to extend their entitlements (Welsh Assembly Government 2002), but also how barriers are faced that may ultimately impact on potentially positive outcomes for young people. It augments current debates concerning the position of young people in society and how perceptions of young people can influence the impact of a policy. The thesis problematises the theory and practice of co-production and questions whether, in its current form, it is achievable or, indeed, desirable with young people.

GLOSSARY

ASB	Anti-social Behaviour
Bryn Secondary	One of the schools implementing the time bank and the main focus of the case study (anonymised).
Communities First	A Welsh Government flagship policy for the 10% most deprived communities in Wales
Field High	One of the schools implementing the time bank (anonymised).
LETS	Local Exchange Trading System
NEF	New Economic Foundation; a UK think tank
NESTA	National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts; a UK based charity
P2A	A model of time banking; person-to-agency
P2P	A model of time banking; person-to-person
TDYC	Time Dollar Youth Court; a time bank based in the USA
Timebanking UK	A national-based charity that offers support and advice to community time banks
Together	An organisation which delivers time banks based in the UK (anonymised)
UNCRC	United Nations Conventions for the Rights of the Child
WAG	The Welsh Assembly Government, now known as the Welsh Government
Westside	The community in which the research took place (anonymised)
WICC	Wales Institute for Community Currencies
WIMD	Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Claire	CEO of <i>Together</i>
Rhiannon	Time bank Coordinator, <i>Together</i>
Helen	Bryn Secondary Time Bank Facilitator, <i>Together</i> employee (part-time)
Dewi	Field High Time bank Facilitator, <i>Together</i> employee (part-time)
Bran	Communities First
Rich	Communities First
Executive Headteacher	Executive Head of Bryn Secondary and Field High
Barbara	Support worker at Bryn Secondary
Teacher	Teacher at Bryn (runs Eco club)
Parent	Parent of a street team member
Sarah	<i>Together</i> employee implementing a Prison time bank
Howard	Former CEO of <i>Together</i>
Henry	Short term employee of <i>Together</i>
Gardener	Runs the gardening club at Bryn High

THE YOUNG PEOPLE

Lol	Year 8 Female time banking member
Keri	Year 8 Female time banking member
Victoria	Year 8 Female time banking member
Lauren	Year 10 Female time banking member
Amber	Year 8 Female time banking member
Smiley	Year 8 Female time banking member
Chocolate Muffin	Year 8 Female time banking member
Dave	Year 10 Male time banking member
Billy Bob	Year 10 Female time banking member
Greg	Year 7 Male time banking member
Sally	Year 8 Female time banking member
Blue	Year 8 Female time banking member
Bernard	Year 8 Male time banking member

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview and Context

Co-production has attracted increasing interest from the public and voluntary sectors. It is also part of a broader governmental agenda, particularly in the Welsh context, of engaging communities and public services in the mutual delivery of welfare. Co-production claims to offer a different approach to other engagement practices; it is a method of embedding reciprocity and more active participation in public service delivery. It has been described as ‘a revolutionary concept in public services because it locates users and communities centrally in the decision making process’ (Bovaird 2007: 846-847).

Boyle¹ and Harris (2009), writing on behalf of the charity the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) and think tank the New Economic Foundation (NEF), a partnership formed in order to to develop the evidence base on co-production and promote a ‘positive environment’ for the development of co-production in public services, state that co-production is an idea that is finally here.

There is no doubt that the idea of co-production has arrived in the UK...This is important and exciting for those of us who have been trying to shape a new conversation along these lines, arguing that the key to reforming public services is to encourage users to design and deliver services in equal partnership with professionals. The time seems to have arrived for the idea that the users of public services are an immense hidden resource, which can be used to transform services – and strengthen neighbourhoods at the same time (Boyle and Harris 2009: 3).

¹ David Boyle is a fellow of the NEF. He is the co-founder of *Timebanking UK* and a key advocate/campaigner for the development of co-production in public services.

Similarly, how we conceive of citizenship and young people's place in civil society is becoming increasingly important. The United Nation's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC), for instance, has stressed that all children and young people have a right to be heard in all decisions affecting them. This is an approach that has been formally adopted by Wales², showing the nation's on-going commitment to young people's rights. Co-production extends beyond simply youth voices; as the NEF³ have noted, 'the point is not to consult more or involve people more in decisions, it is to encourage them to use their human skills and experiences to help deliver public or voluntary services' (2008: 10). While there have been numerous debates about the benefits of co-producing services to improve health care (Dunston et al 2009; Glynos and Speed 2012; Gregory 2012a), far less attention has been given to the co-production of youth services.

A movement that aims to embody the principles of co-production in practice is 'time banking', a community currency. Participants in a time bank exchange skills and services and their contributions are recorded as units of time. Everyone's time is regarded as equal irrespective of services provided. Members earn one 'time credit' for each hour they spend helping other members of the community (Cahn 2000a). As the time banking movement in the UK develops (particularly in Wales), one institutional context time banking organisations are aiming to engage is schools.

The thesis reports on a qualitative mixed-method case study of a new school-based time bank operating in South Wales. By following the policy initiative unfolding in practice, through ethnographic methods and a participatory approach with young people, the main aim of the research was to provide an in-depth understanding of the 'who, how and why' of youth participation in

² The Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011

³ New Economics Foundation (NEF) is a politically independent UK think tank which relies on donations and seeks to promote 'social, economic and environmental justice' (NEF 2015).

time banking and to examine whether youth-oriented time banks can develop co-productive relationships.

1.2 Inspiration and Motivation for the Study

The aims and purpose of this research developed out of a long-standing interest in youth policy and the various challenges that young people face in society. I shared the recognition of other social scientists such as Valentine (2004) that young people occupy a precarious place in society. For many years, the policy arena in England and Wales has been one in which young people are not viewed favourably. Predominant conceptualisations of young people have been that 'youth' is a period of *risk*. Young people have been viewed either as a risk to themselves or to society and also as vulnerable in the hands of others (Wyn and White 1997; Roche 1999; Cockburn 2007). Policy responses to these perceptions have consequently aimed either to protect or punish young people.

I began this research with a specific concern in youth justice, an area where these issues have a particular resonance. Much research has stressed the damaging consequences for young people who come into contact with the criminal justice system (Goldson and Muncie 2006; McAra and McVie 2007; Goldson 2010). Such contact at an early age is likely to continue through into adulthood. As a result diversionary policies have been pursued with this vulnerable group, which in recent years have taken the form of early prevention measures. However, these can be problematic as they can serve to stigmatise young people and can result in a process of 'net widening' (see Cohen 1985). Measures must be selected with care so as not to target or label certain sections of the youth population, particularly those with fewer opportunities and less access to services who are typically those that end up making contact with the criminal justice system (McAra and McVie 2005, 2007). There should be an emphasis, therefore, on providing opportunities for *all* young people. I started out, then, with a desire to explore ways in

which young people can be engaged with a view to keeping them out of the criminal justice system. However, I gradually moved beyond this, recognising the position of these ‘criminological’ concerns within wider debates in social policy.

Consequently, the trajectory of this research moved me beyond a focus on the prevention of harm and risk towards exploring the promotion of social justice for young people. The research has thus broadened out into a wider engagement with discourses around young people and their citizenship status. It is not only about negating the damaging repercussions of viewing young people as harmful/risky but also to encourage positive views of them as able to contribute in valuable ways to social/community life.

Alongside these interests I was introduced to the concept of time banking which presented itself as a progressive policy initiative that could respond to, and reorient, negative conceptualisations of young people. Time banks claim to offer young people the opportunity to participate in activities that acknowledge their value as assets to society. They also – as was the case with the funding bid for the time bank in this research – can emphasise the capability of these activities to prevent anti-social behaviour although this is couched within the wider context of the promotion of social justice and involvement of young people in social life.

1.3 Aims and Research Questions

The aim of the thesis is to explore the use of time banking as a mechanism for co-producing youth services. It seeks to problematise the theory of co-production and its connection to participation, social cohesion and active citizenship. The thesis focuses on the implementation of a youth time bank based primarily in one Welsh secondary school. It empirically examines the development, impact and implications of youth time banks by exploring the ‘who, how and why’ of time banking participation.

The thesis responds to a chronic lack of empirical research on time banking and co-production, specifically in relation to 'youth time banking'. It seeks to gain a deeper understanding not only of how these initiatives might benefit young people but also how they are developed and implemented and what barriers are faced that may ultimately impact on potential positive outcomes for young people. In doing so, it draws on theories of co-production, participation and active citizenship. The time bank is assessed using a number of existing conceptual frameworks both in the academy and policy world and in respect of the latter, the thesis also examines the influence of *Extending Entitlements*, a Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) citizenship policy for young people (WAG 2002). These knowledge bases are adapted throughout the research to the practices that unfold. They are, then, a toolkit of sorts for examining how time banking with young people plays out in practice.

Methodologically the research aims to follow the policy process unfolding from its conception through to implementation and as it develops within the school setting. The research is concerned with developing what we may term a sociology of the policy process, going beyond policy 'talk' to understand the lived experiences of the people involved. It seeks to explore how the policy is accomplished by bringing to light the views and experiences of those within the project and how these relate to the theories that inform the policy. There is a concern, therefore, with how theory and practice relate to one another: how policy translates from talk/ideas to action, how the policy is enacted and the consequences of this. As Braun et al (2010: 549) state,

Policy enactment involves creative processes of interpretation and contextualisation – that is, the translation through reading, writing and talking of text into action and the abstractions of policy ideas into contextualised practices.

Within this approach, then, the thesis foregrounds the voices of young people. It acknowledges them as a key part, not only of the time bank and its activities, but also of the policy process as a whole. Thus while it aims to find

out why young people do time banking and what they get from it, it also explores in what way they impact actively upon or shape the policy.

Consequently, these aims translate into the following set of questions that guide the research:

1. What are the underlying aims for implementing youth time banks?
Are these the embedded in notions of co-production?
2. Are there any contextual or organizational factors that promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking or co-production?
3. What motivates young people to participate in time banks and how do they get involved?
4. Are there any tangible benefits for young people who participate in time banking? Specifically can time banking participation extend young people's entitlements?
5. What is participation with the context of youth time banking? Can youth time banks achieve co-production?

1.3.1 Defining Young People

The terms 'young people' and 'youth' are used in this thesis, as opposed to 'children' and 'childhood'. Whilst I am aware of the sociological debates surrounding these classificatory terms (and these will in part be discussed in Chapter Four), the terminology favoured in this research is 'young people', as this is how this group is referred to within the specific policy field. Moreover, the Welsh Government's policy *Extending Entitlements* (mentioned above) is both framed in these terms and deals with an age group⁴ that encompasses the cohort of young people of concern to this research (11-18 year old secondary school students). With that said, at times in the literature review that follows, 'children' and 'childhood' are used alongside young people and youth. This is simply because different people adopt different terminology, despite referring to the same issues, concepts and constructions.

⁴ 11-25 year olds.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introduction, three chapters draw on various bodies of literature to explore the theoretical and policy context of the research in more detail. Chapter Two introduces the concepts of time banking and co-production. It outlines the purpose of time banking and describes its basis in the principles of co-production as described by Cahn (2000a). The chapter acknowledges that a variety of interpretations of co-production exist and sets the conceptualisation that guides the thesis and a framework for assessing its development within the case. The chapter reviews the evidence base of time banking (and the associated literature on the development of co-production) and identifies a lack of rigorous empirical research into time banking with young people.

Chapter Three moves beyond discussions of time banking and co-production, situating itself in wider debates surrounding youth citizenship, rights and participation. It examines why there is a current drive towards participation and the challenges that this faces. Examining this broader context helps to further situate the analytical gaze of the thesis.

Chapter Four looks at the political contexts in which time banks have been implemented. It highlights the theoretical malleability of time banking and co-production from an ideological perspective. Drawing on expert interviews, it suggests that there are significant overlaps between Welsh policy objectives, co-production and the particular model of time banking that is the subject of this research. These connections are especially apparent in relation to the Welsh policy approach to young people, which claims to position them as valuable contributors, focusing on their strengths as opposed to their weaknesses (Drakeford 2010).

Chapter Five provides a reflexive account of my research journey. It gives a detailed description of the main research design, a multi-method qualitative

case study. The research aims necessitated a varied methodology and the decisions shaping this are recounted here. The chapter describes the practicalities of the research (including the selection of the sample, the locations and access) and outlines the different roles I adopted throughout the research process. As such it naturally allows time for a discussion of ethical considerations that arose during the course of the fieldwork.

The next four chapters constitute the main findings of the thesis. Chapters Six and Seven focus on two schools in which the time bank was based (Field High and Bryn Secondary), and draws on data gathered from observations and stakeholder interviews. Given the slower speed of implementation of the Field High time bank, Chapters Eight and Nine focus exclusively on the Bryn Secondary⁵ time bank and bring in the voices of young people, in order to understand their experiences of being involved.

Chapter Six is centred on the first research question, focusing on the stated and perceived aims of the time bank and questions the relationship between these aims and co-production. It illustrates a number of different ways in which stakeholders perceived the aims of the time bank and discusses the corresponding theoretical implications for understanding co-production in this context.

Chapter Seven moves on to examine time banking in practice. Based on the second research question, it pays particular attention to the contextual and organisational factors that either promote or inhibit time banking in the two schools. Attempting change to service delivery in these contexts is shown to be a complex process. Thus, the analysis of implementation presented in Chapter Seven highlights the factors that may be necessary to successfully integrate time banking and co-production in a school.

⁵ See Chapter Seven for a fuller discussion on the implementation of the time banks and Chapter Five for more details as to why the decision was made to focus solely on the Bryn Secondary time bank in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Chapter Eight contributes to the aim of understanding the ‘who, how and why’ of time banking (reflected in the third research question). Opportunities to participate in the time bank are vital for it to meet its aims. This chapter highlights that the time bank has both inclusive and exclusive characteristics, based on the perceptions of the young people involved. These findings thus indicate a tension between social inclusion and social control as the time bank developed.

Chapter Nine takes a wider analytical approach, discussing broad questions surrounding participation and co-production with young people. Continuing to give voice to the young people, the chapter outlines the benefits that the time banking members say they take from their involvement, mapping these on to suggestions from the Welsh Government’s *Extending Entitlements* documentation (research question four). The chapter then moves on to assessing the scope and degree of participation and co-production in the time bank (research question five), using and critiquing existing conceptual frameworks (Hart 1992; Bovaird 2007; Cornwall 2008). The outcome is the proposal of a new model for understanding the dynamics of co-production and participation based on the empirical data from the research.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis. It draws out the key findings and arguments from the analysis. It returns to the guiding concept of co-production and the implications of the thesis more broadly for issues surrounding young people, participation and community cohesion. It finishes by offering some reflexive insight into the limitations and constraints of the research and also the possibilities it raises for future explorations.

CHAPTER TWO: TIME BANKING AND CO- PRODUCTION

2.1 Introduction

The literature review presented in this chapter and the next two (Chapters Three and Four) is guided by three overarching questions. Why do time banking? Why do time banking with young people? Why do time banking with young people in Wales? Specifically the contribution of these chapters is twofold: to situate the research within the theoretical framework of co-production, and to place time banking in its policy context both in Wales and with young people.

Whilst the academic writing on time banking is growing and starting to generate increasingly critical debates, most is still to be found in the 'grey' literature conducted on behalf of time banking organisations or others with a vested interest (Boyle and Smith 2005; Boyle et al 2006; NEF 2008a, 2008b; Reilly and Cassidy 2008). Although there have been some discussions surrounding the nature and outcomes of members' participation in time banking, rarely have they gone so far as to explore the whole policy process and context in which time banks operate – particularly with young people. Very little academic research has engaged with *youth* time banking and the development of co-production with young people.

This chapter introduces the concept of time banking and the associated theory of co-production. It begins by offering an overview of their origins, rationale and core values (2.2) and in doing so develops the conceptual framework on which this thesis draws (2.3). Following this, attention then turns to examining the existing empirical research on time banking and co-production (2.4). Particular consideration is given to the potential scope and

associated challenges for implementing time banks and to co-production practices in public services. Finally the chapter examines what is known, and what still needs to be known about youth time banks and the associated benefits of co-production (2.5).

2.2 Theory and Development of Time Banking

A time bank is a community currency scheme, which was originally pioneered in the 1980s by American civil rights lawyer Edgar Cahn. Time banks operate as an alternative currency to money - the exchange of time. In time banking schemes, people donate their skills and services and are rewarded for the time they put into their communities. One hour of time volunteered is rewarded with one time credit, which is then used to access other people's skills and services. For example, Sarah earns two time credits for baby-sitting for Kelly for two hours. Sarah then uses her two time credits to attend Henry's French class for two hours. Henry finds it difficult to walk, so he uses one of his time credits to get Belle to do his shopping once a week and one of his time credits to get Rob to mow his lawn. Here, everyone's time is rewarded equally. In this way time banks differ from most alternative community currency such as local exchange trading systems (LETS), which are based on rewarding services in accordance to the nature of the work undertaken, where people in effect barter the price for their services. Time banks do not differentiate between people's skills. Instead, the exchange rate is based on time. One hour always equals one time credit regardless of the service volunteered.

Two main approaches to time banking exist currently⁶. 'Person-to-person' (P2P) is the traditional model of time banking described above. Here members exchange skills and services with one another and a 'time broker'

⁶ A third approach to time banking exists, known as agency-to-agency time banking. However this is far less common. This approach uses time banking as a tool to exchange facilities and resources between organisations such as meeting rooms, electronic devices and other services (see NEF 2008b for a discussion of this approach).

tracks the time they spend using and receiving services. ‘Person-to-agency’ (P2A) time banking is a more recent approach pioneered in South Wales (see Chapter Five for a full discussion). In P2A approaches an organisation responsible for providing public services hosts the time bank; members of the time bank can earn time credits for contributing to the organisation (or the wider community). The organisation usually provides a range of opportunities for members to use their time credits, which usually includes trips, events and services based in and around the community.

The principles of equality and valuing everyone’s capabilities are central to the claims that are made for time banking. As a result keeping track of the amount of time community members have given and helping match people with services are vital in both models of time banking. To enable this tracking and matching, time banks routinely employ a ‘time broker’ or coordinator whose role is either paid for or rewarded with time credits.

As ‘founding father’ of time banking, Edgar Cahn (2000a: 1) distinguished between two very different economies within society; the core economy and the market economy. The market economy is primarily driven by money. It gives value to things that are scarce and in demand, and thus if supply is in abundance value decreases. The market economy prizes ‘competition, conquest, aggression, acquisition’ (Cahn 2000a: 58). The core economy, on the other hand, does not place value on supply and demand. It values instead acts of ‘caring, decency and trusteeship’ (Cahn 2000a: 47). The core economy was a term originally coined by environmental economist Neva Goodwin. Although previously other economists have also noted the existence of this alternative economy, they had a tendency to regard it a secondary favouring terminology such as ‘non-market economy’. Neva Godwin’s use of terminology, repositions this economy, reversing its previously demoted status (NEF 2008a). Although Cahn believed these two economies are mutually dependent, he argued that problems occur when market values are

applied to assist the core economy. Rather than helping the core economy, these solutions make matters worse. They devalue those essential skills that community members and families hold in abundance such as empathy, trust and caring. In order for social programmes to prosper, these attributes must be valued. Cahn is not alone in this view. Indeed his position appears to reflect a number of thinkers belonging to a broader communitarian movement (see Gray 1997; Gorz 1999; Jordon 1992, 1999; Little 2002 and Sandal 2012). For example, a number of these authors have claimed that the commodification of the market can corrode civil virtues, such as caring, compassion and obligation (Little 2002; Sandel 2012; Gray 1997) and that the 'domain of non-instrumental association is increasingly being overwhelmed by economic rationality' (Little 2002: 5). They argue that these virtues need protecting either through market regulation (Sandal 2012) or, in a similar fashion to Cahn, by 'finding strategies and spaces that allow communities to experience these virtues' (Little 2002: 201). In response to this, both Gorz (1999) and Jordon (1992, 1998) for example, have called for a reconceptualization of work and the introduction of a basic income, in order to promote and values the informal economy and giving these activities as much, if not more, weighting than paid employment.

Cahn believed time banking was a practical tool to revitalise the 'core economy' (2000a: 1). He saw it as a mechanism that would foster mutual aid helping to rebuild 'families... community and civil society' (Cahn 2000a: 1). For the core economy to flourish, and help prevent social problems from arising, Cahn believed a new 'operating system' was needed. This new arrangement he termed 'co-production'. For Cahn co-production is based on a *reciprocal* relationship between providers and service users and is constructed on four key principles. These are treating people as assets, redefining work, reciprocity, and social capital (Cahn 2000a).

- *Treating people as assets*: Cahn's premise is that everyone in society should be valued, because people are society's biggest asset. Instead of simply being defined in terms of need, which is common practice amongst service providers, Cahn believes everyone should be viewed as having something important to contribute. People's skill and capacities should be utilised by allowing them to give something back to society.
- *Redefining work*: for Cahn redefining work is an important starting point to rectify the inequalities created by the formal economy. Much work commonly associated with women, young people and the elderly is undervalued, so disempowering and excluding these people. These jobs should however be recognised and rewarded as they make up the core economy.
- *Reciprocity*: in Cahn's view, enabling people to both give and receive fosters reciprocal relationships. These two-way relations allow people to give back to their community, building trust amongst community members.
- *Social capital*: to Cahn, social capital can be developed through networks of exchange, which bring community members together and help establish relationships based on trust and mutuality.

Cahn pioneered time banking as a practical way of generating co-production - based upon these four principles. This thesis and its case study research will examine the extent to which these principles are acknowledged and discussed by those implementing the time banks and whether they materialise in practice. At the same time the utility of these principles will be critically appraised, rather than taken at face value. 'Social capital', for example is a term that has attracted much academic attention (Putnam 2000; Fremeaux 2005). As the discussion will show, the development of social capital is not always an entirely positive phenomenon and thus close scrutiny will be given to how it is developed within the case study.

Before moving on to discuss the existing research on time banking (including its role in the development of social capital), it is important to examine the existing literature on co-production in order to build the conceptual framework on which this thesis draws.

2.3 Theoretical Framework: Conceptualising Co-production

Time banking was created by Cahn as a vehicle for co-production. However, the term co-production not only pre-dates time banking but has also since been used in many ways. Elinor Ostrom and colleagues first proposed the concept in the 1970s, to describe the process whereby ordinary citizens contributed to the production of services (Parks et al 1981; Ostrom 1996). Ostrom (1996: 1079) recognised that the production of services was difficult without the involvement of those who were traditionally viewed as the recipients of services:

If students are not actively engaged in their own education, encouraged and supported by their family and friends, what teachers do may make little difference in the skills students acquire. If citizens do not report suspicious events rapidly to a police department, there is little that department can do to reduce crime in an area or solve the crimes that occur.

For Ostrom (1996) public services are at their most efficient when citizens take up active roles within them. Her favouring of the term 'citizen' as opposed to 'client' is meant to reinforce the notion of co-production. Being a client implies being a passive user of services, while being a citizen denotes active involvement (Ostrom 1996).

Ostrom and colleagues distinguish between two forms of co-production, which they describe as 'substitutive' and 'complementary' processes. In the case of the former, the citizen's labour can be a substitute for the labour of the 'regular producer', to achieve the same output. Thus, for example, people take their recycling to a recycling point rather than having it collected from their doorstep by a refuse collector. In the latter the outputs can only be

achieved when both the 'regular producers' and 'citizen producers' contribute to the services. In this analysis, decisions on whether to co-produce are seen as based purely on cost.

Although Cahn and Ostrom conceived the term independently from one another, their definitions have common features (Boyle ND). Both criticise public service providers for seeing their clients as passive users, and instead believe service users should have active roles as participants. However, the concepts also differ somewhat. Ostrom's definition focuses primarily on the efficiency of service delivery and stems from a critique of the inefficiency of large bureaucratic agencies. Cahn's, on the other hand, came out of 'an empirical enquiry into what worked best to achieve equivalent maximum feasible participation' (Cahn and Gray 2012) and in this way, 'steps firmly outside of the economic framework (Boyle ND: 7). Moreover, because of this, the type of user/provider relationship also varies. Cahn's concept is based on a relational form of co-production, evident in at least two of his four guiding principles, namely the creation of social networks and the importance of reciprocity. Ostrom's models on the other hand, also included a form of co-production not rooted in collaboration but based on actors individually contributing to services (Gregory 2012a). Some proponents of co-production would indeed argue that this is not co-production but rather represents 'parallel production' (Boyle et al 2006, in Gregory 2012a: 29). Similar claims could also be made about other conceptualisations of co-production, such as individualistic notions, which include tasks as mundane as filling out tax returns, or taking medication (Brudney and England 1983).

Numerous manifestations of the concept of co-production exist. As suggested by Needham (2008), co-production has been adopted by some simply to describe the everyday interaction between the public and services or to suggest that the public have some input into services (Garn et al 1976). Others place emphasis on what they see as the potential of co-production to

transform public services, portraying it as a radical alternative to the status quo. It is this latter position that the time banking movement has often promoted (Cahn 2000a) particularly in the UK through the work of the NEF (2008a, 2008b; see also Boyle ND; Boyle et al 2006; Boyle and Smith 2009). It is this more radical view of co-production that will inform the conceptual framework that this thesis will draw upon.

For the NEF, co-production offers an alternative to what it characterises as a crisis⁷ with the current model of public service delivery. Rather than defining people by their needs, co-production is based on an approach that treats people as assets. People are viewed as valuable contributors, rather than passive recipients (Boyle ND; Boyle and Harris 2009; Boyle et al 2006; NEF 2008a, 2008b). Co-production means more than just involving the user in the production of services; co-production is defined as

[a]n *equal and reciprocal* relationship between professionals, people using services, their families and their neighbours (Boyle and Harris 2009: 11, *emphasis added*).

Thus co-production is said to challenge dichotomies that currently operate between service providers and users. It readdresses the traditional emphasis on who is and who is not able to contribute to services. By including the essential elements of reciprocity and equality, they are claiming that users are just as valuable to service delivery and their communities as traditional providers. This is further witnessed in NEF's whole-hearted commitment to Cahn's four principle of co-production, which are likewise used to underpin their vision.

For Boyle and Harris (2009: 16), co-production is not filling out a tax form. Nor is it just about increasing participation or consulting more with the public. While they acknowledge the merits of consultation, suggesting it

⁷ See Boyle and Smith (2009: 6-8) for a detailed discussion on the current crisis of public service. Issues they raise with the current model of delivery include; marginal choice, centralised decision-making, narrow outputs, corroded user-provider relationship, prioritising process over outputs and manufactured demand.

‘might help create space for coproduction’, consultation is not co-production. Similarly, when service users and community members self-mobilise and provide help to one another without any input from public services providers, this too should not be mistaken for co-production. Self-help and co-production are not synonymous. Rather co-production is about collaboration across all aspects of service provision. ‘Coproduction occurs...when users’ and professionals’ knowledge is combined to design and deliver services’ (Boyle and Harris 2009: 16). It is this definition of co-production that will be used in this thesis and tested in the case study research.

Bovaird (2007) offers a useful typology to help highlight different types of relationships that can be manifested between service user/provider (see Table 1⁸). Drawing on a number of case studies, Bovaird distinguishes between six relationships which have emerged between service users and providers, dependent on the amount of input into the planning and delivery of services. Cells 1, 3 and 9 are not described as ‘relationships’ between users and providers.

It can be seen from this matrix (Table 1) that while traditional service provision does not involve services users or community members in any aspect of the planning or delivery (cell 1), there are many other types of provision which utilise the skill of service users/community members. As highlighted in the centre cell (cell 5), co-production, or what Bovaird cites as ‘full co-production’, only occurs when professionals and service users/community members come together to design and deliver the service.

⁸ Adapted from Bovaird (2007: 848)

Table 1. Bovaird’s typology of professional/user relationships

	Professionals as sole service planner	Service user and/or community as co-planners	No professional input into service planning
Professionals as sole service deliverer	1. Traditional professional service provision	2. Professional service provision with users and/or communities involved in planning and design	3. Not applicable
Professionals and users/communities as co-deliverers	4. User and/or community co-delivery of professionally-designed services	5. Full co-production	6. User and/or community co-delivery of services with professionals, with little formal planning or design
Users/Communities as sole deliverers	7. User and/or community delivery of professionally-planned services	8. User and/or community delivery of co-planned or co-designed services	9. Self-organised community provision

As well as being used by the NEF to help highlight what co-production is not, with Boyle and Harris (2006) claiming only the centre of the matrix is co-production, the framework has been used by Gregory (2009) in his research to distinguish between the types of relationships present in time banks (see section 2.4.3).

The framework will also be utilised here as an analytical device. As will be discussed further, little rigorous empirical research exists into the development of co-production with young people, and specifically how this

develops over time. It is hoped that Bovaird's typology will help to inject some rigour. It will be used to highlight which types of relationships exist within the time bank and which activities are, and are not, co-produced. For the purposes of the research, only activities that populate the centre of the matrix will be taken as true or 'full' co-production. The other cells will be used to help gain a greater appreciation of the spectrum of relationships and activities promoted within the time bank. Particular attention will be placed on temporal partners, to explore whether relationships in the time bank progress over time.

2.4 Existing Empirical Research

Research into time banking and co-production is steadily growing but still poorly developed. Evaluations are often located in the grey literature conducted on behalf of time banking organisations or those with a vested interest (Boyle and Smith 2001; Boyle et al 2006; NEF 2008b; Reilly and Cassidy 2008). Only a very limited number of academic studies exist (Seyfang 2001, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Seyfang and Smith 2002; Collom 2007, 2012; Gregory 2009, 2012b; Drakeford and Gregory 2010; Ozanne 2010; Lasker et al 2011; Naughton-Doe 2011). These studies have begun to throw some light on the development of time banks, the nature and outcomes of members' participation and how organisational structures can develop the values of co-production. The chapter will now examine the key findings of this nascent body of work that can be categorised according to the following themes:

- membership characteristics and motives,
- social, economic and political outcomes,
- development of co-production,
- critical appraisal of time banking and co-production.

2.4.1 Membership characteristics and motives

The first UK academic research-based evaluation of time banking was undertaken by Seyfang and Smith (2002). Recognising the growth of this new community currency at the beginning of the 21st century, Seyfang and Smith sought to gain some much needed empirical insight into its development. They identified a number of key objects for the research. These included, but were not limited to, an appreciation of the characteristics, the motivations and expectations of those who participated in time banks. They also examined the capacity for time banks to be utilised as a mechanism for social inclusion through the development of citizenship as well as identifying existing barriers and possible solutions to them. Their research utilised a 'mixed method' approach. This consisted of: a postal survey aimed at the coordinators of 12 out of the 15 time banks identified as operating in the UK; four follow up case studies⁹, utilising interviews or focus groups with time bank members¹⁰; interviews with time brokers and a site visit¹¹.

Examining the membership bases of these time banks, Seyfang and Smith (2002) concluded that these schemes tended to attract a high number of participants from socially excluded groups. This is similar to findings at other time banks (Lasker et al 2011). Comparing time banking members to the general population, Seyfang and Smith (2002) found that a higher proportion of participants were unemployed (72% compared to 51%), in receipt of benefits (54% received income support or jobseekers allowances compared to 19% of the general population), and from households with lower incomes (58% earned or lived in a household where someone earned less than £10,000 annually, well below the position in the general population, in which only 38% had incomes of under £13,000 a year). Indeed, half of the co-

⁹ Specific sites were selected according to their geographic location, their size, setting and length of the time it had been running. The idea was to get as much diversity as possible between these case studies.

¹⁰ In total, 57 members were interviewed or took part in a focus group across the four sites.

¹¹ A membership survey was also distributed. However, due to the low response rate, only two of the four sites' survey responses were reported. These included the Stonehouse which had a low response rate of 21% (21/102 members completed the survey) and Rushey Green which also had a lower response rate of 28% (18/64 members completing the survey).

ordinators who responded to the survey reported that they specifically targeted socially excluded groups. While the other co-ordinators responding stated their time banks were 'open to all', their time banks were also geographically located in areas of high deprivation and thus were more likely to attract these groups.

Seyfang (2002) noted that the membership of certain groups in a number of the time banks was disproportionately high, and was highly determined by their setting. For instance an inner-city based time bank in a GP's surgery had a high proportion of participants with long-term physical and mental ill-health. Similarly, a time bank based in rural Gloucestershire, which had initially been developed around a nursing home, had a high proportion of elderly and disabled members. The time bank had since started to enrol younger, more able people in order to balance the membership profile. In comparison to traditional volunteering, it was suggested that 'the time banks are attracting a different constituency of participants' (Seyfang 2002: 6). Thus Seyfang (2003), concluded that time banks were successfully recruiting a marginalised cohort with limited resources to meet their own social and financial needs.

Focusing on participants' motivations to get involved, Seyfang and Smith (2002) found that members tended to join time banks for altruistic and value based reasons, such as helping others and to improve their community, to extend their social networks by making new friends and meeting people, and to fulfil their own needs such as receiving help from others and earning time credits. In a later paper, Seyfang (2004a)¹² stated that the motives mentioned by participants echoed those outlined by its coordinator. She maintained that they reflect a wide range of 'social inclusion goals' which she cited as social, economic and political (Seyfang 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

¹² While this study refers specifically to the motives cited by participants who were members of an inner city time bank in Scotland, the same motives were outlined in Seyfang and Smith's (2002) evaluation.

Similar motivations have been reported by Collom (2007). When undertaking his research¹³ into a neighbour-neighbour time bank in the USA, he found a variety of reasons why people chose to get involved. However, two main motives were suggested. Firstly, participants became involved with the time bank to fulfil some type of need. The majority of participants joined because it enabled them to obtain specific services¹⁴. Secondly, members joined the time bank because of the particular value system it promoted. Most of the participants wanted to create a better society through their involvement in the time bank. Interestingly, however, although the motives mentioned in Collom's (2007) study resembled those found by Seyfang and Smith (2002) and Seyfang (2002, 2003), there was one clear difference: Collom found that the least popular reasons for getting involved in the time bank were social motives. Few members reported that their involvement was promoted by the prospect of meeting new people and extending their social networks, a stark contrast to the findings reported by Seyfang.

2.4.2 Social, economic and political outcomes

In addition to exploring the characteristics of those who participated and what motivated members to join, Seyfang (and Smith) also explored the outcomes of their involvement. One of the key benefits they found was the development of 'social capital'. Through the reciprocal nature of time banking, members were able to extend their social networks, make new friends and increase the levels of trust they had for others. Time banks were found to go beyond simply strengthening the bonds members already had with one another. Instead the time bank 'crossed social divides', bringing people together who would not normally socialise (Seyfang and Smith 2001). These findings are supported by James (2005) who also suggested that time

¹³ Collom (2007) drew his findings from an online survey of time banking members. Of the 505 members invited to take part in the survey 233 participated (resulting in a 46% response rate). The survey focused on six different themes; these included the demographics of members, members' motivations for engagement, satisfaction and community experiences outcomes of participation.

¹⁴ 83% of respondents fell between values 3 ("to some extent") and 4 ("to a great extent") on the needs base scale.

banks 'bridge' social capital, mainly through intergenerational projects and the participation of different community groups. Thus, time banking is believed to reinforce 'weak ties,' the term given by Granovetter (1983, in Seyfang 2004b) to refer to bridging relationships amongst community members from different social groups and networks.

Bridging social capital differs then from 'bonding social capital' which refers to the strengthening of already existing bonds amongst tight-knit groups. It is important to distinguish between these two types of social capital as the networks formed can have different consequences for social inclusion. Not all forms of social capital are inherently good. As Fremeaux (2005: 269) states, a number of researchers have found that 'dense social networks also encompass internal coercion and division' (see Elias and Scotson 1994 and Brent 1997). Thus bonding social capital is not always advantageous. In addition it could exclude people who are not part of these close-knit groups.

The examination of social networks has been a fruitful focus for much time banking research. In a study of time banking participation in the USA, Collom (2012) used network analysis to examine the exchanges between participants in a large time bank. He found that nearly half of the participants had only traded with one person, and the median was just two. Consequently, he suggested this could indicate that members were developing 'deep bonds with only a few members.' Thus the time bank could lead to the development of 'bonding' social capital.

However, these figures should not be taken at face value. The limited number of differential exchanges could also be a consequence of low-levels of active engagement in the time bank. For instance, in Collom's study, out of the 319 members who had participated, 28.2% of participants had only given or received a total of one hour. Moreover, by looking at the number of 'reciprocated contracts,' Collom (2012) also shed light on the nature of networks. He proposed that two-way exchanges (where the person who

receives services then offers a service back to that person in return, or vice-versa) could further indicate the formation of bonding social capital. Here, he found these types of exchanges were very uncommon (three-quarters had not engaged in two-way exchanges) concluding that bonding social capital was rare.

It is worth noting that this type of analysis, as it stands, offers a very limited understanding of the experiences of participation. While directly reciprocated exchanges may be indicative of bonding social capital, they could also facilitate the bridging of social capital. If participants exchange services with others with whom they would not have socialised prior to their involvement in time banking, reciprocal relationships could result in the formation of these 'weak' social ties. It will therefore be important for the thesis to consider and examine empirically, the types of social relations developed within the time bank, give that different forms could result in different outcomes for those who are (and those who are not) involved with it.

For Seyfang (2004b: 1), time banking's 'greatest potential is as a radical tool for collective social capital building, resulting in more effective social, economic and political citizenship.' Seyfang found that time banking helped develop economic citizenship as members were able to gain extra purchasing power by exchanging services. They developed their skills and confidence, which in turn enabled some members to find a route into, or back into, employment. The time bank improved political citizenship, as members felt part of a collective with a voice in their communities (Seyfang 2003). Finally, involvement in the time bank generated social citizenship as it developed relations amongst community members helping build mutual support and bridging gaps between different groups and generations. Lasker et al (2011) also suggested that time banking was able to create social networks between people. They found evidence that time bank participation drove community

building, enabled the development of systems of support and in some cases achieved health benefits for its members.

Similar outcomes have also been put forward by Reilly and Cassidy (2008) and Ozanne (2010) when conducting focus groups with time bank members¹⁵. In addition to highlighting the economic and social benefits, physical and human capital are also identified. For instance, Reilly and Cassidy (2008) found that involvement in the time bank increased physical capital as it widened members' knowledge of local services and the skills others had to offer. It also helped members feel a sense of achievement, enabling them to contribute to their society which thus increased their human capital (Seyfang, 2004b).

Given that Seyfang was able to gain more insight into the development of different forms of social networks using a qualitative research strategy, as opposed to Collom whose use of quantitative network analysis on transactional records resulted in a rather noncommittal account of the development of social capital, the research here also utilises a qualitative approach. A qualitative case study design helps generate contextualised insight, aiding in the exploration of relationships formed as a result of participation in the time bank and may provide a greater understanding of the associated outcomes.

2.4.3 Development of co-production

Existing studies have focused almost exclusively on P2P time banks. They have shown that there are a wide variety of reasons people choose to get involved in time banks and have discussed a range of benefits associated with participation. Moving beyond the exploration of outcomes associated with

¹⁵ Both Reilly and Cassidy (2008) and Ozanne (2010) conducted qualitative focus groups with time banking members. Reilly and Cassidy conducted five focus groups across five different time banks (one focus group was carried out in each time bank. In total 28 members took part. Ozanne conducted three focus group discussions with time banking members from the first New Zealand time bank. In total 15 members participated.

P2P time banking, Gregory (2009) considered how the organisational structure of P2A time banks helps facilitate co-production. Utilising non-participant observation of a Welsh Valley time bank and semi-structured interviews with its staff, Gregory sought to discern the interactions involved in the time bank's operation. Using Bovaird's models of co-production (see Table 1), Gregory (2009) found that even when the aims of time banking are not explicitly to develop co-production, as was the case in his study, a number of different co-productive relationships can still be manifested. How the organisation uses time credits affects the type of co-productive relationships which emerge. For instance, Gregory (2009) found that two main relationships arose, namely 1) user and/or community co-delivery of professionally planned and designed services and 2) user and/or community co-delivery of services with professionals, with little formal planning or design (see Bovaird's typology above). The former, he observed, developed in projects such as a park redevelopment and forest management. Here professionals had originally planned these projects, to be delivered with the help of the community. User and/or community co-delivery of services with professionals, with little formal planning or design, he witnessed through the setup of new activities (for example a cooking class) delivered by community members with limited assistance from staff.

Gregory (2009) suggested that the expansion of the time bank across the organisation led to an increase in the range of services and activities on offer and presented more ways in which members could participate. Consequently members were able to get involved in both the delivery of professionally designed projects and in setting up new services. He observed the role of the time broker to be of particular importance. Not only was the time broker responsible for managing the time bank and finding new ways that people could earn and use their time credits, they also supported community members who wished to set up new groups and activities within the time bank.

Thus Gregory (2009) concluded that although time banks can be initiated to fulfil a number of different organisational goals, 'the practices and ideas embedded in the time bank mechanisms do gradually develop the values of co-production' However, this is not a rapid process. Gregory (2009, 2012b) asserted that the time bank does not have to encompass the entire range of services from day one. Rather, it can begin as a small scheme, which, if successful, can expand into other service areas. Likewise the development of co-productive relationships may take time. Whilst Gregory observed that the organisation developing the time bank used the rhetoric of full co-production, where user and provider design and deliver services in joint partnership (the centre cell of Bovaird's typology), this was yet to be observed in practice. Co-productive practices were not static but evolved as the time bank expanded.

Drawing on the work of Cornwall (2008), Gregory extended this discussion, to highlight the different types of user provider engagement that were observed within the time bank. Cornwall distinguishes between two main types of user/provider engagement in services, (1) spaces for participants- where people are 'invited' to participate in structured services that are created and owned by the providers, and (2) spaces that have been 'created' by the participants. Gregory (2010a) shows how both these types of spaces can exist in time banks. The former, spaces created by providers for participants, are commonly employed when time banks are created as a community development tools. In these cases, providers create services in which people can participate in structured ways. The latter, spaces created by participants, Gregory believes, develop over time when people come up with and deliver their own services which operate in the time bank. Like Gregory (2010a), Cornwall's distinction between 'invited' and 'created' spaces, will also be utilised during the course of this research. Deploying this model alongside Bovaird's should allow for a more in-depth exploration of the different types

of relationships and user/provider engagement that develops within the time bank.

While Gregory (2009) presented the utility of P2A time banking in a fairly optimistic manner, in a subsequent paper he raised a particular concern. His apprehension rests around the use of time banking as a mechanism to achieve a 'nostalgic' vision of community (Gregory 2012b). As mentioned previously, the formation of dense social bonds can lead to internal division, which is often not given enough attention due to the dominant belief that close-knit communities are inherently good. Such division was encountered within Gregory's (2012b) study. Some instances were due to the geographical location of the time bank, for example, certain people were excluded because they lived outside the time bank's operational parameters. However other groups were found to self-exclude. North (2003) identified similar problems within other community currency schemes, suggesting that a lack of confidence and trust can stop members participating in the schemes. Consequently, Gregory (2012b) suggested that while it might be possible to overcome certain forms of exclusion through, for instance, the expansion of resources and widening of geographical boundaries, encouraging those who choose to self-exclude would be a far greater task.

2.4.4 Critical appraisal of time banking and co-production

Gregory's research has offered useful insights into the development of co-production and operation of P2A models of time banking. However, like most other studies, his findings are restricted to time banks in the voluntary/community sector. As the time banking movement in the UK develops (particularly in Wales), one institutional context that certain time banking organisations are aiming to engage with is schools. As the empirical research of this thesis is located in the public sector and is specifically looking at the development of time banking in schools, it is important to examine the knowledge base in this arena. Specific attention will be given to the potential

scope and associated challenges for implementing time banks in these institutional settings, alongside an exploration of the development of co-production more widely in public services.

A number of challenges have been identified with trying to bring co-production into the mainstream for public services (Boyle and Harris 2009). A particular hurdle facing the implementation of time banking and co-production is resistance to change. Boyle (ND) has suggested that those who are used to adopting the role of service providers may be reluctant to change. This opposition might be attributed to the uncertainty over what co-production entails. While some innovators respond enthusiastically, others may be less eager. This is not surprising when you consider 'excessive elasticity in its definition' (Needham 2008: 224). As mentioned already, the term co-production has been used in a variety of different contexts to describe a number of different practices. Consequently, Boyle (ND) warns that ambiguity might result in service providers becoming apprehensive about handing over responsibility to users. A lack of understanding surrounding how practices will adapt to accommodate co-production may create particular anxiety over job security. Service providers may be fearful lest their roles become redundant. Even where this is not a concern, some might find it difficult to adjust to a new role as a facilitator as opposed to their traditional role as a fixer (Boyle ND). Moreover, it is not just their role that they might struggle to adapt to; given that co-productive services often require greater flexibility in order to meet the needs of users, they might be required to make changes to their established working patterns.

Existing research into both the community and public sector has suggested that service users also find the principles of co-production and time banking hard to grasp. For instance, two thirds of Seyfang's (2001) respondents viewed time banking as a form of traditional volunteering. This often resulted

in time brokers spending a great deal of time promoting the use of time credits and the reciprocal aspect of time banking amongst its members. Gregory (2010b) suggests that because time banks operate on a very different medium of exchange and require users to alter the ways in which they normally engage with services (and those formerly providing services), this may result in uncertainty and a hesitancy to participate. A similar observation was made by Boyle and Smith (2005). Evaluating nine schools attempting to implement time banking and LET schemes, they found that aspects of the projects had been far harder to implement than originally anticipated. Evidence was presented to suggest confusion regarding the projects' intentions. In some cases, parents and pupils were unsure how the project worked and why it had been set up.

Users' hesitancy to participate and unwillingness on the part of providers to adapt their roles can coincide to create a hostile environment for the uptake of co-production and time banking. It has therefore been argued that it is imperative that the implementation of a time bank is not rushed. Potential participants need to be fully aware of what time banking is and why it has been created (James 2005).

Focusing on the role of service providers in institutions trying to embody co-productive principles, Boyle et al (2006: xii) found that the successful implementation of co-production can mainly be attributed to 'the efforts and inspiration of a few managers who can see the benefit.' The ability of leaders to enthuse and encourage others has been recognised in Weber's (1964) classic sociological work on authority. In his tripartite classification, he outlines a particular form of authority based solely on charisma. This is mirrored in the literature on social entrepreneurialism, which stresses the importance of social entrepreneurs holding certain personality traits. These include the ability to enthuse others, the ability to create networks or utilise already existing networks, and the ability to understand the ways that

systems are designed to respond and adapt to these when necessary (Thompson et al 2000; Dees et al 2001). These writers suggested that it is very difficult to get novel ideas (like co-production and time banking) into the mainstream, and then to sustain the enthusiasm. Few people can make a new initiative happen, and there can be limits to how far they progress. Thus the efforts of a small minority cannot be relied upon alone. The rest of the workforce must recognise the benefits of co-production, since otherwise it takes someone with a vast amount of drive and focus and particular characteristics to 'keep the momentum going' (Boyle et al 2006: 40).

This particular issue has also been found in relation to time banks located in the volunteer/community sector (Seyfang 2001; Seyfang and Smith 2002; Gregory 2009, 2012b) and public sector (Boyle and Smith 2005). For instance, Seyfang (2001) argued that a funded member of staff who can encourage exchanges and enlist new members is crucial to the success of the project. However, employing a full-time time broker can often be difficult; many time banks have found it hard to secure this level of financial support. In one case there was a lack of funding available to pay a time broker, whilst in another the time bank had exceeded its office expenses' limit.

More specifically in schools, Boyle and Smith (2005: 26) have also reported that a dedicated member of staff is 'absolutely central' to the project's success. Indeed they propose that this role is the most important factor contributing to the success or failure of a project. In order for the time bank to prosper they recommend a number of vital features associated with the time broker's role. Not only does the broker need to have certain qualities, such as enthusiasm and drive, they also need to be provided with substantial support. They believe a role should be assigned to an existing member of staff on a full time basis. They found that existing members of staff were better placed to perform the role as they had easier access to students, and greater knowledge of internal structures and existing networks of

communication. However, they recognised a tension at play. Those who were already employed by the school ran the risk of being overwhelmed by their involvement simultaneously in a variety of other school roles. This is particularly problematic because the time broker needs enough time to develop the project. Three-days a week was regarded as a bare minimum for this role. Boyle and Smith recommended that if an external time broker is appointed they would need to be made a member of school staff.

Reflecting the co-production literature, Boyle and Smith (2005) also noted that although a time broker was vital, this position is reliant on the support of others. They state that it is 'absolutely crucial' that the headteacher and other staff are actively involved in the time bank. While they recognised that this can be quite difficult to achieve as many teachers feel undervalued 'deliverers of multiple initiatives', they found the support vital for the time bank's integration into the school. Consequently, their findings contrast with those of Gregory (2009) who suggested that time banks can start off as one small project and gradually expand across an organisation. Reporting that stand alone projects found it difficult to subsist, Boyle and Smith (2005) suggested that time banks should be embedded as far as possible into the everyday running of the schools from the offset.

A number of benefits have been outlined by Seyfang for linking or embedding time banks in existing institutions. Broadly speaking these can be divided into the practical and the normative. In relation to the practical, they argued that embedding in an existing institution could overcome the greatest barrier to implementing and sustaining time banks which is the lack of consistent funding (Seyfang and Smith 2002; Seyfang 2004a). Seyfang (2004a) highlighted the importance of long-term funding as a key to time banking development. If funding is only short-term and uncertain this 'threatens the consolidation of the time bank's effort' (Seyfang 2004a: 69). In the current state of austerity, lack of long-term funding is more apparent than ever. If

time banks are properly integrated into institutions they rely less on external funding and the likelihood of their being easily 'cut off' is decreased. Their sustainability is increased.

Seyfang suggests that the normative benefit of integrating time banks into existing public services such as the National Health Service or schools is that it can help promote social inclusion. As time banks can be used to encourage and reward civic engagement, Seyfang believes they should be invested in by government and attached to existing institutions in an effort to promote and create democratic empowerment. However, as outlined already this is not a straightforward endeavour. Boyle and Smith (2005) found that five out of the nine schools they sought to evaluate failed to generate the necessary enthusiasm for the project, and did not progress to a stage of implementation. The four that succeeded were all primary schools; none of the secondary schools were successful.

More worrying, perhaps, is Naughton-Doe's (2011) ethnographic research into a housing association's attempt to implement a time bank. Whilst undertaking her research she observed practices that she described as akin to behaviour modification. She claimed that in this particular initiative time banking was reminiscent of 'token economics used in public services to create socially desirable behaviour' (Kazdin 1982, in Naughton-Doe 2011: 76). As a result of this she argued in a somewhat Foucaultian inspired manner (see Foucault 1977, 1991) that rather than being used as a tool for genuine empowerment time banking

...could be utilised to create self-disciplining subjects perpetuating government values such as reduced dependency and health promoting behaviour (Naughton-Doe 2011: 76).

In fact, Naughton-Doe (2011) asserts that in this particular initiative, what she witnessed could not be classed as time banking. With this in mind it is important to recognise that time banking may not always be used as a tool

for social inclusion or democratic empowerment (as mentioned by Seyfang). In Naughton-Doe's (2011) study, involvement in time banking seems almost coercive. The dangers of this type of participation is perhaps more likely to occur in institutional contexts. If time banks are utilized by organizations to meet their own goals alone (for instance, to increase participation in tenant association meetings), they run the risk of similar accusations. As such this will be a central question to the thesis. The research will explore the motivations¹⁶ for creating a time bank in the school and whether these aims change over time.

In relation to the development of co-production, perhaps the most difficult environments in which to attempt to introduce these practices are large well-established institutions. For co-production to work, modifications need to be made to the ways in which such institutions operate. Due to the hierarchical, bureaucratic nature of large institutions these new practices, which often challenge existing ones, can create uncertainty and meet with resistance (Boyle: ND). Moreover, tensions may arise with regard to official targets, which, Boyle claims, do not fit neatly with co-production outputs. According to the findings of Boyle et al (2006: 53), the ability for institutions to adapt to co-production provides something of a 'paradox':

On the one hand, co-production projects can help break down institutional barriers; on the other hand, they require some barriers to be blurred already to have any chance of success. This seems to be an important problem, because there is no doubt that, in the prevailing climate and under existing administrative systems, breaking down enough institutional barriers is difficult.

As the primary time bank to be studied is situated within a large institutional context, these are key propositions that the research will explore. For instance the thesis will examine how well the concepts of time banking and co-production are understood by various actors within the school and

¹⁶ The thesis will explore the motivations of a range of actors, including (but not limited to) those involved in the implementation and delivery of the time bank.

whether there is any indication of uncertainty over what co-production entails, which actors are involved with the time bank and the importance of their roles, and whether the time bank needs embedding within the school's organisational structure (Boyle and Smith 2005). By gaining contextualised insight into the development of two school time banks the thesis will aim to uncover which factors promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking with the context of a school.

2.5 The Research Deficit: Time Banking and Young People

Most of the studies outlined above have focused on adults' involvement in time banking or the experiences of those running the time bank. Missing from current research is an explicit focus on young people. Even Boyle and Smith's evaluation of the School Lets project did not seek the perspectives of young people. The evidence base is thus extremely limited and weak where young people are concerned. Mark (2012) observed that only five studies had focused on young people as the participants of time banks. Of these, three were US-based and all focused on young people in the juvenile justice or welfare system. In the UK the focus is often similar. Many studies concern young people who have been in trouble or appear at 'risk.' Despite youth time banks being a key priority for development in Wales, the research base is scant. Most of the research 'evidence' that is cited tends to be anecdotal and is often found in the grey literature such as reports written by 'think tanks' (mostly the NEF) or unpublished evaluations or government reports. The evidence is usually drawn from the same small-scale case studies and evaluations without any reference to the methods used to gain such data.

The chapter now turns to explore what is known about youth focused time bank. First it will introduce the Time Dollar Youth Court (TDYC), one of the earliest applications of time banking, and perhaps the most cited when referring to youth participation in time banking. Following this the review explore examples of two youth-focused time banks operating closer to home,

before moving on to discuss the reported benefits for developing time banks and coproductive practices more generally with young people.

2.5.1 'Time Dollar' youth court

TDYC was initiated and implemented by Edgar Cahn, in 1996 in the Washington District of Columbia (NEF 2008b) where the University of the District of Columbia formed a partnership with the District of Columbia Superior Court and the Time Dollar Institute. TDYC was initiated in order to create a progressive diversionary programme which would challenge 'the traditional adjudicatory format in juvenile cases' (Time Dollar Youth Court 2004: 2). Existing practice had led to 50 per cent of black men under the age of 24 in the District of Columbia either serving prison sentences or being on parole or probation (Cahn 2000b). The TDYC aimed to develop a new form of juvenile justice, using peer-to peer judgments, with law students from the University acting as presiding judges and young people who had previously appeared in the court (as non-violent first time offenders) making up the jurors. This enabled first time 'respondents' in court for non-violent offences (including disorderly conduct, simple assault, possession of drugs and truancy) to avoid formal prosecution (NEF 2008b). Every Saturday, hearings were held. After hearing all the 'evidence' of the case (the young person's testimony, the version of events from the police and questioning the parents), jurors had the authority to sentence the defendant to community service, to pay restoration, to make an apology, or counselling and other activities such as drugs programmes and/or shop lifting education (Time Dollar Youth Court 2011a). Additionally an outcome of any sentences was that the young person was required to serve on the jury of the Youth Court as well as undertaking jury training.

All young people who served as jurors earned time dollars. Young people also earned time dollars for any additional community service they completed. Time dollars could then be exchanged for a range of goods and services, such

as recycled computers, summer programmes, events at youth projects, and towards the application costs and fees of the University of the District of Columbia.

For Cahn (2000b) all young people needed to be valued, valued for 'what they are now and for what they can contribute right now.' Many young people did not realise they had anything worth contributing. Cahn argues that the TDYC changed that; it focused on the assets of all young people. By working with young people to co-produce youth justice, rather than the traditional system of working on young people, the TDYC gave young people a voice and sent them the simple message that 'helping others creates opportunity and you have the power to shape your destiny' (Cahn 2000b).

The TDYC expanded rapidly and successfully. In the first year of its inception, the youth court held 150 court cases, rising to 400 cases in 2004. By 2009 this had risen even further, with the court hearing 740 cases, and requesting 483 young people to serve as jurors. The TDYC tracked rates of recidivism, which showed a welcome decline. In 2003, of those who successfully completed the sentences handed out to them by the TDYC, the rate of recidivism a year after their initial arrest was 17 percent. By 2009 the recidivism rate had decreased to just nine percent (Time Dollar Youth Court 2004, 2008, 2011b).

The TDYC, which embodies the philosophy of time banking, appears to have crime prevention benefits. The data point to continual improvements in reducing levels of recidivism and are indicative that such time banking schemes have the potential to develop over time. In addition to the reduction in reoffending, a number of other valuable outcomes have been attributed to involvement in the TDYC (Flowers 2010, in Marks 2012). These include the development of life skills, such as problem-solving and decision-making and

greater community involvement through mentoring others and making new friends¹⁷.

2.5.2 Youth time banks in South Wales

In the South Wales valleys, in a small number of examples, time banking has been adopted as a preventive tool, to respond to high levels of anti-social behaviour (ASB) in communities. In both Torfaen and Bettws a need was identified to divert young people involved in or on the cusp of ASB before they were pulled into the criminal justice system. The introduction of a time banking scheme was seen as an effective means to achieve this, by positively engaging with young people. It allowed them to volunteer their services and actively contribute to their communities (WAG 2007, 2008) as well as being rewarded for doing so.

In Bettws the time bank was established by the police who formed a partnership with the school, the 'boys and girls club' and community groups. The young people involved in the time bank (a reported 100 members after the first year) were able to earn time credits through projects with themes such as anti-bullying, and environmental awareness. Other activities earning credits included helping run events for the young children who attended the centre, and litter picking at the school. Also on offer were training by the police and meetings where they could help make decisions. The time credits the young people earned could then be exchanged for trips or to access classes at the youth club (WAG 2008).

In Torfaen, the time bank, known as the 'time to engage project,' was based in a youth centre. It was managed by a team of five people, consisting of a project manager, a coordinator, an administrative assistant and two part-time youth workers. The time banking members were ten young people,

¹⁷ As noted above, these evaluations are not the product of rigours, independent social research. The report offers little explanation of how the findings were generated. A similar caveat applies to the reports of time banks identified in section 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.

whom staff identified as being most at risk of engaging in ASB in the community. While the team were conscious of the fact that only including ten members might restrict the project's impact, they were optimistic that 'by taking out the ring leaders' they could indirectly 'reach other young people in the area' (Skellington Orr et al 2007: 4.4). Similar to the Bettws time bank, members could earn time credits by getting involved in a number of activities. The time bank members had stated that they liked to be outdoors. In response, activities included litter picks, painting over graffiti and helping the elderly to garden. The young people were then rewarded with credits that could be used to obtain a range of goods and activities, such as bikes, sports equipment, sports courses and sports lessons. These rewards went some way to help achieve the personal development plans that they agreed at the offset of the project (Skellington Orr et al 2007).

Since the time banks' inception both Bettws and Torfaen reported a drop in levels of ASB. After the first year of the introduction of the youth time bank, the police in Bettws recorded a 17% reduction in crime, which they said was mainly ASB (WAG 2008). Similarly Torfaen also witnessed a reduction in ASB with the Deputy Leader of Torfaen County Borough Council, Lewis Jones, stating that 'The time bank initiative...has been the single most cost effective operation in combating youth crime and ASB' (in WAG 2007: 5). However, despite these claims, the evidence is not sufficient to guarantee a causal relationship. This view is echoed in the draft report on the Torfaen time bank (Skellington Orr et al 2007). The report maintained that while the time bank had clearly been successful in stopping young people entering, or having further dealings with the criminal justice system, it was not clear if this was specifically because of the operations of the time bank or whether it was simply because young people had less time on their hands to engage in such behaviour (Skellington Orr et al 2007).

Despite this uncertainty, young people involved in the project stated that it had enabled them to get more involved in the community. It had altered their behaviour and induced a newfound respect for their elders. This suggests that the time bank has wider outcomes than just alleviating boredom. Indeed Lewis Jones claims that the time bank:

Gives young people self-respect. It serves as a valuable community appreciation scheme, whereby young people who take part in the various time bank projects quickly realise the value of the work that they are carrying out in their own community (in WAG 2007: 5).

2.5.3 Benefits of time banking and co-producing youth services

It is clear from the above examples that time banking has potential for producing positive outcomes for young people, which include and may extend beyond crime prevention. A recent NEF blog (2012) noted a wide range of benefits associated with time banking and the development of co-production. Using two of the examples outlined above, as well as a number of other small-scale case studies of attempts to facilitate co-productive practices¹⁸ NEF stated five commonly occurring positives:

1. *An improvement to conventionally measured outcomes.* NEF's evidence suggests that involvement in time banks and other co-production schemes can lead to improved outcomes against indicators that are widely recognised and reported. NEF refers to the decline in incidences of ASB mentioned in the Bettws time bank and the reduction in recidivism as outlined in the TDYC as examples.
2. *A newfound appreciation for services and participation.* NEF suggests that co-productive practices change young people's attitudes to services. It cited cases where young people, who would not normally participate in services, developed a sense of ownership and began to engage in these through time banking.

¹⁸ None of the studies used were described in any detail by NEF. Tellingly no discussion is given to the methodology used or sampling.

3. *An improved sense of well-being.* NEF claims a number of factors associated with young people's well being such as self-confidence, social networks and a sense of belonging, can be developed through time banking. Again pointing to the TDYC as an example, it highlights how young people's participation in the time bank leads to a sense of empowerment.
4. *Increased life skills and practical learning.* When young people are involved in delivering services, it is believed that this can improve skills and create learning that education systems tend to neglect. For instance across all of the case studies NEF observed, young people developed skills with practical applications beyond academia. These included greater communication skills, better organisational skills and more critical thinking.
5. *Community and services provider benefits.* NEF suggest that getting involved in co-productive practices helps young people become more engaged in their community, which in turn can make them feel more connected. Service providers also benefit from the increased motivation of young people to use their services. For example, the Glyncoch time bank reported an increase in the amount of time young people gave to help out in the community, while the TDYC found improved relationships between young people, the court and the community.

A number of these outcomes were also outlined in a report produced by the NEF (2009). It drew on nine cases studies of youth services to explore the development of psychological and social benefits for young people and the extent to which co-productive services could help in their achievement. The report listed a range of benefits, which it associated with co-production. These included:

- Benefits for children young people, such as the development of skills, increased self-esteem and the development of social networks.
- Benefits for the community, including engaged young people, a breakdown of stereotypes and greater social support for one another.
- Benefits for services, for example services were felt to be more responsive and less stigmatising.
- Benefits for staff, for example a sense of reward, feeling inspired and motivated.

The NEF suggested that there is great potential for co-production to be adopted in both targeted and universal services to ‘to help promote pathways to higher psychological and social well-being’ (2009: 42). However, it recognised that currently co-production was not likely to be a normal occurrence in most youth services. In order for co-production to help produce these desired benefits, young people must ‘be genuinely seen as a source of power and a source of solutions...who can work alongside professionals’ (NEF 2009: 42). With this in mind they recommended carrying out a more comprehensive UK-wide assessment of co-production approaches to children and youth services. Specifically, they advised that one particular context that required greater examination is schools.

2.6 Conclusion

It appears that a number of potentially positive outcomes could result from young people’s engagement with time banking. Previous studies suggest that young people, and thus communities and service providers, can benefit through increased confidence and skills, the development of social networks, better intergenerational relations, and a reduction in ASB. However, it is clear that more rigorous social scientific research is needed to test these claims. The existing evidence is empirically questionable, with most reports offering little indication of the methods used to produce their findings. Even the NEF

(2009), which drew upon multiple sources, failed to provide any details on their sampling, how particular cases were selected, and whose opinions were pursued. It is unclear whether any of the previous research has sought the voices and opinions of the young people who engage in the time banks. In response this research seeks to extend this knowledge base, and offer more empirically robust research into time banks catering for young people. It follows through on the NEF's call for further assessment of the development of co-production approaches within a school context. It seeks to obtain the voices of young people in order to gain a greater appreciation of their views and experiences of engagement in time banking.

As this review has shown, multiple definitions of co-production exist. For Cahn (2000a) time banking is a practical way of generating co-production based upon his four key principles that people are assets, work needs to be redefined, relationships should be reciprocal, and that social capital is important. Moreover the definition offered by Cahn and those who promote time banking (Boyle ND; Boyle et al 2006; NEF 2008a, 200b; Boyle and Smith 2009) is rooted in a radical re-orientation of how relationships are developed between public service providers and users. Co-production is defined as 'an *equal* and *reciprocal* relationship between professionals [and] people using services' (Boyle and Harris 2009: 11, *emphasis added*); together they are involved in both the design and delivery of services. It is this view of co-production that the thesis draws on in order to explore the development of co-production within time banks catering for young people. Chapter Six charts the extent to which those implementing the time bank acknowledge and discuss Cahn's principles underpinning co-production. Chapter Nine draws on Bovaird's (2007) typology of user-provided relationships to explore the types of relationships that are present within the time bank and assess whether young people are involved in co-producing at the school. As stated above, most of the studies to date have focused on

- the motivations for involvement in time banks, highlighting altruistic, value-based reasons or fulfilment of need as primary drivers (Seyfang 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004a; Seyfang and Smith 2002; Collom 2007)
- the outcomes of participation, emphasising economic and social benefits (Seyfang 2002, 2003, 2004b; Seyfang and Smith 2002; Collom, 2012; Reilly and Cassidy 2008; Ozanne 2010; Lasker et al 2011)
- the obstacles to implementing time banking, which include resistance to change, difficulties in understanding the concept of co-production, and lack of adequate support (Boyle ND; Boyle and Smith 2005; Boyle et al 2009).

This study, however takes a more holistic approach, examining the unfolding of the policy process. It brings these substantive areas together and explores whether young people report similar motivations for involvement in time banks. It examines which factors promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking with the context of a school. It explores whether young people experience any positive outcomes as a result of their involvement and what these might be.

CHAPTER THREE: YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATIVE INVOLVEMENT: RHETORIC AND REALITY

Children and young people should be seen as young citizens, with rights and opinions to be taken into account now. They are not a species apart, to be alternately demonised and sentimentalised, nor trainee adults who do not yet have a full place in society (WAG 2004: 4).

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced time banking and explored competing concepts of co-production. It reviewed existing research highlighting the benefits that some have suggested stem from the implementation of time banks. It also made clear that a number of challenges are associated with the development of time banking and co-productive practices, specifically in large institutions. However, missing crucially from debates is a critical appreciation of young people's involvement in time banking. Although some studies make reference to young people, these accounts tend to be located in the grey literature and are of limited social scientific rigour.

Given the limited amount of empirically robust research into time banks catering for young people, this chapter casts the net wider to explore the broader literature surrounding 'youth participation' in public services. Although it has been argued that participation is not co-production, a number of the claims made for benefits of greater participation may offer new insights into co-production. As this chapter will show, young people have been conceptualised differently than adults. As there is an apparent policy commitment to greater youth participation across the public sector and much existing empirical research into young people's participation, assessing these debates might help shed some light on the current challenges and levels of political support for youth focused time banking.

Consequently, this chapter serves to further situate the analytical gaze. It assesses tools that will be used to examine the time bank, explores possible questions to be asked and locates the research in the current policy environment. The chapter begins by exploring the dominant conceptualisation of young people (3.2). It offers a broad overview of the changing views of the young, and in particular their 'valorisation' as individual 'citizens' in academic and political rhetoric. The chapter notes how this movement to promote young people's rights has led to a proliferation in participation initiatives (3.3). However, it also acknowledges that while an increase in the 'youth voice' might stem from an empowerment agenda, there are a number of divergent normative and philosophical claims surrounding the greater participation of young people in public services (including education of course).

After considering the theories that guide participation, the chapter then focuses on current practice (3.4). It specifically examines the existing research on youth participation, bringing to light a number of potential barriers in current practice. It introduces existing models of participation and discusses how they will be used in the thesis to assist in the assessment of participatory involvement of young people. Finally, the chapter concludes by drawing out a number of key questions raised by the literature review to be explored in the thesis (3.5).

3.2 Conceptualisations of Young People

A salient debate in the field of youth studies is the extent to which young people are given citizenship status, and in particular whether young people are viewed as citizens in their own right, or as 'partial citizens'. It is important to explore young people's position in society as it has often been shown that the ways in which young people are viewed can have direct implications for their involvement in the design and delivery of services. As such this section explores the conceptualisations of young people and their status as citizens.

3.2.1 Youth as a period of contradictions

Two dominant conceptualisations of young people exist. Young people are often depicted as *a risk to society*, a threat to public order, or *at risk* from society, vulnerable to the actions of others (Wyn and White 1997; Roche 1999; Cockburn 2007). Neither of these depictions serves young people well. They both call for greater surveillance and control. However, they do this while attributing different degrees of power to young people. Positioning young people as vulnerable and dependent on adult protection diminishes young people's agency. It makes them appear powerless and reliant on others. Viewing young people as dangerous and a threat to public order, on the other hand, often exaggerates the amount of power attributed to young people (Wyn and White 1997). This can be witnessed in Stanley Cohen's seminal work on moral panics. Cohen (1972) introduced the concept of moral panics to describe society's reaction (and in particular the media's response) to the conflict occurring in the 1960s between two groups of young people in the UK known as 'mods and rockers'. He argued that the conflict between these two groups had been inflated to represent a crisis of youth. Classifying young people in this way deflected the focus away from the true causes of society's ills and instead settled it on young people as the scapegoat (Cohen 1972).

These somewhat polarised perceptions arguably stem from the ambiguous position afforded to young people. Young people are poised often uncomfortably between childhood and adulthood. As Valentine (2004:6) notes

teenagers...lie awkwardly placed between childhood and adulthood: sometimes constructed and represented as 'innocent' 'children' in need of protection...at other times represented as articulating adult vices of drink, drugs and violence.

This uncertainty over young people's location in society is further evident in the differing ages at which young people are given autonomy. For instance, in

the UK a person can vote at 18 years of age, they can drive a car at 17, they can join the armed forces at 16, engage in part time employment at 13 and are criminally responsible from as young as 10. Until recently young people could take up full time employment at 16 years of age. As with many forms of identity youth is a social construction (Wyn and White 1997; James 2005). It is context dependent and spatially and temporarily variable (Skelton 2007).

3.2.2 Citizens in the making?

Youth is a relational concept, distinct from adulthood (Smith et al 2005). As such youth is often perceived as 'a deficit of the adult state' (Wyn and White 1997: 11). 'Othering' young people from adults also 'others' young people from citizens. They are not yet adults nor are they yet citizens (James 1995; Smith et al 2005). Instead they are seen as 'citizens in the making' (Marshall 1950). This conceptualisation of young people has become a prominent feature in contemporary social/political discourse (Hill et al 2004; Mills 2012). Policies to promote citizenship have targeted young people to a far greater extent than other sectors of the general population (Smith et al 2005). Over the last 30 years successive governments have emphasised the need to transform young people into active citizens. While this might be framed as a progressive endeavour (Vandenbroeck and Bouverne-De Bie 2006), much of the political discourse has focused on young people's responsibilities. Evidence of this can be seen in both the New Labour and the more recent Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government's promotion of youth volunteering programmes under the guise of creating 'active and responsible citizens' (Department for Education and Employment 1998; Cabinet Office 2012).

As young people prepare for adulthood they are given increasing responsibilities. However, as they are still classed as incomplete citizens, they are excluded from accessing full citizenship rights (Hall et al 1998). It is this generalised normative understanding of young people, that affords them the

responsibility of citizenship (in preparation for their arrival) but without all the corresponding rights (because they have not yet arrived). With this in mind, there appears to be a current tension between agency and control in civic society. Accordingly Prout (2000: 304) has observed that

On the one hand, there is an increasing tendency to see children [and young people] as individuals with a capacity for self-realisation and, within the limits of social interdependency, autonomous action; on the other, there are practices directed at a greater surveillance, control and regulation of children.

However, as noted by Jan (2004) the two positions do not have to be in conflict. While adults need to offer children and young people protection, they must do so at the same time as giving them 'space for self-realisation'. In the light of this, it might be necessary to reconsider conceptions of citizenship and take note of what being a citizen means for young people. This might mean reducing the responsibilities associated with adult citizenship and instead focusing on young people's capabilities, acknowledging and respecting their views. This view forms part of a growing school of thought which has a more inclusive vision of society that positions young people as citizens in their own right. This new sociology of childhood, as it is most commonly referred to, dismisses the view that young people are passive recipients of welfare. Instead it stresses the active role young people play in their own lives as well as the lives of others (Prout and James 1990). Young people are 'more than pre-adult becomings' (Freeman 2010: 13). Freeman suggests that young people should be viewed as both beings and becoming. Criticising what he describes as an unhelpful dichotomy between the two, Freeman (2010: 15) suggests that it 'ignores change, which is continuous. It overlooks the fact that adults are also 'becomings' as well as beings¹⁹. He suggests that 'appreciating...[young people as] "beings" does not preclude their being also "becoming"' (2010: 13).

¹⁹See, for example Goffman's (1959) writings on 'moral careers' where he discusses how socialisation continues throughout the life cycle.

This thesis adopts the perspective advocated by Freeman. While young people are viewed as active citizens in their own right, if taken solely as 'beings' this may place an undue burden of responsibility upon them. If taken solely as 'becomings', this may neglect their rights. Young people, therefore, still require some form of guidance and support from adults alongside space to develop autonomous action (Jan 2004).

3.3 Theories of Participation

Over the last quarter of a century there has been a major extension of young people's rights and participative involvement. Alongside the academic reorientation in the conceptualisation of young people, which as noted above positions young people as citizens in their own right (Prout and James 1990, Qvortrup 1994), the United Nation Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has also been an important driver (Freeman 2010). Article 12 of the UNCRC states that young people have the right to express their views in all decisions that affect them. Thus the UNCRC clearly embodies a paradigm shift. Rather than being seen as passive recipients of services young people are viewed as active actors in the construction of their lives (Kirby and Bryson 2002). As asserted by Freeman (2010) the UNCRC portrays young people as both beings and becomings. While it recognises young people need some support and protection, it also emphasises their agency and their rights to be heard (Hill et al 2004; Freeman 2010).

Viewing young people as competent actors, who are entitled to have a say in matters that affect them, has provided a platform to encourage greater participation. An endorsement of the UNCRC – particularly at the level of government - has led to a proliferation of participatory activities in the UK (Kirby and Bryson 2002). Indeed, Crowley (2013) has stated that the concept of youth rights has often been directly translated as 'youth voice' and greater participation in decision-making. In other words, to realise young people's rights would mean enabling them to participate.

With the above in mind, it would appear that a move to greater participation is embedded in an empowerment agenda. Enabling young people to have a say recognises them as citizens in their own right. Allowing young people to have a voice can be viewed as a form of emancipation. However, not all motives are necessarily this progressive and it would be naïve to suppose that all those who promote youth participation do so for this reason. The active citizenship agenda, for example, which focuses on preparing young people for adulthood and adopts a discourse of responsibility, is arguably not a means of emancipation. Rather participation (as part of the active citizenship agenda) could be viewed as a form of training; teaching young people the skill needed to regulate their own behaviour²⁰ (Bessant 2003; Prout 2003). Consequently, rather than viewing youth participation as inherently good, it is important to cast a more critical gaze on both the theory and practice (Bessant 2003; Hallett and Prout 2003; Prout 2003).

The promotion of youth participation has been underpinned by various rationales. Cleaver (1999) discerns a means/ends dichotomy at play; a positioning of participation which sees efficiency and empowerment as two competing rationales. He affirms that participation is either proposed as a means to-an-end, with the end being the improved efficiency of services, or the attainment of some other pre-defined outcomes; or as an end-in-itself, where the process of participation is empowering and is a right to be fulfilled.

The efficiency argument, which is also referred to as the enlightenment rationale (Mannion 2007), sees participation as a tool for making services more efficient. From this perspective, young people are those who are most knowledgeable about their lives. They are thus best placed to inform services of their needs. As a result, services can be improved by listening to young people's perspectives. This rationale fits within a neoliberal philosophy.

²⁰ It has been influentially contended that this idea belongs to a form of neoliberal (or advance liberal) governance, whereby individuals are autonomised and responsabilised to act in a certain way. They are expected to take on responsibility for their own well being, thus they are effectively being be 'governed at a distance' (see, inter alia, Rose 1996; Garland 2001; Hughes 2007).

Young people are conceptualised as consumers. An ideal society is one that provides efficient services so that consumption of these services is enhanced (Fathering 2012).

The empowerment rationale, on the other hand, comes from a very different starting point. While it also views young people as 'experts' in their lives, participation is not sought solely as a means for enhancing services. Rather, participation is viewed as a radical tool to overcome the marginalisation of young people. The process of participation is valued in itself as it seeks to readdress power imbalances present between adults and young people.

A third justification which is missing from Cleaver's (1999) distinction is the developmental rationale. This is predominantly a youth-based justification, although arguably can be aligned with either the efficiency or the empowerment position depending on its ideological basis. Such an explanation sees participation as an important mechanism for enhancing young people's skills and developing their self-esteem. Young people are not yet adults. Instead their active participation can help to prepare them for this journey. Unlike the two previous justifications which both conjure up their own imagery of an ideal society, Fathering claims that the developmental rationale does not have an ideological stance. He argues that

This justification is somewhat agnostic in its visions of the good society. It obfuscates any discussion about what a good society might look like and rather argues that participation is good because it is a tool to enable young people to develop into functional adults (Fathering 2012: 77).

However, arguably, there could be links to wider normative claims. For instance, the developmental agenda which gives precedence to the enhancement of soft skills and self-esteem could in fact be classed as a form of empowerment. Nonetheless, as Fathering points out, such empowerment is only at an individual level. Consequently the palpable rhetoric of preparing young people for adulthood, presented in this justification, could instead be

seen to mirror the active citizenship discourse of the recent Coalition Government and its neoliberal predecessors. Thus, as mentioned above, participation (under the developmental guise) could be viewed as a form of 'responsibilisation,' a governing strategy through which young people are to be transformed into self-disciplined beings.

It is clear then, that a number of rationales exist for increasing youth participation. Their purposes are at times somewhat unclear or even conflicting (Hill et al 2004). Moreover, Cleaver (1999) states that even seemingly incompatible approaches, such as the efficiency vs empowerment rationales, are not always mutually exclusive. Drawing on the community developmental field as an example, Cleaver observes that

While the predominant discourses of development engaged in by development agencies are practical and technical, concerned with project dictated imperatives of efficiency... they are commonly cloaked in the rhetoric of empowerment, which is implicitly assumed to have a greater moral value. Such a conflation of efficiency and empowerment arguments is not necessarily cynical, or even conscious; indeed participation *in itself* is considered by many as empowering, regardless of the actual activity undertaken (Cleaver 1999: 598, emphasis in original).

Contrary to Cleaver's suggestion however, as will be highlighted below, not all participatory activities are intrinsically empowering. There can be different implications depending on the form or structure, which the participatory activities take.

In light of this the thesis will seek to examine a number of related issues in relation to young people's participation. Firstly, it will seek to explore the rationale[s] for promoting participation within the time bank. Is participation within the time bank promoted as a form of empowerment, a means by which to create more efficient services, or as a form of control? Secondly, particular attention will be given to uncovering whether any tensions exist between the processes and outcomes of participation (Annont 2008). Thirdly,

it will explore the extent to which there is any variation in the rationales adopted by key actors.

3.4 Participation in Practice

While youth participation has become widely supported by UK governments and policy makers, practice does not necessarily live up to the rhetoric (Prout 2003). Many barriers contribute to what Matthews (2001) brands 'a culture of non-participation.' Challenges included adult perceptions of young people, the appropriateness of their involvement, and the cultural change needed to adapt to participatory practices. In turn there are also many criticisms surrounding the inappropriateness of current models of participation.

3.4.1 Barriers to participation

Doubting the capabilities of young people is a widely identified barrier to greater youth participation (Matthews 2001; Hill et al 2004). Although there has been some degree of reorientation in the conceptualisation of young people (evident in the wide-scale adoption of the UNCRC), many adults do not view young people as competent actors. For instance, Freeman suggests that adults are often apprehensive of giving the young more autonomy in case they do not make wise decisions, whilst Matthews suggests that adults are concerned that young people will exercise the rights recklessly.

Fathering (2012) identifies two critiques of participation which follow these lines of argument. Both critiques (which Fathering terms the conservative and developmental critiques) assume that adults are better placed to make decisions regarding young people. The conservative critiques see adults as experts who are more knowledgeable than young people and thus better positioned to produce desirable outcomes. Similarly the developmental argument doubts the capabilities of young people suggesting that there are certain things that 'young people cannot do, understand or know before 'their time' (Fathering 2012: 80).

Additionally a somewhat related challenge is adult reluctance to give young people more control (Tisdall and Davis 2004). As stated by Johnson et al (1998, in Matthews 2001) this can be a particular concern for adults who work in establishments where they hold clear authority over young people. Many adults are fearful that 'handing over' more responsibility will be at their own expense. The assumption echoes one of the challenges to developing co-production discussed in the previous chapter. A key obstacle for the promotion of participation (and co-production), lies in the assumption that power is a zero-sum game; a rival good which can only be taken from one person (or group of people) at the expense of another. However, power does not have to be thought of in this way. As suggested by Hill et al (2004: 89), if power is viewed as a positive energy, 'as the ability or capacity to act', rather than a fixed commodity 'there need not be clear winners or losers.' Power can be shared and flow dynamically throughout society; 'what matters is not only who has power but how power operates' (2004: 89).

A major obstacle (which again is mirrored in the co-production literature) is the cultural change these practices require. Setting up participatory structures does not only require change to the existing routines and relationships (Kirby and Bryson 2002) that operate in some institutions, but also requires the adoption of new value systems (Matthews 2001). These changes inevitably take time. While Kirby and Bryson (2002) suggest that senior members of staff in an organisation must be dedicated to this approach, Inglis (1998, in Matthews 2001) asserts that, in order to have any real chance of survival, the culture of the entire organisation would need to change. Of course the amount or degree of change required will greatly be affected by the nature and existing culture of the institution. Institutions which have to follow strict national agendas such as in state schools teaching the national curriculum, or have pre-set performance indicators might find it harder to adapt to these practices than those with more flexibility (Kirby and Bryson 2002).

3.4.2 Criticism of current practice from research studies

Currently, school councils, youth forums and other committee-like structures have become the most favoured form of youth participation in the UK²¹ (Matthews 2001). They tend to be chosen by institutions because they are low cost, relatively straightforward to establish and familiar to most adults (Hill et al 2004). However many academics have highlighted the problematic nature of these devices (Matthews 2001; Hill et al 2004; Tisdall and Davis 2004; Percy-Smith 2010). Previous research has shown that many are not-fit-for purpose. They are often unrepresentative, exclusionary and biased towards adult agendas as opposed to voicing young people's concerns.

Commonly these forums are not based on mass involvement but enrol a select number of young people to represent their cohort. Many that adopt representative structures have inappropriate selection processes (Tisdall and Davis 2004); usually, participation in these structures involves young people self-nominating, being voted in by their peers, or being appointed directly by adults (Hill et al 2004). These practices can often be exclusionary. Whilst many try to be inclusive, they can inadvertently attract those young people who might be more self-assured and leave behind young people who lack these traits. For instance Itzhaky and York (2000: 227, in MacPherson 2008: 364) state that in order to engage in these structures a certain amount of 'intrapersonal empowerment' is often required. A similar observation is also made by Matthews (2001). He suggests that not all young people will necessarily want to be involved. This may be because they are uninterested, disengaged or intimidated by the process. Thus direct participation is restricted. Many young people are unable to participate in these types of forums, limiting the voices of a diverse range of people.

²¹ For instance in 2005 it became a mandate that all secondary schools in Wales house their own School Councils.

For those who participate, there are major concerns that their opinions are rarely taken seriously. It has been argued that these structures are; 'susceptible to adult manipulation' (Hill et al 2004: 85). They often obscure the views of young people and focus instead on institutional agendas. Such observations have been made by Percy-Smith (2010)²², who found, that young people's opinions were subordinate; they were not asked about issues that affected them, but instead required to discuss issues decided upon by adults. Part of this may be down to the rationale for creating these forums. It has been argued these committee-like structures tend to be created with the emphasis on 'creating future citizens'. Consequently they are so narrowly focused on developing young people's future skills that they fail to acknowledge their current interests, needs or anxieties. This particular issue is not limited to the UK. Thomas (2007) highlights how the same concerns have been raised in other countries across Europe. He cites Begg who claims that in Norway, Youth Councils are 'not conducted on children's terms. Instead, children are praised when they behave like small adults and put in their place when they do not' (2004: 131, in Thomas 2007: 203)

It would appear then that rather than genuinely giving young people a voice, 'having a say in matters that affect you' [actually] means having a say when it suits organisations' (Percy-Smith 2010: 111). Thus, rather than altering the power imbalance that exists between adults and young people, current practices may actually play some part in sustaining them.

3.4.3 Typologies of participation

In order to understand the degree to which young people are involved in participatory activities a number of different models of participation have emerged in recent years. Hart's (1992) ladder of participation is perhaps the most well known (Shier 2001). Adapted from Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation'; Hart distinguishes between eight rungs, which describe

²²Percy-Smith's (2008) data has been taken from interviewing youth workers involved in a youth forms.

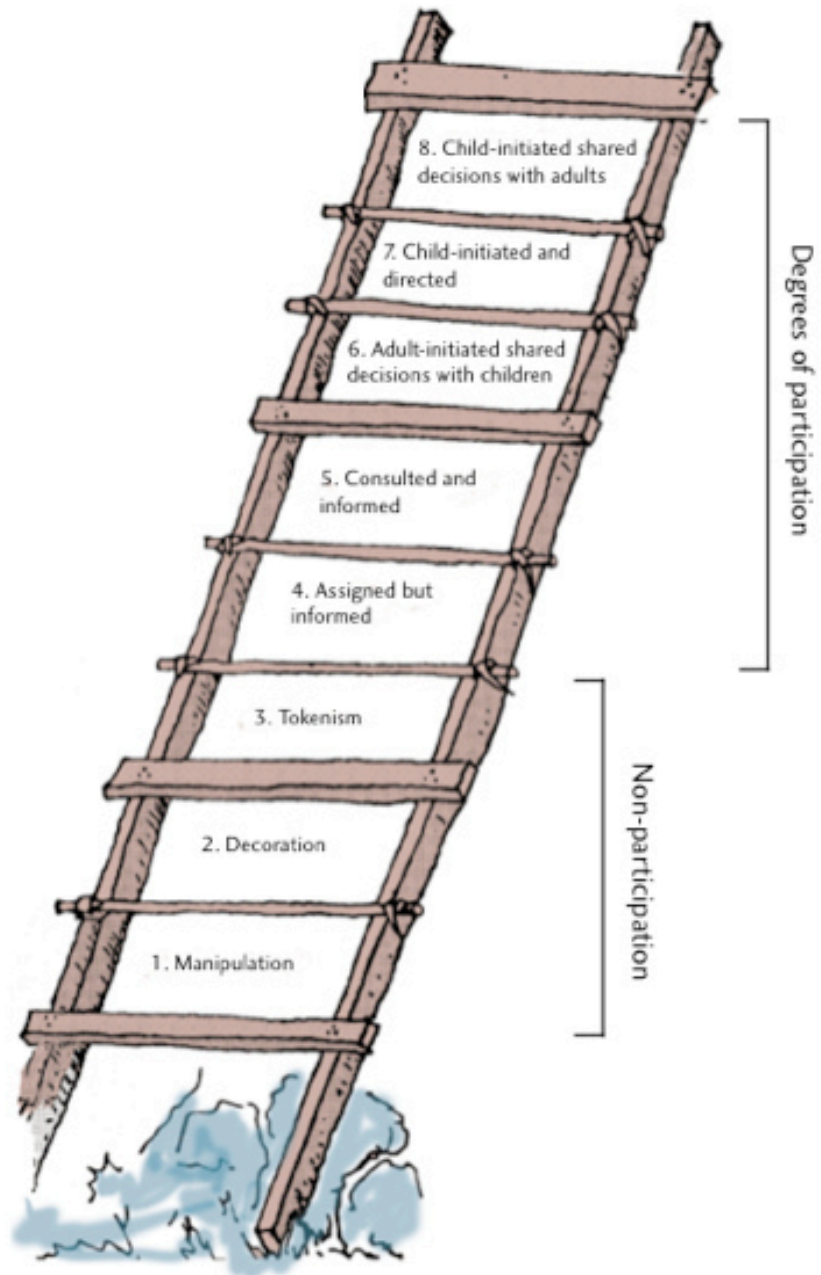
the relationship between adults and young people in the process of participation (see Figure 1²³). The ladder is split into two parts. The bottom of the ladder hosts the non-participatory rungs ('manipulation', 'decoration' and 'tokenism'), with the remaining rungs representing different degrees of participation. However, it is the highest rungs that are seen as truly participatory ('child-initiated and directed' and 'child-initiated, shared decisions with adults'). As such, it would appear then that the redistribution of power is the key ingredient in determining what counts as true participation.

The ladder has been very influential, both conceptually and in its application. A number of practitioners have particularly welcomed it, as it allows them to reflect on practices and specific actions that are deemed as non-participatory. However, at the same time, it has also received much criticism; with its hierarchical depiction being at the centre of this. Many critics are opposed to the implication that the most desirable form of participation is one that occupies the highest rungs of the ladder.

A number of alternative frameworks have been developed (Franklin 1997; Treseder 1997; Shier 2001). Seeking to remedy the flaws in Hart's model, Treseder (1997) has exchanged the hierarchy rungs for a wheel. She also omits the non-participation categories, leaving five forms of participation. Removing the hierarchical rungs removes the contention that the highest degree of participation should be sought (Thomas 2007).

²³ Adapted from Hart (1992).

Figure 1: Hart's Ladder of Participation



The wheel is meant to act as a reminder that different settings and activities may involve different people who require different forms of participation. One form of participation should not be prioritised over another. In fact, Hart himself made a similar point:

[The ladder] should not be considered as a simple measuring stick of the quality of any program ... it is not necessary that children always operate on the highest possible rungs of the ladder. Different children at different times might prefer to perform with varying degrees of involvement or responsibility. The important principle again is one of choice: programmes should be designed which maximize the opportunity for any child (Hart 1992: 11).

Hart did not create the ladder as a model of best practice but a visual aid to help illuminate the different ways of working with young people and types of relationships that can exist between them and adults (Hart 1992). As noted by Thomas (2007: 204) the ladder operated as metaphor, with each rung 'representing the challenge for adults working with children and young people, to make their practice truly participatory.' Hart recognised that participation is context-dependent and person specific. The ladder acts as a reminder that while activities should be tailored to the situation and the people involved, it is important to strive for the highest level at which people feel comfortable and to avoid the tokenistic involvement of young people.

Although debates exist over the most appropriate model of participation, Thomas (2007) notes that they all highlight the need to understand and distinguish different levels of empowerment afforded to children. Alongside Bovaird's (2007) typology of co-production, Hart's ladder will also be utilised as an analytical tool. The model will help assess the types of relationships that operate between adults and young people within the time bank and whether different activities promote different types of participation (or non-participation).

It is important to recognize these differences, as whatever forms of 'participation' ultimately develop will affect the nature of the scheme. If

involvement in the time bank fails to progress beyond tokenism, it will be hard to see the time bank as anything other than a top-down programme, aimed at promoting efficiency, personal development or a form of social control (Naughton-Doe 2012). For Cahn (2000a), participation in time banking should be about promoting equality. Thus it could be argued that participation in time banks should be akin to the top rungs of the ladder. In light of this and the existing research on time banking and youth participation, the extent to which this is attainable in practice will need to be explored.

Whilst utilising this model, attention will also be paid to temporal dimensions and whether the degrees of participation changes over time. The research will also explore who was encouraged to participate and 'on what grounds' (Hinton 2008: 288). These are questions that are often neglected when applying such models and in doing so, they often overlook important processes and neglect 'the dynamic nature of power relations' (Hinton 2008: 288).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined existing debates surrounding youth citizenship, young people's rights and their abilities to participate. By examining the current drive towards participation, it has explored competing normative and philosophical claims. In turn it has shown that a proliferation in participation initiatives does not solely stem from an empowerment agenda and that other rationales exist. It has also shown that, despite some good intentions, there are still a number of barriers to youth participation. For example, many adults still doubt the capabilities of young people and so find it difficult to adapt their own roles. The most favoured forms of participatory arrangement (the committee-like structures) have also been heavily criticised, with existing research claiming that they are often unrepresentative, exclusionary and tokenistic. With all this in mind, the review undertaken in this chapter has

helped generate a number of issues and questions that will be important to consider when examining the development and implementation of youth time banks:

- To what extent are any of the challenges associated with youth participation present in youth time banks?
- How much are the reasons for promoting participation in time banking in line with those identified above (as a tool to create self-disciplining subjects, more efficient services, or as a tool for empowerment) and how do these ideas pan out in practice?
- How are young people are conceptualised and to what extent does this have any implications for who is able to participate in the time bank and the form their participation may take?

With particular regard to the last theme, the chapter has introduced Hart's (1992) 'ladder of participation', an analytical device for exploring levels of involvement and tokenism. Hart's (1992) ladder will be used in Chapter Nine alongside Bovaird's (2007) typology of co-productive relationships (introduced in Chapter Two) as analytical tools. They will assist in assessing the differing levels of participatory involvement that exist within the time banks. They will also help to shed light on the nature of the relationships between young people and adults and whether the different activities on offer promote varying degrees of participation (or, indeed, non-participation). These are important as the nature of relationships between users and providers and the form of participation that is enabled ultimately affect the character of the time bank. For instance, should the time bank develop only tokenistic forms of involvement, it would be difficult to align this with any aims that seek to promote empowerment of service users, in this case, young people.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE POLICY CONTEXT: WALES, TIME

BANKING AND POLITICAL MALLEABILITY

The word ‘co-production’ is increasingly used in policy-making circles on both sides of the Atlantic. It is dropped into speeches by politicians of all persuasions...When a good idea becomes a buzzword as this one has, there is always a risk that its meaning and purpose will be distorted... (NEF 2008a)

4.1 Introduction

So far the previous two chapters (Chapter Two and Three) have begun to build a conceptual ‘scaffold’ on the basis of which the thesis will develop its research design and further adapt its theoretical and methodological rationale. Together they have introduced the concept of co-production that underpins time banking, previous research on time banking (including its uses in public services), and a wider exploration of the current discourse of youth and justifications for youth participation. This chapter now locates time banking in the policy context of Wales. In order to effectively scan and locate where time banking fits into political agendas and the context of a partially devolved nation, this chapter draws on policy documents and interviews with academics, time banking organisations in Wales and a member of the Welsh Government. This chapter does not present findings, but rather a ‘grounded context’ for the research. It offers an important contribution in continuing to lay out the landscape in which the findings of this thesis (Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine) are situated.

Since starting its life in the USA 25 years ago time banking has spread around the globe. Time banks now run in 40 countries across 6 different continents. One place that has witnessed great expansion of the movement – with approximately 300 time banks currently in operation – is the United Kingdom (Timebanking UK 2015). Time banking was first adopted in the UK in the late 1990s when Martin Simon and David Boyle were introduced to the concept

on separate trips to the USA. On returning to the UK, they each simultaneously set up a time bank. The Fair Shares time bank was created in a small town in Gloucestershire by Simon and the Rushy Green time bank was established in a London doctor's surgery by Boyle. Shortly after the time banks' inception Boyle and Simon came together and helped create the national umbrella charity *Timebanking UK* (Timebanking UK 2011).

In 2003 time banking was transported to Wales. The then University of Wales College Newport, *Timebanking UK* and Valley Kids teamed up to create the Wales Institute for Community Currencies (WICC). WICC²⁴ aimed to develop a new application of time banking, and help establish community time banks in some of the most deprived communities in South Wales. In doing so they pioneered a new approach to time banking, dubbed 'the Welsh approach' (Gregory 2012b).

This chapter highlights the theoretical malleability of time banking from an ideological perspective. It considers the political context and ideologies within which time banking and co-production are situated (4.2). It then focuses on the specific context of time banking in Wales (4.3). It suggests that there are significant parallels between the policy goals of the Welsh Government, Cahn's original vision of time banking, and the model of time banking that is the subject of this research. The chapter concludes by examining the Welsh policy approach that has developed in relation to young people and how this potentially aligns with the philosophies of time banking (4.4).

4.2 Political Malleability

As alluded to in the introduction, time banking operates in a number of different countries, many of which arguably have their own sets of political ideologies. Indeed, Edgar Cahn himself has suggested that time banking is an

²⁴ The WICC's funding ended in 2008 where it evolved into two separate organisations.

idea that transcends political divides (Cahn and Rowe 1998). There has been some support for this contention in a UK context, where time banking was endorsed by the 2010-15 Coalition Government in Westminster. In the *Giving White Paper* (HM Government 2011) the Westminster government agreed to invest £400,000, alongside The National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) to trial a model of time banking ('P2A') developed in Wales, in England. However, when examining the rhetoric used in the paper a slightly different objective appears to have been promoted in England than in Wales. The White Paper discussed the apparent, long-standing traditions of volunteering, and 'the inherent satisfaction that comes from helping and caring for others' (HM Government 2011: 26). The paper calls for 'new models of reciprocity' and incentives to encourage more people to volunteer, and to get people who already give time to give it more often. Although the paper does use some similar language, as we shall see, such as suggesting that investing in a new model of reciprocity can strengthen communities and develop social capital collectively, more emphasis is given to voluntary deeds rather than collective action.

The Westminster Coalition's support for time banking diverged from the motives of the Welsh Labour Party, which are described below. It could be argued that this is a consequence of the wider disparities between the two governments' ideological bases. In the following quote from an academic researcher it is suggested that despite similar rhetoric used in Cardiff and Westminster they have very different motives.

'The language that the coalition uses...is the same language of mutualism, it is the language of reciprocity...What matters however, is what's meant by these terms, what is driving, what is underpinning, what is shaping how those terms are being used and that's where the Welsh approach to time banking is very different from the coalition approach. The Welsh approach is still much around strong state support, strong public services which bring in and engage citizens...for the Big Society it's still mutualism...but it's about cutting the state

reducing the level of state providing services...' (Academic researcher, personal communication²⁵).

It is argued here that the Coalition – especially through its initial commitment to its 'Big Society' programme – had a different ideological underpinning than Wales. The 'Big Society' was an approach that sought to minimise state support and input into the delivery of services. It is suggested that this differed from the Welsh approach – specifically regarding time banking – which emphasises the important role the government has to play alongside citizens. This view is also illustrated in the quote below from the Welsh Assembly Member. Here he also agrees that there are political differences between the two governments and as such time banking would not be promoted similarly in both.

'...The Big Society...is an attempt to further undo those collective responses to collective needs that were characteristic to the 1945 welfare state and to remove the state from responsibility for a whole series of core functions that the state ought to take responsibility...I'm sure that isn't the way we would think about it in Wales, time banking isn't a way of substituting for responsibility Government ought to be prepared to shoulder' (Assembly Member, personal communication).

Despite divergences in political underpinnings it appears, then, that both past and present governments endorse time banking. This is perhaps not surprising when Cahn himself has stated that time banks have 'elements that appeal to the Right, elements that appeal to the Left; and overall it's an idea that lies in a frontal zone that is unclaimed by either side (Cahn and Rowe 1998: 162). Time banking exponents are keen to distance it from party politics. Indeed, the CEO of one the time banking organisations (*Together*) frames time banking as politically neutral – a tool that can transcend

²⁵ The empirical materials used here are taken from interviews pursued in the course of the thesis but outside of the case study. As mentioned in the introduction, interviews were conducted with a number of key players as part of a scanning exercise in order to gain a greater appreciation of the political landscape of Wales and the development of time banking within the partially devolved nation, which was not accessible in the literature alone.

ideological divides. By keeping time banking quite 'generic' and not wedding it to one particular ideology it is assumed that it will be able to flourish in different political contexts:

'it's certainly not political...it does transcend party politics...I think Britain is a classic example of that. You got time banking in Scotland, England and Wales, with very, very different party politics and it's growing and working in all of them and for us that's really, really important because although it's grown out of a Welsh culture of mutuality we don't see it as being a Left or Right thing or a Labour and Tory issue...I think different parties relate to different bits of it' (CEO of *Together*, personal communication).

'...we were very conscious of...making sure that our documentation that we wrote also didn't tie us more to one party than another so we... tried to keep it just a bit more generic' (CEO of *Together*, personal communication).

However, while a number of time banking proponents (Cahn, the NEF, NESTA and *Together*) might see this 'mass appeal' as a benefit of time banking, as it is able to appeal to 'the government of the time' (Gregory 2010b: 16), this could in fact be seen as a criticism in the more applied world of time banking. Time banking could be criticised for being a hazy concept; an idea that is malleable and open to political interpretation. As mentioned in Chapter Two the concept of co-production has been adopted by a number of different writers to conceptualise a number of different cooperative practices.

An explanation offering how time banking could be susceptible to adoption in two different political environments, despite ideologically differing agendas, could be centred on differing notions of co-production. One of the interviewees discussed how he identifies two different versions of co-production – efficacy and efficiency co-production – which might explain why the way in which time banking has been presented allows it to easily be adopted for very differing purposes.

'Essentially...I divided the literature on co-production into two. So you have Edgar Cahn's definition of co-production which you can find in the NEF work and a few other bits which I call efficacy co-production – it's about investing in people it's about building up peoples capabilities, it's

about giving them the time they need to build networks and get involved and in ways they choose to participate. The other side of that you can find in the early 80's is efficiency co-production, so the early 80's is focusing more on another economic crisis so they need to find a way of being efficient, new ways of saving money so co-production is the way to do it' (Academic researcher, personal communication).

The interviewee is suggesting that there are two different accounts of co-production, one which has been coined by Cahn (2000a) and one which predates his concept which can be seen in the work of Ostrom (1996) (as referred to in Chapter Two). Efficacy co-production, the version of co-production developed by Cahn, is based on the five key principles which are believed to underpin time banking; these included valuing people as assets, redefining work, reciprocity, social networks and more recently respect. Ostrom's (1996) depiction of co-production, on the other hand, is based on efficiency. Ostrom's notion is that if service users work alongside service providers and are given more responsibility services will become more efficient and cost effective. For instance, in the example of community safety, they suggest that in addition to police patrols, crime control could be improved if citizens were encouraged to contribute to the services by taking part in community watch schemes.

Although both forms of co-production are about service users and providers working together, they have different agendas. It is the former notion of co-production, efficacy, which is most aligned to the Welsh Government ideology. This can be seen in their commitment to principles of cooperation valuing an ethic of participation, drawing on talents of citizens and promoting collective action. In Westminster, on the other hand, although the Coalition Government adopted the language of efficacy co-production, the ideological basis driving them to promote time banking practices is to produce efficiency co-production. As mentioned in an interview with an academic researcher 'it is not about investing in people...it's actually about cutting the costs of public service provision so you can reduce the role of the state.' Indeed he goes on

to suggest that a criticism of Cahn's work, is that he has not 'defended against that possible use of time banking' in this way.

With this in mind, it could be considered somewhat naïve to think of time banking as ideological or politically neutral. While the language may be the same the destination will be different. This belief is directly reflected in a response from an Assembly Member who suggested that the malleability of time banking should be viewed as problematic:

'...if I am being more pessimistic...you could be fearful that it is an idea that is malleable that it can be made to appeal to a wide variety of political points of view, now Cahn has tried to say this is a positive attraction that it is non-ideological and capable of being adopted by different persuasions...I don't think there is any such thing as a non-ideological point of view...so if I am fearful for time banking it would be ...it can be vulnerable to predators who think that looks like a good idea we can snatch it and make it do something that we want it to do' (Assembly Member, personal communication).

As stated by Gregory (2010b: 16), if the then Coalition government (or, indeed, the present Conservative Government since May 2015) adopt time banking to pursue their own goals 'the term could in fact be tarnished through association with the approach as a mechanism of public sector cuts.' Putting this bluntly, if time banks are used to reduce expenditure (a criticism which was often levelled at Prime Minister Cameron's 'Big Society' agenda) the principles of time banks as a social justice tool could become undermined completely (Boyle et al 2006). Co-production, used in this way, could result in service users becoming abandoned altogether, leaving 'individuals struggling to help themselves without the social entitlement and public provision' they need (Gannon and Lawson 2009: 33). With the threat that time banking could be adopted by the Westminster Government as a mechanism to create 'efficiency co-production' and not 'efficacy co-production', it is important, then, that time banking organisations have a strong sense about what they are promoting and why:

‘...the tension is always between making sure you stay true to the basic principles and philosophies and ideas that created this organisation...and yet having to provide a service that is being paid for by somewhere else...if you are paying the piper the piper will be playing your tune...the good organisation...have a very strong sense of what those founding principles mean and where the line has to be drawn...*Together* will have to be similarly secure, so they don’t end up diluting time banking so much that it is no longer recognisable’ (Assembly Member, personal communication).

With the above in mind, as Gregory (2012a: 38) argues, it is important to ‘...know the underpinning intentions of developing co-production and not just accept that the use of the word simply means creating new service user/provider relationships’; there are different motives and end goals at play. Not everyone who supports time banks will do so with the intention of developing efficacy co-production. Time banking could be used for austerity measures. With this in mind a central question of this thesis is what are the aims of organisations implementing time banking in Wales? Do different actors have their different motivations? Having discussed the potential threat of the malleability of time banking and the underlying principles of co-production, the chapter will now flesh out the specificities of the Welsh approach to time banking.

4.3 Time Banking in Wales

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Welsh approach to time banking (Gregory 2012b), also known as the P2A model (NEF 2008b), differs from Cahn’s original P2P approach (mentioned in the previous chapter). Instead of directly volunteering services to another member of the community, in a cyclical fashion, those participating in the ‘Welsh model’ volunteer their services in a range of different activities through an organisation that acts as a ‘host’. The community organisation or agency, usually establishes the time bank with the specific intention of achieving its own goals. Participants are offered time credits for their voluntary contributions, which can be used to access events and services provided by the organisation or local partners. For example,

when a school hosts a time bank, pupils are rewarded with time credits for volunteering their time to activities in the school. Time credits can then be used to take part in trips and events put on by the school. In some cases they can also be used to access a range of events and services in and around the community which often have unused resources and spare capacity. Thus the exchange here differs slightly from the P2P approach. Rather than exchanges being predominantly between individuals, they instead tend to involve groups of people within the organisation and/or community²⁶.

The emergence of this model over the P2P approach – which is more widespread in the USA and rest of the UK – was by no means accidental. It has been claimed by a number of key individuals who were involved in the time banking movement in Wales, that P2A time banking was developed in order to recreate a sense of mutualism and togetherness and embed this within the public and voluntary services. Accordingly two of the key actors observe:

‘...we were asking the question “Could you put mutuality through time banking back into third sector organisations and back into public services?”...all that we are trying to do is to re-invent mutualism through time banking...as a sort of humanitarian currency which embeds a lot of those principles, which is you’re a member, I’m a member, we have collective action...so that was the appeal...that there was a way of using this new instrument to re-connect with that mutual movement of the past but to take it out of the P2P cosy bottle and to say ok, perhaps you should try and embed this...within a certain agency, whether the service provider be in the public sector or whether the service provider be in the voluntary or the third sector’ (former CEO of WICC, personal communication).

‘it’s pretty much about the mutual delivery of services I think is the heart of the Welsh model...so we’re looking for the mutual delivery of services’ (CEO of *Together*, personal communication).

²⁶ Although the P2A model is seen as originating in Wales and is the only model that operates in this location (Gregory 2012b), it should be appreciated that it is not exclusive to Wales. This model of time banking also operates across the UK and in the United States in conjunction with Cahn’s original model (Gregory 2012b).

A central idea is that P2A time banking, whilst retaining the principles of the traditional approach to time banking, adapts the way it operates slightly in order to recreate mutualism and collective action in communities and also bring mutualism into public and community services shifting the current dichotomous culture in which they operate. This model of time banking is arguably rooted strongly in the approach to policy making that has come to typify a devolved Wales. The next section elaborates on aspects of Welsh Government policymaking and highlights how this political context might provide (or in some cases has already provided) fertile ground for the uptake of time banking.

4.3.1 The political landscape of Wales

Over the last century and a half, unlike Westminster, the politics in Wales has remained *chiefly* left wing (Drakeford and Gregory 2011). For instance, the former First Minister of Wales has claimed that ‘the actions of the Welsh Assembly Government clearly owe more to the traditions of Titmuss, Tawney, Beveridge and Bevan than those of Hayek and Friedman’ (Morgan 2002). A central motivation for the devolution of Wales was that it would enable ‘the development of radically different social policies’ (Mooney et al 2006: 483) more in-tune with the country’s political and ideological character (Chaney and Drakeford 2004). Not surprisingly then, a number of academics have argued that devolution has allowed for the distinctiveness of Welsh policy making (Chaney and Drakeford 2004; Drakeford 2007; Drakeford and Gregory 2011). The ‘clear red water’ as it has been dubbed (Morgan 2002) refers to the divergence in policy (and perhaps ideology) between Westminster and the National Assembly of Wales. Drakeford (2007)²⁷ believes this can be seen in a number of core principles that underpin policy formation. He distinguishes eight key policy strands, of which six are outlined here,

²⁷ It is worth noting that Drakeford is not just an academic but also a Welsh politician. He is the Minister for Health and Social Services in Wales; an appointment made following a cabinet reshuffle in 2013 and has been the Welsh Labour Assembly Member for Cardiff West since 2011.

1. *Good government is good for you.* The basic principle advocated by Wales is that government is essential for the well being of society and its citizens. This runs counter to the neoliberal standpoint most famously discussed in the work of Hayek (and notoriously endorsed by Margaret Thatcher) that government does best when it does least. Rather than being useful, Hayek argued that public services were a hindrance, causing rather than solving many social problems. The Welsh Government rejects this premise. Instead they value the role government plays in supporting and protecting the public
2. *Progressive universalism.* The Welsh Government supports providing services for all, rather than specific sections or groups of the population. For instance, everyone in Wales is entitled to free prescriptions and every child in Wales has access to free swimming in school holidays. The Welsh Government avoids means testing where possible with the view that those policies which are 'reserved for poor people, very quickly become poor services' (Drakeford 2007: 173). The progressive element comes from a commitment to strengthen universal provision so that additional help on top of those universal measures is given to those who need it most. For instance, the Child Trust Fund (before it was abolished by the Coalition Government in 2010) was an example of progressive universalism. Every child born between September 2002 and 2 January 2011 was given £250 by the government to set up a trust fund. An additional £250 (£500 in total) was given to the Child's Trust Fund, if the child belonged to a low earning household. Wales promotes progressive universalism, with the belief that it combines 'the advantages of the classic welfare state with some of the benefits claimed for targeting' (Drakeford 2007: 175).
3. *Cooperation as opposed to competition.* The design, delivery and improvement of public services should be based on cooperation

rather than competition. This position is made clear in the document *Making the Connections* (WAG 2004) where collaboration and collective action are valued throughout. Furthermore, not only should a cooperation-based model be adopted at an organisational level, it should also operate between service users and providers. Reciprocity should be central to public services in Wales and they should co-produce.

4. *Ethics of citizenship*. The Welsh Government believes that everyone in society has talents and these should be recognised. Rather than promoting individual choice, a collective voice should be developed, so that everyone benefits rather than solely the most economically privileged, as tends to be the case when market driven services are promoted.
5. *High-trust not low-trust relationships*. This proposition is that service users and providers should co-produce services together. Unlike consumer, market driven services, which are based on low-trust relationships, services that prioritise cooperation are built around trust and high-trust relationships are essential for co-production to flourish.
6. *Greater equality of outcome*. This is a proposition endorsed by the former First Minister who believed that, due to the injustice inequality creates, equality of outcomes should be pursued over equality of opportunity.

A number of these core principles underpinning policy formation in Wales are emulated, to some extent, in time banking discourse. Like Welsh policymaking, the principle of cooperation as opposed to competition is viewed as central to time banking. Cahn (2000a) believed that many of society's problems were exacerbated because market values of competition were applied to areas they should not be, such as community support. He

argued that, instead, community members should be brought together to collectively solve problems. Similarly an ethic of citizenship is just as important. Rather than positioning service users as recipients, he believed that everyone in society should be recognised as an asset and with something to contribute. Thus central to both time banking and Welsh Government policymaking is the importance of participation, reciprocity and equality.

The belief that the Welsh Government has a set of distinctive policy making principles that are similar to the claims made for time banking and that these could thus potentially provide an environment ripe for the uptake of time banking is reflected in the quotation below from an interview with a Welsh Government Assembly member. This avid supporter of the time banking movement suggests that the policy environment in Wales is better suited to the P2A model:

‘Post devolution you can see the emergence of a distinctive Welsh policy making approach²⁸...The Welsh Government has applied a belief in the force of government to do good...when it does well it is part of the solution not part of the problem. That’s not a view shared...by...the people who are in power in London at the moment, who undoubtedly position government as part of the problem rather than the solution...a belief that services should be based on the collective interest of citizens rather than the individualistic interest of consumers...A belief in participation...and overarching it all a belief in equality of outcome rather than equality of opportunity...Does that make a particularly sympathetic context to time banking?...In some ways it does...I don’t think it’s especially connected to the sort of individual model of time banking...you know just one-to-one interaction...I think the Welsh approach is more sympathetic to sort of the collective approaches to time banking of the sort that we have seen more of in Wales. It’s a government that has believed in collective solutions to collective problems, it has believed in trying to design those problems from the perspective of the people who have experienced them most sharply and most closely at hand’ (Assembly Member, personal communication).

²⁸ The interviewee suggests that while devolution enabled these policy principles to be realised in practice, they had far deeper roots in Welsh ideology. He stated that ‘I don’t think it started with devolution you can see lots of these things going back over a century. I think it draws on a whole heritage but was in a better position to make that heritage effective.

Here then, it is suggested that the Welsh model of time banking – the P2A model – is an approach that fits within a Welsh context. A link is made between P2A time banking and the Welsh Government aims around collective action and citizen-centred models of service delivery, both of which have been well established in the Welsh Government’s key policy document *Making the Connections* (WAG 2004) and successive documents (WAG 2006). *Making the Connection* highlights a commitment to promoting collaboration between service users and providers, so that services are designed and delivered together. It asserts that, ‘a collaborative model fits better with Wales...Welsh values and attitudes and sense of ownership in our public services’ (WAG 2004: 4). It directly relates to the policy strands outlined above (numbers 3 and 4 specifically). It states that ‘every citizen must have the opportunity to contribute to the social and economic life of Wales’ (WAG 2004: 9). Co-production thus appears to be central to public service development in Wales. In the succeeding document, *Delivering Beyond Boundaries* (WAG 2006), the aims of transforming services are reiterated with a pledge to put ‘the citizens first.’ It is claimed this pledge is rooted in an ethic of citizenship, the belief that everyone in society has talents and rather than viewing people as ‘passive recipients’ of services, that they should be seen as vital contributors. The document prioritised reciprocity, which is viewed as vital in planning and delivering services. It shows a commitment to collective voice over individual choice and ‘finding ways of giving people a stronger voice in their communities’

The link between time banking and Welsh Government policy – and specifically those ideas observed in *Making the Connections* (WAG 2004) – has also been made by those outside the Welsh Government as is evident in the following statements:

‘Government policy in Wales is really designed in a way which would promote time banking...so the whole citizen-focused services...is based around engagement, participation and collective voice...through the idea of citizens focused services time banking could be developed and I

think that's where the interest has come from through the Welsh perspective' (Academic researcher, personal communication).

'I think one of the things that time banking seems to hit into for the Welsh Government is around this idea of mutual services...how do we support local communities to be delivering services but also building communities and I think the background in the ethos of time banking fits to that. I think there is also that sense of the Welsh Government likes to see themselves as quite distinct from some of the English political thinking...around commissioning and I think some of the work, the earlier work that the Welsh Government did around *Making the Connections* and that sense of voice rather than choice, I think they see time banking as being able to hit into some of those things' (CEO of *Together*, personal communication).

Both the academic researching time banking and the CEO of a time banking organisation in Wales believe that a number of the ideas that underpin Welsh policy (and both refer specifically to *Making the Connections*) are conducive to time banking. Both P2A time banking and the Welsh Government promote collective action and a collective voice, encourage participation and make services more collaborative so that users and providers are working together in a more reciprocal relationship. It was suggested that time banking has been adopted by the Welsh Government, and could be further endorsed, as a means for delivering some of their aims around citizen-focused services.

A commitment to developing time banking in Wales was explicitly shown in the Welsh Labour Party's 2011 Manifesto. The manifesto stated it would support the introduction of time banking as a tool to help enable 'local people to develop their communities' and empower people 'within communities to come together, highlight problems and collectively look for solutions' (Welsh Labour 2011: 78). Rather than supporting the development of P2P time banking – where members use the time they have earned to access services directly given from other members of the time bank – the Manifesto clearly favours the Welsh approach. This can be witnessed in the statement that time banking

...rewards the contribution people can make to their locality by giving them access to a social, educational or cultural events in return for the time they give (Welsh Labour 2011: 78).

In a 'Questions to The First Minister' session in July 2011, an Assembly Member brought up the pledge to develop time banking in the Labour Manifesto. He mentioned how a number of Communities First schemes had 'taken a highly successful lead in the development of time banking across a whole range of key services.' He then asked whether the First Minister would bring these to 'the attention of Ministers so that the contribution that time banking can make to both community and service development can be felt across the Welsh Government?' In response, the First Minister stated that they were 'committed to supporting the development of time banking' which he said would be done partly 'through the next phase of Communities First.' Thus an on-going commitment to support the development of time banking in communities does seem to stand in Wales. Placing time banking within the remit of Communities First, a Welsh Government programme designed to support people living in the most disadvantaged areas in Wales, would also seem to indicate a strong commitment to developing a social justice agenda, particularly relating to marginal communities. Communities First works with community members, organisations, local businesses and agencies with the aim of contributing to alleviating persistent poverty²⁹. Mutuality is an essential feature of the programme. Developing time banking in Wales is therefore carried out in support of these egalitarian motives. Equally there is another policy area relevant to this study that has a distinctive Welsh flavour. It is to this area, namely youth policy that we now turn.

4.3.2 Youth policy making in Wales

Given that the focus of this thesis is on the development of a youth-based time bank in Wales, it is helpful to outline the particularities of the policy

²⁹ As will be discussed in Chapters Five and Seven, the time bank that is the focus of this research is located in a Communities First area and received funding through a Communities First specific funding stream.

approach that has developed in Wales in relation to young people. Akin to Welsh policymaking in general, explicit policies in relation to Welsh children and young people also have a distinctive flavour. Indeed since the 1998 First Government of Wales Act, nearly all policy directed explicitly at children and young people has been 'made in Wales' (Butler 2011: 131). It is claimed that Children and Youth policy is firmly embedded in a rights-based agenda and is built upon the premise that young people are entitled to participate in all decisions that affect them (Haines 2010; Drakeford 2010; Butler 2011; Butler and Drakeford 2013). In order to understand the development of this approach to youth policy making in Wales, it is necessary to cast one's mind back to the emergence of a brand new devolved Wales, as it is this particular context which Butler and Drakeford (2013) believe created an environment where Wales could be distinctive.

The early days of devolution were characterised by uncertainty. The newly formed Assembly had limited power and potentially conflicting imperatives as Labour fell short of an overall majority. Due to the consensual basis on which the new government sought to run, there was a strong need to secure cross-party support in areas where they could be radical and effective. The well being of children and young people was an area that matched these criteria. It was one where devolution saw the transfer of many powers. As devolution produced a new institution made up of entirely new ministers, an interest in, or history of, working with children and young people was a topic that brought a number of politicians together.

It is this fusion of people, politics and policy that Butler and Drakeford (2013) believed placed children and young people on the top of the political agenda. One of the first indications of this, they observe, was signalled in the appointment of a Children's Commissioner for Wales. The need for a

Children's Commissioner had been a long time in the making³⁰. The Commissioner functions as an independent children's rights institution; to safeguard and promote the rights and welfare of children and young people in Wales and pay due regard to the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

At the same time, in 2000, the Welsh strategic document *Extending Entitlement: Supporting Young People in Wales* (WAG 2000) was published. This became a seminal policy document for devolved Wales and just two years later became 'explicitly policy focused' (Haines 2010: 234). Its primary aim was to unite and strengthen youth policy and practice in Wales.

It proposed a series of unconditional entitlements, which, as far as possible, were free at the point of use and were to be made available to every young person aged 11-15 living in Wales. These were:

1. education, training and work experience – tailored to their needs;
2. basic skills which open doors to a full life and promote social inclusion;
3. a wide and varied range of opportunities to participate in volunteering and active citizenship;
4. high quality, responsive, and accessible services and facilities;
5. independent, specialist careers advice and guidance and student support and counselling services;
6. personal support and advice – where and when needed and in appropriate formats – with clear ground rules on confidentiality;
7. advice on health, housing benefits and other issues provided in accessible and welcoming settings;

³⁰ It is proposed that the creation of a Child's Commissioner for Wales came directly out of a response to the Waterhouse enquiry (2000) - a highly politicised investigation into cases of child abuse in North Wales (Hill 2007). However, Butler and Drakeford (2013) disagree. They point to the case in England as evidence that the position did not have to be so readily adopted. The publication of the *Lost in Care* report (which set out a number of recommendations in response to the Waterhouse investigations) simply helped justify its inception.

8. recreational and social opportunities in a safe and accessible environment;
9. sporting, artistic, musical and outdoor experiences to develop talents, broaden horizons and promote rounded perspectives including both national and international contexts, and;
10. the right to be consulted, to participate in decision-making, and to be heard on all matters which concern them or have an impact on their lives.

Extending Entitlements is embedded in a child rights agenda (Drakeford 2010; Haines 2010). A commitment to this approach was also witnessed in the Welsh Government's initial endorsement of the UNCRC in the Children and Young People's Framework for Partnership (Welsh Government 2000) and then further emulated in 2004 when the Welsh Government, within the limits of its power, formally adopted the UNCRC as the basis of all its policy-making for children and young people. The UNCRC has become the foundation on which children and youth policy in Wales is constructed. It is built upon the premise that young people are entitled to participate in all decisions that affect them (Drakeford 2010; Haines 2010; Butler 2011; Butler and Drakeford 2013).

Extending Entitlements, in part, was produced in response to a report published by The Social Exclusion Unit (2000), which sought to transform the way in which young people were thought about. It presented an opportunity for each country in the UK to produce documents outlining the ways they planned to create better futures for young people. For England the document that followed was *Every Child Matters: Change for Children* (Department for Education and Skills 2004). The main objective outlined in *Every Child Matters* was to increase the prospects and life chances of young people through the creation of more opportunities. However, despite some progressive goals such as a promise to eradicate child poverty (Evans et al 2010), as Haines

(2010: 233) points out, the term ‘opportunity’ (which featured heavily in the document) ‘in the English context is not politically neutral and is wedded to the notion of responsibility.’ In *Every Child Matters* the onus was very much on the child to take advantage of these opportunities. This is in stark contrast to the discourses favoured in *Extending Entitlements*, which places the emphasis on ensuring that adults provide more services and opportunities for young people (Drakeford 2010). Thus it was the production of these documents that exposed the ‘apparent’³¹ divergence between the two countries’ approaches to young people (Drakeford 2010; Haines 2010).

In light of this it has been argued that youth policy in Wales – which sees young people as rights holders – can be situated in the distinctive approach to policy-making that the Rhodri Morgan administration (2000-2009) adopted at a more general level (Drakeford 2010; Butler and Drakeford 2013). The core principles of this ‘clear red water’ (Morgan 2002) agenda that were outlined above³² are indicative of this approach. Indeed Butler and Drakeford (2013) draw upon a number of these features explicitly when discussing the developments of youth policy in Wales. They argue that a rights-based approach that has been favoured in Wales is focused on

...what children and young people can do for themselves, for each other and for the communities in which they live. It focuses on their strengths and not their weaknesses and/or deficits...It adopts a language of justice, equality and participation rather than a language of competition, business and consumerism. The model of children and young people it deploys is confident, positive, imaginative and optimistic (Butler and Drakeford 2013: 17).

Thus the development of youth policy in Wales, at least at the level of rhetoric, appears to be constructed around a reconceptualised vision of young people (in comparison to that outlined at the beginning of the previous chapter). It is one that clearly holds the UNCRC in high regard and has its

³¹ The term apparent has been used here as, as will be shortly shown not everyone is convinced that England and Wales are as divergent in their practices as Drakeford (2010) and Haines (2010) claim.

³² See pp.74-76

roots in a particular set of ideological principles which Butler and Drakeford (2013: 18) associate with ‘Welsh radicalism and...democratic socialism of Welsh Labour.’

It is this distinctive Welsh youth policy agenda that – like general policy making in Wales – appears to have many direct overlaps with the claims made for time banking and its normative underpinnings of co-production. The parallels in discourse and ideology between the two can be witnessed explicitly in Butler and Drakeford’s (2013) remarks. For instance, both emphasise the importance of equality over competition, they focus on people’s strengths and not their weaknesses and they are committed to creating a positive image of people as assets who are able to contribute to society. Indeed, some advocates have promoted youth time banking in Wales³³ with this linkage in mind. These proponents claim that youth time banking builds on Welsh policies which position young people as valuable members of society who have talents that can be drawn upon to improve community life. They believe that time banking achieves these policy imperatives by enabling young people to have more involvement in the design and delivery of services and valuing the contributions young people are willing to make.

However, despite this apparent unison between time banking and the Welsh government’s policy aims surrounding young people, the relationship between the two should not be taken at face value. As shown above time banking can be used for opposing purposes. A similar statement was made by a youth justice academic who said time banking could be championed for different reasons dependent on the underlying agendas:

...you could do the Time Banking thing in a way I would see as being commensurate with the principles of Children First/Extended

³³ The citation was taken from a time banking organisation based in Wales. Given the limited number of time banking organisations operating in Wales the reference has been omitted for purposes of anonymity.

Entitlement, but you can also do it in a way that doesn't do that...It's much more about the things that go on "underneath" a programme (Youth justice academic, personal communication)

While the philosophies and principles behind time banking seem to resonate with the Welsh government's rhetoric around assets, equality and cooperation, whether or not these principles are upheld or prioritised by public services or organisations when deciding to implement time banking needs further attention. For instance, as shown in the previous chapter on youth participation, there are many different reasons to increase the participatory actions of young people. While for Wales an emphasis on young people's rights and a greater steer towards youth participation appears to have its roots in an empowerment and emancipatory agenda, not all efforts to involve young people are embedded in the same belief. For instance, the responsabilisation discourses highlighted in England's policy document *Every Child Matters*, could suggest other motives. As noted in the previous chapter, youth is a highly governed phase of life. Participation could be seen as another governing strategy, adopted as a technique to encourage young people to regulate their own behaviours (Bessant 2003; Prout 2003).

At the same time, we should be wary of exaggerating the difference between the practices of the Welsh Government and those found of the former Coalition Government. Indeed much discussion by politicians and academics in Wales (Drakeford 2010; Haines 2010; Butler and Drakeford 2013) could be said to be guilty of conceptual slippage between the policy rhetoric (in terms of talking about and 'talking up' young people's rights) and actual practices and outcomes (in terms of achieving these rights). A similar claim has been suggested in an interview with a leading youth policy expert, who has had much influence on youth policy in Wales, England and Europe. While he acknowledges the Welsh Government's progressive language and desire to be distinctive, he argues that in practice they are not so different:

I think there is a distinctive youth policy philosophy [in Wales], I think implementation and application is very patchy and often non-existent. So there's a lot of warm words about children's rights, children's rights measures, entitlements...when the Welsh Assembly Government was first established in 1999, there was a genuine desire to create a 'Wales together'...that was rather distinctive...it had the first Play policy, the first Children's Commissioner and so on...however I get more and more despondent about...the complete lack of any sense of strategic direction coming from the Welsh Government...it really isn't that different from most other places (Youth policy expert, personal communication).

This perspective is supported by Muncie (2011) who suggests that it is important to look at the whole policy process in order to get a better understanding of policy divergence and convergence (specifically, he focuses on youth justice policy across the four nations of the United Kingdom). There are inherent tensions and contradictions between policy as 'rhetoric', 'codification' and 'implementation' (Ferguson 2007, in Muncie 2011: 52). Thus, differences (or similarities) in policy between Wales and England are best understood as the product of a number of forces/influences, such as: what is considered publicly as politically credible, what can be articulated into a policy directive and endure public scrutiny and how policy documents are understood and implemented by street-level bureaucrats (Ferguson 2007, in Muncie 2011).

With all this in mind, linked to the question outlined above, the thesis will seek to explore the suggested purpose(s) for creating the time banks and identify earlier outcomes associated with young people's involvement in the time bank. It will examine to what extent the aims of the time bank appear to be embedded in a Welsh rhetoric and to what extent these goals are realised. Given that *Extending Entitlements* was the seminal policy document for young people in Wales and is said to embody the rights-based approach, this thesis will seek to explore whether in practice time banks help realise the visions of *Extending Entitlements* outlined by the Welsh Government.

4.4 Conclusion

Time banking is politically malleable. It is used in different contexts, endorsed by different political persuasions. This is because the philosophy underpinning time banking (co-production) can be appropriated by differing political ideologies. Although this mass appeal has been seen by some (the CEO of *Together* for example) as a positive attribute leading to the growth of time banking, a potential consequence could be an unclear vision of the purpose of time banks. More worryingly, as suggested by Gregory (2010b), if time banking was used by the previous Coalition Government to reduce public expenditure, the principle of time banks as a social justice tool could be undermined entirely. With this in mind, a central aim of the research (as noted in the previous chapter) is to explore the aim(s) for creating the time bank. The thesis will explore whether aims are embedded in notions of co-production and in what way co-production is conceptualised. It will also explore what the organisational motives are for implementing the time bank and whether these are shared across the various actors including those located outside the school.

The second part of this chapter focused specifically on locating time banking within the Welsh context. It was shown that a number of core principles underpinning policy formation in Wales resonated with the time banking discourse. The P2A model of time banking that was developed in the South Wales valleys was an approach that appeared to align most closely with a number of the Welsh Government's policy aims, specifically around collective action and citizen-centred models of service delivery, not least in those areas and neighbourhoods suffering from multiple forms of deprivation (including Westside, where the school time bank is located). Similarly the youth policy approach that has been favoured in Wales (at least at the level of rhetoric), which places emphasis on promoting young people's rights, again shows a number of overlaps with the philosophies underpinning time banking.

With all this said, it was noted that these links should not be taken at face value. While the philosophies and principles behind time banking do resonate with the Welsh Government's policy discourse, whether or not these principles are upheld or prioritised in practice when developing time banks needs further attention. As such it was suggested that one of the Welsh Government's policy document, *Extending Entitlements*, would be used as an 'analytical tool'; the thesis could explore whether in practice the time bank helped extend young people's entitlements.

CHAPTER FIVE: SPENDING TIME WITH YOUNG PEOPLE: THE RESEARCH STRATEGY AND PROCESS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to take the reader on my 'research journey.' It gives a detailed account of the research design (5.2) and the research process. It outlines the research questions guiding the research, and includes an explanation of the choice of setting, the selection of methods (5.3), participants and the approach taken to analysing the data (5.4). Whilst outlining the research process, attention is given also to the ethical considerations (5.5) made throughout the research and the importance of reflexivity to the research process.

The research was a qualitative mixed-method case study of a school-based time bank conducted from November 2010 to August 2012. The principal aim of the research was to provide an in-depth understanding of the implementation and operation of this youth-focused time bank. It aimed to give a voice to the young people who participated in the time bank and gain a better insight into their experiences. The research is policy-oriented in the broadest sense of the word; in effect it is concerned with a sociology of the policy process. It seeks to capture the reality of a policy unfolding. It does this by examining why the time bank was created, how agendas were set and how decisions were made and implemented (Nutley and Webb 2000). It moves beyond policy talk to find out how a new initiative is translated from ideas into action. It seeks to understand how theories of time banking and co-production are adopted and adapted by policy entrepreneurs and whether these are embedded in practice. The research strategy is informed by existing theory but is also generative and adaptive in nature (Layder 1998).

The core questions guiding the research which in part have been developed from the three chapters preceding but also (as will be discussed) have emerged through exposure to the field, are:

1. What are the underlying aims for implementing a youth time bank and are these embedded in notions of co-production?
2. Are there any contextual or organisational factors that promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking or co-production?
3. What motivates young people to participate in time banks and how do they get involved?
4. Are there any positive outcomes for young people who participated in the time bank – specifically, can time banking participation extend young people’s entitlements?
5. What is the nature of participation with the context of youth time banking and can youth time banks achieve co-production?

What now follows is a discussion of the research design and methodological rationale, which enabled me to answer these questions.

5.2 Research Design and Qualitative Data

5.2.1 Case study design

The research process began with the consideration of an appropriate research design. This is important as the research design offers a ‘framework for the generation of evidence’ (Bryman 2004: 27). A number of factors informed the decision regarding which design was most appropriate. These included the nature of my topic area and my research aims, the pragmatic considerations regarding the accessibility of data collection and my own epistemological preferences (Gilbert 2008).

Before commencing the thesis, I had conducted some previous research for my Masters dissertation, which focused on the early inception of a time bank.

The former study was broadly concerned with discovering the underlying aims for implementing a time bank. The doctoral research allowed continuation of this exploration. Having already built a rapport with a number of gatekeepers, and discussed the potential for further research for my doctorate, I was confident that I would have more or less immediate access to the cases. Having unique access, where I would be able to plot the development of a time bank in a concrete setting in 'real time' was the guiding factor underpinning the research. As Yin (1989: 13) explains the distinctive feature of a case study is it allows a researcher to 'investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context'. Consequently, as well as pragmatism, this particular design also fitted well with my research aims. I was concerned with gaining a better appreciation of the experiences of those involved in time banks, as well as understanding how this linked to processes of implementation. As such a case study design was appropriate as it enabled me to explore these issues by conducting an in-depth analysis of a time bank.

Situating the case: Westside Story

The case could be considered an 'exemplifying case.' Bryman (2004) defines exemplifying cases as ones that are not picked because they are particularly unique or atypical; in this instance it was only unique insofar that it enabled access from the early stages of the development through to complete implementation. Rather, exemplifying cases allow an appropriate situation for a set of questions to be explored (Bryman 2004: 51). They allow one to focus on 'key social processes'; here the focus is on how and why the time banks were implemented in the schools and the operation and implications of one of these time banks.

Initially the case study was made up of two sites³⁴; two secondary schools both piloting time banks. The secondary schools – Bryn Secondary and Field High – both belonged to the same community in South Wales and were both

³⁴ As the research developed, attention turned primarily to Bryn Secondary. A number of reasons affected this decision which are outlined below when discussing access.

part of a wider time banking pilot project led by *Together*.³⁵ While it was the time banks, rather than the schools, per se, that were of direct interest in the study it is necessary to give some details of the schools and community in which the time banks are located in order to get a better understanding of the context in which they were being implemented.

Bryn Secondary is a state school, with 589 pupils between the ages of 11 and 18, including 28 students in sixth form. Field High is a mixed school and college with 727 pupils aged 11-18 years old. 157 students are in the sixth form and of these 119 are over the age of 19. In a 2011 Estyn³⁶ inspection, Bryn Secondary's performance was categorised as 'unsatisfactory', while Field High fared slightly better, being categorised as 'adequate'³⁷. Both schools have large proportions of pupils with lower than average literacy abilities. 4% and 3.5% of pupils at Bryn Secondary and Field High respectively have a statement of special educational needs – both higher than the national average of 2.6% – while 26% and 41% of pupils have special educational needs but with no statement (compared to the national average of 17.6%). Most of the pupils at Field High and 79.5% of pupils at Bryn Secondary live in the 20% most deprived areas in Wales. The proportion of pupils entitled to free school meals is much higher than the national average of 17.46%. In Bryn Secondary it is over double this figure (38%) and in Field High, it is the second largest figure in Wales (49.1%).

Both schools are located in 'Westside', a large community in South Wales that serves a Communities First³⁸ area. It was once regarded as the largest council estate in Europe, owing to its rapid expansion of new homes built at

³⁵ For reasons of anonymity the number of time banks and the exact localities of these time banks are not disclosed. The names of the community, schools, time banking organisation and people who took part in the study have all been given pseudonyms to protect their identity (see section 5.5 of this chapter). Given that only a few time banking organisations operate in Wales, the names of other Welsh time banking organisations have also been omitted.

³⁶ Education Inspectorate for Wales.

³⁷ Estyn's categorisation ranges from 'Outstanding' through to 'Good', 'Adequate' and 'Unsatisfactory'.

³⁸ Communities First is a Welsh Government area-based programme introduced in 2001 to support the most disadvantaged people in the top 10 most deprived areas of Wales with the aim of contributing to the alleviation of persistent poverty.

the end of the First World War. Despite building houses that were considered 'homes fit for heroes', Westside remains a community that suffers some of the highest levels of deprivation. According to the 2011 Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) that assesses communities on various socio-economic levels, it is amongst the 10% most deprived communities in Wales. The index ranks 1,896 Welsh Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA's) in terms of their levels of deprivation, based on an assessment of several 'domains': income; employment; education, skills and training; health; community safety; geographical access to services; housing; and physical environment. The LSOA with the highest level of overall deprivation in Westside ranked 23rd out of the 1,896 (within the top 1.2% in Wales). Deprivation levels across the majority domains of the WIMD are consistently high. The LSOAs with the lowest level of income, community safety, education, skills and training and health ranked 4th, 5th, 9th and 22nd in Wales respectively. The only WIMD domains that did not feature overwhelmingly in the lowest 10% were 'geographical access to services' and 'physical environment'.

Westside is frequently depicted as a community that is characterised by poverty, criminality and youth delinquency. Since riots in the early 1990s the community has found it difficult to rid itself of the image of a fractured community. However, there is a shared view within the community that Westside is unfairly judged and that young people in particular attract a lot of undue stigmatisation. 'The residents of Westside are keen to dispel this reputation, citing the fact it is a very large, close knit community' (newspaper article³⁹). In an effort to combat this situation, and as a consequence of the index ranking, a Welsh Government initiative 'Communities First' was introduced to the area. This scheme works within communities that suffer from high levels of relative deprivation – like Westside – to improve the lives of residents and tackle the issues that damage the community. There are signs in recent years that across some of the WIMD domains things are

³⁹ Citation omitted; see footnote above.

improving, albeit slowly and not uniformly, within Westside. This is the broader set of socio-economic and cultural conditions and indeed webs of social inter-dependencies within which the schools and in turn the time banks are 'nested'.

[A note on generalisability](#)

While the case study seemed the most appropriate design for enabling an in-depth exploration of time banking it should be noted that case study designs are not without their criticisms. A common criticism of case studies is that they are unable to produce generalisable findings as they hold little external validity. However, like many other proponents of the case study, I would argue that I fully recognise that the case I studied cannot be used as a typical case representative of all youth time banks. Generalisability is not the purpose of this design. Rather it is the relatability of case studies that render them worthwhile (Bassegy 1981). Case studies have their own place in the canon of usable knowledge. The research aimed at generating an empirical analysis guided by existing theory and adapted in light of new findings (Layder 1998). I accumulated knowledge that has built on existing case studies (Boyle and Smith 2005; Gregory 2009, 2012b; Naughton-Doe 2011) and, through intensive examination of a specific time banks, I have generated empirical data that provides a rich, contextualised understanding and further develops the knowledge base on youth-specific time banks. As Becker states 'the in-depth study of specific cases...produces new questions whose answers in particular cases can help...[the researcher] and others understand what's going on in the social world (2014: 3).

5.2.2 Qualitative methodology

As the research was exploratory in nature and aimed to conduct intensive examinations of two time banks, a qualitative strategy was deemed most appropriate. Although case studies are not limited to producing qualitative data, this does tend to be the favoured form of evidence as they are likely to

generate a more in-depth, holistic understanding of the case. Both case studies and qualitative methods lend themselves to an ideographic, rather than nomothetic approach. That is, they allow for a detailed explanation of a single case, enabling the researcher to generate knowledge that is situated and contextual. As the case was the object of interest in its own right, a qualitative design helped provided an in-depth elucidation of the case. The use of qualitative methods was further supported by Ritchie and Ormaston (2014: 33) who claim that they 'can reveal many factors that shape a programme or service, which may not be accessible through quantitative methods.' They can help gain insight into the culture of the organisation, the relationships and interactions between those providing services and those receiving services (Ritchie and Spencer 2002). Qualitative methods assisted in generating a detailed understanding of the time banks and how one in particular operated in practice. They provided a 'theory of social action grounded on the experiences...of those likely to be affected by [the] policy' (Walker 1985: 19).

Through on-going observation and 'conversations with a purpose' in the specific case, I aimed to understand the meanings which actors gave to their everyday experience of time banking. I undertook the research with an appreciation of *Verstehen* (Weber 1964) which I take as recognising the importance of understanding people's actions and motives. Rather than seeing the social world as 'out there' and able to be explored independently of people's action, actions are recognised as products of society and its members; in order to understand these, they must be interpreted within the context of their lives (Seale 2004). The research is broadly located within an interpretivist epistemology. This does not mean that findings are simply the interpretations given by participants. I, as a researcher, subsequently interpreted participants' subjective understandings of their motivations and action in relation to wider concepts and existing theory adapting these where necessary (Layder 1998). As the research aimed to build new insights rather

than just testing existing theories, a qualitative strategy seemed best adapted to this.

Typically, qualitative case studies take the form of unstructured or semi-structured interviews, ethnographic research over sustained periods of time and/or the analysis of key documents (Bryman 2004). These methods were all utilised within the case. Additionally a participatory approach with young people was also adopted. Within this approach, data were gathered using video diaries, photo collages, interviews and focus groups all of which were chosen by the young people themselves. In adopting a multi-method approach, this enabled me to triangulate the data. Using different data sources assisted in tapping into different knowledge sources. I was able to crosscheck the findings generated, building rigour into the research design.

5.3 Data Generation

With the aim of taking the readers on my research journey this section is broadly written in a chronological fashion. Attention is given to the reasons why certain methods and approaches were adopted, the process of gaining access, sampling, and how the data was generated.

5.3.1 Ethnographic approach

Broadly speaking an ethnographic approach was utilised as one of the main instruments for collecting data within the case study. Whilst I have utilised an ethnographic approach in order to generate data, I do not claim to have done an 'ethnography' in the sense of a written piece of research. This terminology is favoured over participant observation for two reasons. First it is suggesting a toolkit of methods at the researcher's disposal. These include, but are not limited to participant observation, documentation, informal and formal conversations. Second it suggests a deeper level of 'embeddedness' that was sought by the researcher. For Hammersley and Atkinson an ethnographic approach

...in its most characteristic form involves the ethnographer participating ...in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (1995: 1).

The reasoning behind adopting this approach was twofold. First, an ethnographic approach seemed most appropriate as it allows for immersion into the chosen setting. A main aim of ethnography is to immerse oneself into the field, thus the researcher gains insiders' knowledge (Flick 2009). Through increased engagement into the time banking project, interacting with participants involved in the project and those implementing it, I was able to gain first-hand experience of the everyday running of the time bank. Furthermore, it enabled me to access the practice of time banking, rather than just hearing participants 'accounts of the practice' of time banking (Flick 2009: 222). As noted by Flick (2009: 222) one of the main reasons for adopting an ethnographic approach is

That it enables the researcher to find out how something factually works or occurs. Compared to that claim, presentations in interviews are said to comprise a mixture of how something is and how something should be, which still needs to be untangled.

Observing the environment I was studying enabled a nuanced understanding of the processes involved in implementing the time bank (more so than could have been elicited from interview techniques alone). Rather than getting participants to reflect on their experiences – as is often the case in interviews – participating in the setting enabled me to share these experiences.

However, this does not mean that interviews were viewed as redundant in the research. On the contrary, one of the 'unsung features of ethnographic research are its embrace of multiple techniques' (Wolcott 2008: 46). Consequently, a great appeal of an ethnographic approach, as with a case study design, is that it enabled me to utilise a number of different methodological strategies deemed appropriate based on my observations and insight into the field (Travers 2001).

Second, an ethnographic approach fits the exploratory nature of my research. It enabled me to embrace the inductive nature of research, welcoming research problems that arose from the field. Although I began my research with a broad aim of exploring youth time banks the core focus of my research developed with exposure to the field. While it has been asserted that research always begins with some problem or set of issues from what Malinowski refers to as 'foreshadowed problems' (in Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 24), this does not mean they are static and predefined. On the contrary, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 37) affirm that 'the development of the research problem is rarely completed before fieldwork begins.' The research questions were constantly being adapted and reformulated with exposure to the case.

Setting and access

Upon commencing my PhD my first task was to 're-enter the field'. I started by contacting Rich, a Communities First employee, the gatekeeper I first contacted when I began my previous research. As had been the case during my Masters, Rich was very supportive of my research. He informed me of the developments with the time bank since finishing my MSc research and commencing the PhD. Rich suggested I re-contact *Together*, the organisation helping to implement the time bank in the school.

It quickly became apparent that negotiating access would not be a static practice/one-off event but an on-going process and that there would be many different gatekeepers throughout the research process. It also became clear that different gatekeepers would be more approachable than others and that some gatekeepers would try to 'exercise some degree of surveillance or control' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 51). This was most stark when I met with the (now former) chief executive of *Together* (Howard) and a *Together* employee (Rhiannon) who coordinated the time banking project that I was going to focus on for my research. In this meeting we

discussed my research aims and Howard suggested that we both sign a research agreement. For Howard, a research agreement was a necessity as *Together* had recently had an 'unpleasant' experience with a researcher who had been focusing on the development of one of their projects.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) report that in ethnographic research the host community (or in this case the gatekeeper) can often position the research as either an expert or a critic. Given their previous experience, at this stage I felt I was being positioned toward 'critic' (however as I will go on to suggest, this position is not static and at times I also felt like I was being positioned as an expert, a position I also felt uncomfortable with but to a much lesser extent). Although I understood *Together's* position, I began my research in what felt like a precarious position; I felt under close scrutiny. Thus Broadhead and Rist's (1976: 325) discussion of the social control of gatekeepers resonated:

...[Gate keepers] influence the research endeavour in a number of ways: by limiting conditions of entry, by defining the problem area of study, by limiting access to data and respondents, by restricting the scope of analysis and by prerogative with respect to publication.

Despite initially only wanting to focus on one of the schools (Bryn Secondary), *Together* insisted I also focused on Field High. The rationale being the two were to become a federation in the next academic year. However, after much deliberation and six months later I decided to focus primarily on the development of the time bank in Bryn Secondary. Again this was mostly pragmatic. The Field High time bank was being implemented at a much slower pace than the Bryn Secondary time bank. My gatekeeper at Field High only worked one day a week and as the project was struggling to embed itself into the school, I found it difficult to immerse myself within the setting. Whilst focusing on two settings did allow for some fruitful comparison into the development of time banks, providing insight into the difference in

implementation (discussed in some depth in Chapter Six), Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 40) point out that

Generally speaking...the more settings studied the less time spent in each. The researcher must make a trade-off between breadth and depth of investigation.

While I draw on empirical data from both sites in the early analysis chapter when discussing the aims and implementation of the time banks (Chapters Six and Seven), only findings from the Bryn Secondary time bank are utilised when examining the participation and outcomes for young people (Chapters Eight and Nine).

On my second meeting with Rhiannon, my initial feeling of discomfort about my position as critic diminished. I was put somewhat at ease as we immediately developed a strong rapport and Rhiannon soon became my most helpful gatekeeper and key informant. She invited me to meetings, informed me about activities going on in the time bank, introduced me to the people who worked on the ground and helped arrange the research workshops I put on for the young people involved in my research (discussed further below, 5.2.3). However, access did not end there. Helen, the Community Focused Schools Coordinator, who was seconded to *Together* one day a week and was responsible for administering and managing the time bank in the school, also became a useful gatekeeper. Although rapport development was a much longer process, and for the first few months I more often than not felt like a burden, this lessened over time as Helen started to position me as someone who could provide a helping hand with time banking activities in times of need.

[Role as researcher](#)

My involvement in the time bank was varied⁴⁰. From November 2010 to July 2012 I observed and participated in a number of activities where people were

⁴⁰ See Appendix B for a compiled list of the activities I observed.

earning time credits. For instance, I spent a few days painting a community room with a group of mothers. I helped out in the garden with the pupils who were part of Gardening Club. I observed the Eco Club where the young people talked about making the school a more environmentally friendly place. I helped out with the Asdan⁴¹ students who were assisting a teacher with the Fruit and Veg Co-op. I went along to the Saturday Club, where one pupil earned time credits for helping organise the morning activities. I observed the Romance Academy where the young people, through the use of drama, reflected on how learning about sex and relationships had affected them. I went to the museum project and spoke to the young people about their preparations for the presentations they were going to give to a community group on this visit. I also went on two weekend adventure trips away with some of the young people, both of which they accessed with their time credits. In addition to this, I attended meetings and events with the coordinator of the time bank where she was trying to get people who worked in the community involved and school staff on-board with the time bank. I also met with Henry who was employed by *Together* for a few months, with the task of getting the community groups involved in the time bank. Henry allowed me to attend meetings he had set up with community members and thus I spent mornings and afternoons walking around the community and visiting community members in their homes. I went to numerous coffee shops with the coordinator of the project, drank tea and found out the upcoming plans of the project. Here she shared with me what was working, what was not and what she hoped to change.

As there were a multitude of activities and events in the time bank, it was necessary to sample these. It was important that I went to a diverse range of activities to get a more accurate picture of the time bank. However, as

⁴¹ ASDAN (Award Scheme Development and Accreditation Network) is a charitable organisation with awarding body status. They offer programmes and qualifications designed to 'accredit personal and social education, skills development and enrichment activities, mainly for the 11-25 age group'. <http://www.asdan.org.uk/>

advised by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 37) I was conscious of ‘resist[ing] the very ready temptation to try and see, hear and participate in everything.’ As illustrated I observed and took part in a number of different events, including a range of ‘time-in’ activities (where people were earning time credits), some ‘time-out’ activities (where people spent their time credits) and a number of different meetings. Additionally, I sampled a range of different ‘temporal divisions’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). These included activities during lesson time, activities held in the lunch break, activities after school and weekend activities.

Whilst ‘time-in’ activities were fairly straightforward to access, the same cannot be attributed to ‘time-out’ activities. The difficulty I faced in accessing ‘time-out’ activities, mostly reflected the nature of the project; there were fewer occasions where young people took part in ‘time-out’ activities and time credits were mostly used to access external partners, such as a visit to the leisure centre or bowling. Thus when people did use their time credits they mostly used them on ‘time-out’ activities which were located outside the perimeters of my access which extended as far as events organised by the school or time bank. With that said, the few ‘time-out’ activities I was fortunate enough to attend (as described above) did involve extended periods of time both encompassing entire weekends consisting of overnight stays.

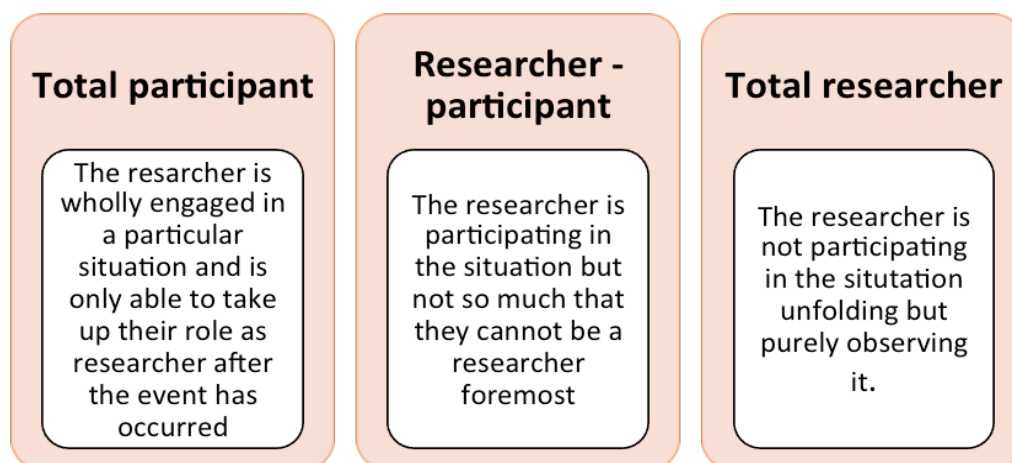
My role as researcher also varied. A number of typologies have been developed to describe the different types of roles an ethnographer may take in the research. Perhaps the most well known is Gold’s (1958) typology, including four different types of participant-observer roles placed along a continuum: complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. Adopting a role as complete participant, the researcher takes on an ‘insider role’, becoming (or acting as) a complete member of the setting one is observing; in this role their real identity remains

unknown. At the opposite end of the scale is the complete observer. In contrast to complete participation the researcher has no interaction with the people being observed. However, like the complete participant, the researcher can be overt.

Adopting either of these roles alone would make it very difficult to generate and test accounts in a rigorous manner though both may be useful strategies to adopt at particular phases of the fieldwork and in some situations may be unavoidable. Most fieldwork involves roles somewhere between these two poles (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 107).

In the research process I was located somewhere in-between. However, I was not quite a participant-as-observer, which like the complete observer, the researcher is a fully functioning member of the setting, but with their presence as a researcher being known. Neither was I simply an observer-as-participant who is primarily an observer, occasionally participating in the setting being studied. Whilst in some instances I was purely observing (for example, at some of the meetings I attended), on many occasions I was fully participating, for instance when I went on the weekend trip I was encouraged to take on an active role. I stayed up to make sure the pupils went to bed on time and acted as a chaperone for one group of students throughout the day's activities. Thus in different contexts my role changed. As such, Gans' (1968) typology is perhaps most applicable here; unlike Gold's typology where roles appear stagnant, Gans (1968) argues that the three main roles which can be adopted in ethnographic studies can exist concurrently throughout the research. At different points in the research, different roles might be more appropriate. This was certainly the case in my research. The roles Gans (1968) suggests are presented in Figure 2 as follows:

Figure 2: Typology of researcher roles



At different stages of the research and in different contexts, I played all three roles. In the early stages of the research I was more closely aligned to the latter, watching events unfold and trying to get involved. As time went on and I became more embedded in the project my role changed and I spent more time alternating between the latter two, for instance at the later stages of the research I often found myself facilitating the 'Street Team'⁴² when Helen or Rhiannon were engaged.

Although I found it necessary to switch between these roles, I felt most comfortable when I was able to participate. When this was not viable (for instance in certain meetings I attended), I felt like my presence as a researcher (either as critic or expert) was more pronounced, and I often wondered if I *should* be participating. However, most writers suggest the aim of the researcher should be to preserve marginal positions (Junker 1960). Thus in these situations, if I was to participate, this position may have been jeopardising. With this said, as participation was ultimately reliant on good

⁴² The Street Team was a 'time-in' activity where a group of time banking members met weekly in their lunch break to come up with ideas to help promote the time bank.

will, I had to be careful not to imperil this by saying 'I'm just a researcher' and becoming too detached from the research process. I tried as best as I could to position myself as 'insider-outsider' somewhere 'poised between stranger and friend' (Powdermaker 1966 and Everhart 1977, in Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 112). I was aware of not becoming too involved, or appear to become allied with the participants. However, this was not easy. As will be discussed later in the chapter, relationships formed with one participant led to problems with maintaining rapport with another participant.

Maintaining a marginal position was difficult. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) state it can be hard for one to control how others perceive your participation (on non-participation in some cases). On occasion, much to my discomfort, I felt like I was viewed as an expert. A number of extracts from my research diary highlight these instances and my uncertainty surrounding how I should have handled these situations. The first two reflections were made after attending a few meetings with Henry, a part time (short term) employee of *Together*, whose role was to get community groups interested in time banking.

I've noticed when Henry is not sure on things he looks at me. Sometimes I step in because I do know. For instance I know the name of the schools involved, some of the people in the school, the different activities and some of the external partners.

Fieldnotes, Community meeting, February 2011

Katie asked [Henry and I] "Could people get a time credit for making things to put in the garden [referring to a community garden]?" I replied "yes, surely it would work if you figured out how much time they took to do this and gave them credits based on this time." I probably shouldn't have said anything.

Fieldnotes, Community meeting, February 2011

Although I found it difficult to know how to react – or at least on direct reflection I was unsure if I had reacted correctly – these cases were informative. They revealed some degree of analytical insight into the time bank, shedding some light on how much people knew, or felt they knew about time banking.

Fieldnotes

During the fieldwork stage, I kept a record of observations through the use of fieldnotes. My fieldnotes consisted of descriptions of events, interactions, observed behaviours, conversations and my initial reflections. They provided detailed accounts of social processes and the context in which they were observed. For instance *who*, *where* and under *what circumstance* was always recorded (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) as well as how I felt in the situation. Upon commencing fieldwork, the process of writing fieldnotes was somewhat all encompassing. Unsure of what would be important, I was reluctant not to miss a thing. As fieldwork progressed and my analytical focus developed my fieldnotes had more focus (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

I aimed to write fieldnotes as soon as possible after observation. Although it is best to make fieldnotes whilst events unfold, it was not always possible to make detailed notes as they occurred (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Bryman 2004). The types of fieldnotes created depended on the context in which observations (and participation) took place. In some cases I was able to make more extensive notes, but mostly I relied on jotting of brief notes. The instrument I used again depended on the situation I was in. For instance in meetings, where other people would write notes, I found it most appropriate to use pen and paper. However in situations where people were using their mobiles (such as on the bus to a weekend trip away), it felt less intrusive to write notes on my phone.

Fieldnotes were either typed up at the end of each day or the following day into Word. I tried not to leave long periods between observed action and writing up fieldnotes, as I did not want events to be forgotten. On some occasions typing up notes consisted of almost word-for-word accounts of an event or conversation. More often the process involved re-reading jotted notes, which triggered memories of the day's observations (Emerson et al 2001).

I regularly reviewed my fieldnotes, writing memos to take note of emerging 'analytical ideas' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 191). This facilitated the progressive focus on collecting data on emergent topic areas. Moreover, the analytical notes and the reflections enabled a degree of reflexivity (see Hamersley and Atkinson 1995). By paying attention to my own position and emotions (in addition to analytical topics) I was able to reflect on the accounts I wrote. This allowed me to acknowledge that my early note takings were quite critical (focusing negatively on what people were saying and doing in relation to the time bank) I and helped me to alter my analytical gaze. I moved away from writing mostly about events that only caused some implicit emotional reaction, to focus on the more mundane social processes which had previously been overshadowed.

5.3.2 Interviews with stakeholders

After some months in the field, I decided to conduct more formal semi-structured interviews with a number of stakeholders of the project. These included two Communities First employees (Rich and Bran⁴³), the Chief Executive (CEO) of *Together* (Claire), the coordinator of the time bank (Rhiannon), the facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank (Helen), the facilitator of the Field High time bank (Dewi), the Executive Headteacher and two members of school staff (a teacher who facilitates a time banking activity, and Barbara a member of support staff). In addition to this, I was also able to interview one of the time banking member's parents.

Semi-structured interviews were employed in order to generate a more detailed understanding of why, from the research participants' perspective, the time bank was being created and to discover whether stakeholders shared similar conceptualisations and narratives or came at time banking from different angles. Semi-structured interviews are what Burgess (1984: 102) refers to as 'conversations with a purpose.' This emphasises that data

⁴³ In keeping with the BSA ethical recommendations, pseudonyms are used here to protect the identity of participants.

are generated through *discussion* between the researcher and research participants, rather than the researcher mining for data (Mason 2002) through the use of formal, systematic questioning in the search for pre-defined answers.

While semi-structured interviews do tend to follow a research guide where the researcher asks questions on topics they believe important and thus enabling an element of theory-testing, these are not rigid. Importance is placed on the flexibility of this approach, allowing scope for research participants to elaborate their own understandings, which can lead to the generation of novel insights and greater representation of their perspectives (Mason 2002). The fluidity of this method thereby enabled me to follow up on insights I had gained through observation in the field, whilst also unearthing the lived experiences of research participants, which are essential when trying to tap into knowledge that is both contextual and situational (Mason 2002).

The use of interviews in addition to participant observation is not uncommon. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 131) suggest that interviewing

...may allow one to generate information that it would be very difficult, if not impossible to obtain otherwise – both about events described and about perspectives and discursive strategies.

Thus, semi-structured interviews were part of the ethnographic tool kit enabling me to approach some questions in greater depth, reflect on observed and participated action and gain a different level of understanding.

Sampling

Research participants were selected on the basis that they were involved with the implementation of the time bank, or had some knowledge of the context in which the time bank was being created (the school or community). Thus participants were not selected at random, nor could the sample be

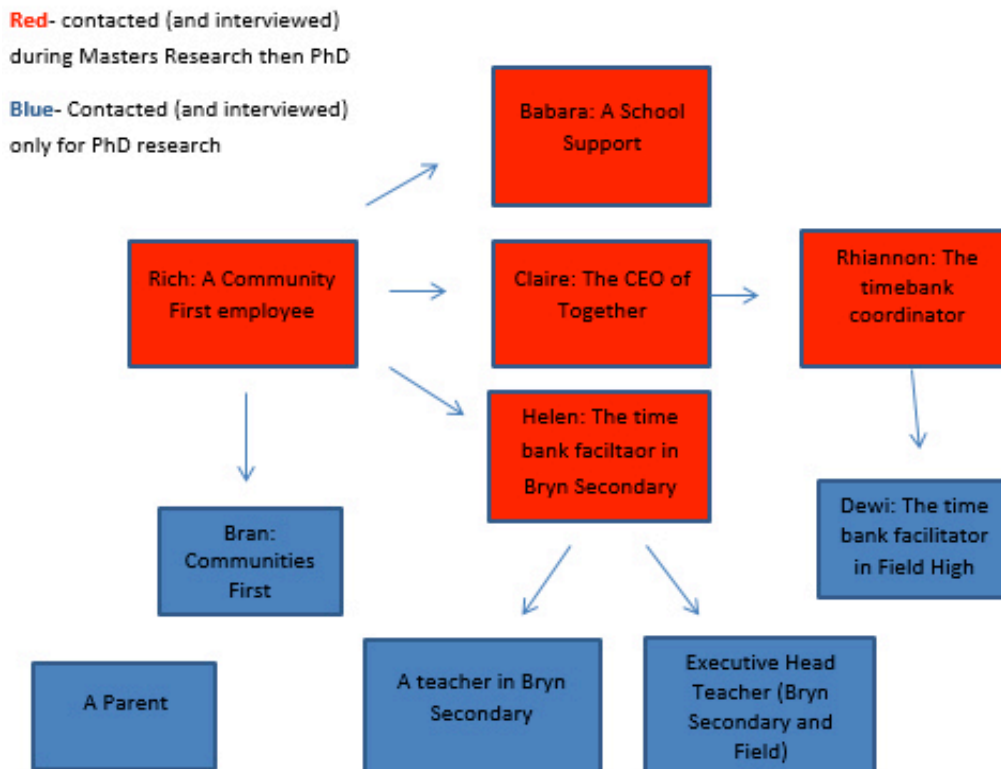
considered representative. Rather, a non-probability, purposive and snowball sampling frame was used.

It was purposive in the sense that individuals were specifically targeted as they were believed to have desired knowledge (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) offering some insight into the context, mechanism and/or outcomes and that they would be willing to discuss this in an interview. It could also be considered a snowball sample as a number of the research participants put me in contact with other participants. As mentioned, the research to some degree built on my MSc research and as such I had already made contact with a number of the research participants. As illustrated in Figure 3, my initial point of contact for my previous study was Rich, a Communities First employee in the community where the time bank was being created. Rich became a type of gatekeeper (although not in its usual sense), opening the door to a number of other participants. Many of the research participants who were first contacted for my MSc research were re-interviewed for my PhD research and a number of them also put me in contact with other participants.

Doing interviews

Although access was fairly unproblematic, it was a slow process and fewer interviews were conducted than first envisioned. The semi-structured interviews were undertaken over a seven-month period from July 2011-January 2012. The interview with the Executive Headteacher was conducted outside this period upon leaving the field (August 2012) as were two additional follow up interviews with Rhiannon and Clare.

Figure 3: Sampling strategy for stakeholder interviews



I had initially anticipated interviewing the headteacher of Bryn Secondary at the same time as the other research participants and also conducting a follow-up interview, however, this was not possible as during my time in the field, Bryn Secondary underwent considerable leadership change. Throughout the course of research there were two different headteachers (neither of whom were headteacher of Bryn Secondary when the funding was secured for the time bank), a temporary leadership team and an appointment of an Executive Headteacher. As such arranging an interview with a senior member of staff was difficult and I only managed to obtain an interview the Executive Headteacher at the end of the academic year, after stating I was leaving the field.

While both Communities' First and *Together* employees seemed fairly enthusiastic about their participation and often responded without hesitation to invitations to participate in interviews, recruiting participants from the

school was more problematic. I had difficulty accessing this group and those from the school that were willing to participate were often hard to pin down. I had initially envisioned recruiting more school staff than I was able to. However, I was informed and also observed that not many teachers were involved in the time bank. When I approached Helen – my main gatekeeper in the school – she was unwilling to assist in the recruitment of these participants.

Helen mentioned the email I had sent her about recruiting teachers to interview. She said this would be extremely difficult as teachers are pushed for time. I tried to reassure her that I would make sure that the interviews did not last long and I would offer to do them at a time most convenient to teachers (such as lunch breaks or after school). However, Helen said it would still be difficult as not many teachers knew much about the time bank. She said that one teacher was in charge of the school council but she has since changed roles. She was in charge before it was time banked. I assured her that this would be ok; I just need a quick chat; they don't need to know much at all. However Helen didn't seem convinced. She didn't give me contact details of any teachers and I could tell that there was no point in probing further.

Fieldnotes, Helen facilitator Bryn Secondary, 2012

Despite reassuring Helen that teachers did not need prior knowledge of time banking and I would be flexible and considerate to their time constraints Helen refused me access to this group. Much to my dismay, I was unable to recruit any members of staff who did not participate in the time bank. The metaphorical 'gate' was not open to these members of staff. Instead, only school staff I had previously been in contact with to take part in 'time-in' activities (i.e. the teacher who ran the Eco Club and Barbara, a member of support staff) were interviewed. As such the analysis focuses on the perspectives of those who were involved in the time bank, and perceptions of why this group believed other teachers were not involved. Thus (as discussed in Chapter Seven) the limited number of research participants from the school reflected the limited number of school staff involved in the project. There was a real lack of 'ownership' of the time bank across the school staff

which may help explain part of the time bank's difficulties in their early implementation.

I also found it difficult to access and recruit parents. Parents were asked in the information sheets and parental consent forms they received when their children were invited to participate in the research (see Appendix A) if they were willing to take part in an interview or attend an informal group discussion. Of the eleven parents asked, only three agreed to be contacted and disclosed contact information. However, only one of these parents was interviewed as contact proved problematic with the other parents. The parent, who was interviewed, was very reluctant to take part in the interview at first. However, after reassuring her that her participation was entirely voluntary, she agreed to take part. Thus developing rapport quickly was vital in this instance. Unlike all the other interviews where I had met the participants at least once (and many on a number of occasions) before interviewing participants, and thus a relationship already existed, here, no former relationship had been developed as I had only briefly spoken to this participant. Through the use of a more informal interviewing technique than the other interviews rapport was built and the participant appeared at ease and willing to engage in conversation.

Developing a good rapport with research participants is commonly regarded as essential in interviews (Bryman 2004). However, as mentioned above, too much rapport, or as I experienced being positioned too closely to research participants, can be problematic (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Due to the nature of the project and my intention of understanding how it operated, I spent the majority of my time in the field in the company of Rhiannon and Helen. However, whilst this led to rich insight into the time bank's operations, this inadvertently jeopardised the relationship I had taken time building with another research participant – Barbara, a member of support staff. Barbara was very welcoming and enthusiastic when I first started my fieldwork. She

informed me of different activities that she gave out time credits for, such as the food co-op and the Saturday Club, and she invited me along to observe and participate in them. However, through the course of my research her relationship with two other research participants changed and unwittingly (for me) due to my assumed affiliation with them so did mine and Barbara's. Rather than being eager to participate in an interview, as she was in my Masters research, she was reluctant. Her enthusiasm had diminished and the interview was short and at times challenging. Segments of the interview transcript have been included here to exemplify this.

R: 'So today I want to talk a bit about the time banking project, what has been happening with it since it began what involvement have you had with it?'

Barbara: 'I don't do anything with the project.'

R: That's ok, so can we talk a bit about the school instead. What is your role within the school?'

Barbara: 'I don't really do anything to do with time banking.'

R: 'Ok. Do you know much about the project?'

Barbara: 'Yes'

As I knew Barbara was involved in the time bank, her responses suggested that she did not want to engage in detailed conversation. Her reluctance to take part in the interviews reflected her strained relationship with the time banking staff and she saw me as their ally. On occasions, however, she did become less dismissive and again this reflected her involvement and views of the time bank.

[Interview guides](#)

Interview schedules were created for every interview in order to guide the general line of questioning. Interview questions moved between non-directive and directive questions (Spradley 1979). The sequence was not fixed allowing for adaptation depending on participants' responses. Participants were asked about the aims of time banking to gauge their knowledge, where

the idea of creating a time bank came from and what they believed the aims of this project were. They were also asked about inputs, outputs and outcomes of the time bank, who was involved and who needed to be involved, what was and had been happening, whether there had been any challenges or barriers, what would they mark as a success or failure and whether they thought the time bank was sustainable. With this said, each interview schedule differed slightly as the questions were created to tap into the different knowledge bases held by different stakeholders. For instance the interview with the parent was centred around her daughter's involvement in the time bank, how she earned time credits, how she spent them, whether she benefited from them, her relationship to the school and community, as well as being concerned with her knowledge and opinion of the time bank.

Interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the research participants. Each interview was then transcribed and read before the subsequent interview was conducted enabling the creation of more defined questions surrounding ideas arising from previous interviews. The research, in this respect, had some likenesses to the principle of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) as the investigation of a number of analytical hunches were informed by early analysis of previous interviews and observations and analysis. However, the research does not wholly claim to conform to the doctrines of grounded theory. Instead the theory/data relationship shared more similarities to the ideas of adaptive theory (Layder 1998) whereby a combination of deductive and inductive approaches were taken to analyse data (discussed below in section 5.4).

5.3.3 Participatory methods with young people

As well as gaining the perspectives of stakeholders it was important I captured the views and experiences of young people involved in the time bank. 'It is increasingly accepted that children's perceptions provide a crucial

and often distinctive dimension in examining... [a] wide range of services' (Mason 2004: 44). As such, not knowing the perspective of the young people would result in an incomplete account of the time bank.

Alongside providing this absent perspective, including young people's voices in the research process can also resolve particular ethical quandaries. Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, for instance, states that young people have the right to have their views listened to and accounted for on issues that concern them (Grove 2004; Hill 2006; Skelton 2008). Thus it was important that the research enabled young people to have their voices heard.

With these considerations at the forefront, I decided to utilise a participatory approach with the young people involved in the research. This does not mean I used a particular method, or set of methods. Rather I took on a specific approach to conducting research with young people which sought to give participants opportunities to have some input in either deciding on the topic area, the research design, gathering data and/or the interpretation of data (Hill et al 2004). Here, young people were given the opportunity to contribute to both methodological choices and the research questions.

Adopting a participatory approach was felt to be conducive to the research topic. Co-production theory is built on the premise that services perform better when service providers and users work in partnership. Service users should not be viewed as passive recipients, but as active citizens who have something of value to contribute. Participatory approaches are underpinned by a belief that research should not be conducted *on* young people, but *with* young people (Gallagher 2008). Young people are conceptualised as assets with abilities to contribute in their own right (Mason 2004; Silver 2008). As my research was engaging with theories of participation, I felt it important that young people were able to participate in the research. This approach to researching the experiences of young people was built on two main premises.

First, participatory methods can be said to have an instrumental value. They enable young people to express themselves using a 'medium with which they feel most comfortable' (Grover 2004: 90). This arguably leads to a better representation of young people and thus heightens internal validity. Second, participatory methods also have an intrinsic ethical value. They allow young people a voice and a degree of control within the research process (Gallagher 2008). As a researcher, I felt it important that the young people felt both informed about the research and enjoyed the research process. Having a degree of input into the research enabled this. Whilst I only chose to utilise a participatory approach with the young people involved in the research, this is not based on any assumption that they need to be treated differently to adults, or they are less competent (Christensen 2004); rather, this reflected the nature of the topic. Only the young people were actively involved in the time bank.

The young people

All of the young people who took part in the participatory research were members of the Street Team. This particular sample was chosen as I regularly attended the group's meeting (more so than other 'time-in' activities). As such access to this group was fairly straightforward and offered a number of advantages. First, I felt that deciding myself who took part in the research was more favourable than asking a member of staff to suggest participants. Inviting participants based on their membership to an established group made recruitment more transparent and less open to personal bias. Second, as I had spent some time with these young people through participating in the Street Team and through other activities, I had developed a good rapport, enabling a certain level of trust prior to the participatory research. This was something I found to be of particular importance and this view was cemented when I assisted a group of researchers who were conducting an external

evaluation⁴⁴ of the project and observed that a number of the young people who were also taking part in my research appeared less confident taking part in research with people (researcher and other pupils) that were unknown to them. I noticed that they appeared self-conscious when being asked questions by the external evaluation team which affected their responses. Having spent time observing and participating in activities with the young people I felt like I had more knowledge of these young people than others involved in the time bank which I was able to build on whilst conducting interviews and focus groups (for instance I had some prior knowledge of the 'time-in' and 'time-out' activities most of the young people attended). However, I was wary not to exclude others who wanted to participate. I tried to be as flexible as was ethically possible (see section 5.4 for a discussion on parental consent). As such other young people who were not members of the Street Team but wanted to be involved in the research were still welcomed.

Whilst there were clear advantages of this sample, there were also some limitations. These participants were not representative of all young people who took part in the time bank. By the very nature of the Street Team – a club which was set up to promote time banking – one could presume that these young people have some sort of affiliation to the time bank that others do not. However, gaining a representative sample was not deemed a necessity in this instance. The research was not an evaluation; rather it sought to gain the lived experiences of young people who were actively involved in the time bank. I wanted to seek the opinions of a sample of the most active time banking members. The sample of young people who contributed to the participatory aspect of the research collectively took part in the majority of the time banking activities I observed and as such had a good level of insight and knowledge of time banking, and, to some extent, did represent people across the range of time banking activities.

⁴⁴ The external evaluation had been commissioned by *Together*, in April 2012, and I assisted in some of the data collection activities.

A total of thirteen young people took part in the participatory research. As illustrated in Table 2 below, not all of the participants took part in every phase of the participatory research (some participants joined after the initial workshop, some participants stopped participating and others decided to just take part in specific activities). Three boys participated (only one boy participated throughout the whole research) and ten girls participated. Participants were aged between 11-15 years old and came from a number of different school years: one of the participants was in year 7⁴⁵, nine of the participants were in year 8⁴⁶, and three of the participants were in year 10.

Whilst the sample might appear to represent a seemingly small percentage of registered members (somewhere in the region of 7-13%, as the recorded figures were somewhere in the region of 105-175⁴⁷ registered members), it was very difficult to get a clear, accurate picture of the numbers of young people actually involved in the time bank. It was unclear how 'official' membership numbers were gained; what counted as a member? Through participation in the time bank, and further inspection of the 'recorded' numbers it appeared that active involvement (for instance, people who took part in the time bank on more than one occasion) was far more limited than the 'paper-based', officially recorded number suggested (see Chapter Eight for a more detailed discussion on membership).

⁴⁵ The school starts from year 7 and runs to year 13, however there are a limited number of 6 form students.

⁴⁶ Most of the year 8 students started the time bank when they started the school in year 7. This coincided with when the time bank commenced.

⁴⁷ These figures were recorded by the facilitator of the time bank, see Chapter Eight for further discussion of these figures.

Table 2: Sample of participants in the four stages of participatory research

Name	Gender	Year	Pre data-collection workshop	Data collection workshop	Interviews	Focus groups
Blue	Female	Y8	x	✓	x	✓
Bernard	Male	Y8	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lol	Female	Y8	✓	✓	✓	✓
Keri	Female	Y8	✓	✓	✓	✓
Victoria	Female	Y8	✓	✓	✓	
Lauren	Female	Y10	✓	✓	✓	✓
Amber	Female	Y8	✓	x	x	✓
Smiley	Female	Y8	x	✓	✓	✓
Chocolate Muffin	Female	Y8	x	✓	✓	✓
Dave	Male	Y10	x	x	✓	x
Billy Bob	Female	Y10	x	x	✓	x
Greg	Male	Y7	✓	x	x	x
Sally	Female	Y8	x	x	x	✓
Total no. participants	F=10 M=3	13	7	8	9	9

Pre-data collection workshop

The participatory research was conducted in two stages. The first stage consisted of a pre-data collection workshop, designed to gauge potential participant's current understanding of research, negotiate methods of data collection and give participants opportunities to contribute to the research questions (Fraser 2004).

The workshop was held after school at the end of November 2011 with eight of the Street Team members. Finding a time when all the young people could participate was challenging. However it was important that the research was

not exclusionary and a date that everyone could do was found. In this phase of the research it was emphasised to all those who attended the workshop, that their involvement at this stage did not mean they had to be involved in the next stage of the research.

The workshop consisted of four substantive areas that I thought were necessary for myself and the young people to engage with before the data collection stage. These included 1) conceptualisation of research, 2) ethical practice in research, 3) my research topic and questions I should address, 4) different methods of data collection. To make the workshop more engaging, different activities were designed for each topic. Each task included the use of props and were centred on practical tasks rather than oral or written discussions alone⁴⁸. While the first two topics were created in order to gain an appreciation of young people's understanding of research and ethical practice and increase their knowledge where necessary, tasks three and four were designed so that young people could have direct input into the choice of methods, research questions and pick their own pseudonyms. For example, in task three, young people were encouraged to develop questions that they thought should be addressed in the research after listening to a detailed explanation of my research. Two boxes were given to the young people, one in which they could put in their suggested questions and another to put in their confidential pseudonym of their choice. Bar a few questions ('what shoe size are you?' 'what's your favourite colour?') most of their suggestions were incorporated into the list of questions they were posed in the subsequent data collection phase. In task four the participants were asked to choose their favoured methods of data collection after being introduced to and discussing various types of methods. A number of different methods were welcomed by the young people such as video cameras, picture collages, diaries and focus groups/group discussion and as such all these were incorporated into the fieldwork.

⁴⁸ See Appendix C for full details and pictures of the activities.

The second stage of the participatory research was the data collection. Data collection took place at the end of January 2012, the beginning of February 2012 and then again in July 2012. These consisted of another workshop (data collection workshop), interviews with the young people and a focus group respectively.

Data collection workshop

The data collection workshop was held after school for an hour-and-a-half. Like the first workshop, there were eight participants on this occasion, however, there were a couple of new participants and a couple who did not attend this but who had attended the pre-data collection workshop (see Table 2). In this workshop, the participants were all given a list of questions (many of which had come from the pre-data collection workshop). These were all centred on their involvement in the time bank, included questions about what they did, why they joined, what they liked, whether they have had any problems or would change anything and whether they thought it had helped them or others in anyway (see Appendix D). They were given a scrapbook⁴⁹ to put responses to these questions in and were encouraged to answer in any medium that they felt most comfortable. It was suggested that they could use drawings, picture collages (coloured pens, pictures and stickers were provided), written answers, poetry, or write stories. Additionally a video camera was set up in another room (decorated with cushions, rugs and blankets) with which they could film responses in addition to/instead of using their scrapbooks.

Interviews

At the end of the session all the participants' scrapbooks were collected. Individual interviews were arranged with all the participants, which took place on their lunch breaks over the following two weeks. It was important to

⁴⁹ See Appendix D for examples of these.

have a quick turnaround so participants did not forget about the interviews, and their participation did not feel too drawn out.

Before each interview, each scrapbook was read (and returned to them in their interviews), the video recordings were viewed, and notes were made of their responses to help aid the interviews. Six interviews were conducted with nine participants. Three of the interviews were conducted individually and three in pairs. Although I had envisioned all interviews being on a one-to-one basis due to the participatory nature of the research and the centrality of minimising power imbalances, I felt it was important to respect the participants' wishes. One participant who took part in the data collection workshop decided not to participate in an interview. However, a further two participants who had both been invited to the other stages but had not participated in them, decided to participate in interviews (see Table 2). Although both these participants were offered the opportunity to use scrapbooks, they opted instead to just be interviewed together.

Each individual interview lasted 20 to 30 minutes and paired interviews around 40 minutes (the duration of the lunch time break). Interviews followed a guide taken from the questions that were asked when compiling their scrapbook, to ensure that scrapbooks were not being interpreted incorrectly. Interviews also allowed participants to elaborate on questions and discuss areas not necessarily mentioned in the scrapbook. For instance, young people were asked about other people's involvement, and non-involvement and the value of time credits. Again participants were given time credits for their involvement in the data-collection workshop and interviews.

Focus group

The final phase of data collection consisted of a focus group. Although I had not initially planned on collecting any more data after the interviews, upon commencing analysis on both the scrapbooks and interviews with the young people and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, there were a

number of areas I felt could benefit from further insight. Furthermore, as I was coming to the end of fieldwork, I felt it necessary to give participants an opportunity to share any last thoughts before I left. It also gave me an opportunity to thank the young people for their participation with time credits and hold one last 'time-out' activity for participants to attend.

A focus group was used for a number of reasons. First, it was another method favoured by the young people in the pre-data collection workshop. Second, by taking on a role as facilitator rather than interviewer (Wilkinson 1998) it enabled the interviewees to question one another in addition to my line of questions. This can be seen as beneficial as 'differences of opinion...help researchers understand how or why individuals embrace or reject particular ideas' (Stewart et al 2007: 43). Participants can add to others' comments in a way that cannot be done in individual interviews, producing synergism. In this sense, they provide insight that may not have been gained through talking to one person alone. Third, it is argued that focus groups help diminish power dynamics between the facilitator and the participants as the facilitator has less control over the interaction than the participants (Wilkinson 1998). However, contrary to this belief, the power differential had never felt so stark. The focus group was the one instance in which I felt most akin to a teacher. The reason for this was two-fold. Partly, it was due to the sheer number of young people who took part in the interview. Although I had given out 10 consent forms I had not anticipated everyone one turning up, as it has been suggested (Wilkinson 1998) that researchers should over recruit by 50% in order to ensure a good turnout. Having more participants than expected made the group hard to manage (Wilkinson 1998). Moreover, it was the first time I had to facilitate the group completely on my own. Whereas the coordinator had been present in the first two sessions this was not seen as ethically viable in the focus group. In the workshops, participants had no reason to disclose their opinions directly related to the research. The first session was based solely on participants learning about research. The second

session, although a data collection exercise, participants were only asked to put down their views in a scrapbook or on a video camera in another room. The coordinator's presence had been unproblematic as it had been made clear (which was reiterated in the sessions) that she would not be told any of the information gathered. Consequently, managing the dynamics of this large number of participants alone meant that on occasions I adopted the role of teacher, asking the participants to listen to one another and trying to allow everyone to have their say.

A number of topics were discussed in the focus group. In a similar fashion to the pre-data collection workshop, activities were also utilised to facilitate discussion. The first topic focused on discovering participant's conceptualisations of time banking – how it worked and why they did it. Although these questions had been asked before, as mentioned, asking them in a focus group helped produce a 'synergistic effect' (Stewart et al 2007: 43) and allowed people to question others' understanding. The extract below, which was a response to the question 'how does time banking work', evidences this.

Amber: 'You spend an hour of your time doing something you don't want to do and you get that hour back with a time credit to do something you do want to do.'

Blue: 'Actually, some people might want to do it, like say here, like do you guys like coming here?' 'Do you like it here?' [directed at Amber]

Amber: 'Yeah' [pause], so it's not actually like you are doing something you don't want it could be things you enjoy and then you can spend it on some other things.'

(Focus Group, 2012)

The second topic was concerned with discovering participants' views on why others in their school might not want to get involved in the time bank. In order to aid this discussion an activity was used. The activity involved a brick wall, which represented other pupils' lack of involvement in the time bank. Participants were asked to write reasons why they thought other pupils might

not want to participate on brick shaped paper, which they placed on the wall. Participants were then asked to discuss what they wrote on the wall. Like the previous topic this task enabled participants to question each other, whilst also producing a snowball effect of responses.

The third topic involved asking participants what they believed were the benefits of time banking and asking them to collectively rank their responses (in an exercise known as diamond ranking). Despite using a hierarchical task, I was not solely concerned with finding out what participants placed as most important. Rather this activity enabled me to hear the justifications of why some participants favoured some responses over others (Stewart et al 2007).

The final two topics both focused on questions that had not been explored with any of the participants before, but had both been mentioned in interviews with stakeholders and/or had been mentioned in the funding bid as aims of the time bank. The first of these was concerned with developing an understanding of participants' conceptualisations of the community and whether they believed they belonged to a community (or multiple communities). The second was adults' representations of young people generally and adults' representations of young people involved in time banking.

For the last topic an image of a thermometer was placed on the floor and participants were asked to stand at one end of the thermometer if they thought adults viewed young people positively and the opposite end of the thermometer if they thought adults viewed young people negatively. They were then asked how adults viewed them, and finally if they thought adults viewed them any differently for being involved in the time bank.

[Reciprocity](#)

As I wanted to thank the young people for their involvement and value the principle of reciprocity, they were all given time credits for their participation.

At the end of the pre-data collection workshop I decided to hold a ‘time-out’ activity for the young people to use their credits on. During the workshop participants were asked to vote on their preferences for food and film for a DVD night, and a date was arranged where all participants could attend.

Similarly, at the end of the focus group, I arranged another ‘time-out’ activity where participants could use their credits. After discovering (during the interviews) that young people were generally not consulted on ‘time-out’ activities, I decided to give them more input into choosing an activity. Participants were asked what they would like to do and an activity was negotiated that was both practical and endorsed by all. The ‘time-out’ activity that followed was a party, held in the community room after school.

Participation

A number of the analytical tools of participation discussed in Chapters Two and Three can be used to describe the participatory approach taken. Drawing on Hart’s (1992) ladder of participation the participatory research could be viewed as ‘adult-led, joint decision with young people’. Whilst methods of data collection and research questions were negotiated, I did set up and lead the activities. Although spaces were ‘invited spaces’ (Cornwall 2008), created for young people, they did decide on how they wanted to engage in these spaces. I believe the research moved beyond levels of tokenism as young people’s views were taken into account, and acted upon. Moreover, young people expressed their positive experiences of the research process which was further evidenced in participants returning for later stages of the research.

5.4 Data Analysis

The aim of this chapter has been to take the reader on my research journey, and thus far the methodological decisions have been presented in a chronological fashion. This, however, is perhaps where the approach falls

short. Although I have chosen to discuss the data analysis at the end of the methodological chapter, it was not the case that the analysis process was limited to the end of the research process. Rather it was iterative. This positioning is advocated by Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 6) who argue that data analysis is a 'reflexive activity that should inform data collection, writing, further data collection and so forth.'

Interview transcripts, video diaries, scrapbooks, and fieldnotes were all written up/ converted into text format to aid in the analysis. Consequently the different data sources take the form of written excerpts when presented in the findings chapters. Atlas.ti⁵⁰ was used as an organisation tool to help manage the large amount of data. Features including coding, thematic mapping, searching and memorandum helped facilitate rigorous thematic analysis. The analysis process broadly followed Braun and Clark's (2006: 86) phases of thematic analysis, which included: familiarizing oneself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes and defining and naming themes. Although mentioned as phases, they were not linear; rather there was a level of fluidity between each stage with a degree of to-ing and fro-ing (Braun and Clark 2006).

I began the process of analysis by re-reading my data. Familiarising myself with the data is the first step of analysis as suggested by Braun and Clark (2006). Indeed, Fielding and Thomas (2008: 259) believe that 'the key to successful qualitative analysis is...to become thoroughly familiar with the data'. Re-reading my data enabled me to identify any interesting patterns, see whether anything stood out, whether any aspects of them related to, or contradicted, existing theories, official accounts or common sense knowledge (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Of course, as data analysis was a continuous process, the identification of emergent themes and areas of interest had already begun during data collection in the form of analytical

⁵⁰ ATLAS.ti is a Computer assisted Qualitative Software (CAQDAS) program.

memoranda (see earlier discussion of fieldnotes). Memo writing continued throughout the whole research process. It proved a useful tool to record my 'internal dialogue' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 191) informing the generation of codes, linkages, themes and further data collection.

After re-reading all the data and jotting down ideas, I separated my data into three distinct sets: stakeholder interviews, young people datasets⁵¹ and fieldnotes. The datasets were first analysed separately, then at a later stage revisited together and compared. I read each data source⁵² creating and applying conceptual labels to sections of the text. Whilst coding my data, I was conscious not to lose the 'chronological integrity of each interview' or individual data source (Fielding and Thomas 2008: 259). Fortunately this was avoided. When revisiting each code, Atlas.ti highlighted the text that belonged to the label with the original data sources. Thus despite the criticism that CAQDAS can often lead to a decontextualized account and a sense of detachment from the data (Lewins 2008), its functions actually enabled me to immediately locate and contextualise codes with their original meaning. Coding began through the generation of open codes – a form of initial, detailed coding grounded in the data. This was followed by a process of 'focused coding' where initial codes were revised and merged to emphasise those that were most telling of the data (Charmaz 2006). In this way coding started off 'relatively mundane' but as the process developed, the codes became a 'more analytically significant' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 212). They helped identify patterns in the text, which were primarily data driven, but also encapsulated ideas developed from engagement with the literature (introduced in Chapters Two and Three). Thus an adaptive approach was taken to analysing data. It was both deductive and inductive, with data analysed in consideration of established theories and concepts

⁵¹ The young people's data set consisted of scrapbook, video diaries, interview transcripts and the focus group transcript.

⁵² Data sources refers to individual pieces of data, such as a participant's interview transcript, a scrapbook or fieldnotes extracts etc.

previously identified in the literature, as well as using the data to rework and adapt existing frameworks and ideas (Layder 1998).

Of course coding is not analysis in itself; rather it forms part of the process of analysing data. The important analytical work lies in establishing and thinking about such linkages (Coffey and Atkinson 1996: 27). I searched across codes for possible connections and grouped sets of codes into themes and sub-themes. The creation of thematic maps aided in the process, allowing me to visualise connections and relationships between codes and themes⁵³. Once early themes were identified for each dataset, I assessed the datasets together. This enabled me to spot similarities and differences across the datasets and reformulate themes and codes where necessary. Once I had established the final set of themes, each coded extract was reviewed to see if it fitted within the theme and the themes were assessed to check whether they accurately reflected the data as a whole (Braun and Clark 2006).

5.5 Ethical Considerations

As with the analysis of data, ethical considerations were embedded within the research process. In light of this, the chapter has inevitably provided some level of commentary on a number of important issues. This section, however, offers a thorough account of the guidance sought, measures taken in accordance with these recommendations and some of the specific considerations in regards to doing research with young people.

Ethical approval was sought and approved by The School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at Cardiff University. The British Sociological Association's (BSA) Statement of Ethics in Practices (2002), provided guidance for the research. In accordance with the BSA, measures were taken to ensure that no harm was caused to participants, participation was confidential,

⁵³ See Appendices E and F for an example of the thematic maps created and a list of final codes.

informed consent was sought and participants were aware they had the right to withdraw from the research at any given time.

Before interviews were conducted with participants, information sheets were provided. These outlined the research, the ethical procedures the researcher would follow, how information generated would be stored and used and my contact details should they have had any further questions. Separate consent forms were also given to participants to sign.

As previously described, a pre-data collection workshop was held with young people. While part of this workshop was to enable participants to contribute to the research process, it was also an opportunity to explain my research in more detail and engage in a discussion of ethics. Similarly to adult participants, young people were also given written information sheets and informed written consent was sought from parents/guardians (BSA 2002) at each stage of the research (one for the pre-data collection workshop, one for the data collection workshop and interviews and one for the focus group). The information sheets reintroduced the research, outlined the type of research activity (including times, dates and locations), and reiterated the ethical procedures. It was particularly important that young people were reminded that they could participate in whichever activity they wanted to and they could withdraw from the research at any time (Alderson and Morrow 2004). This point was repeated at each stage of the research. Young people were also reminded that no real names would be included in the research and that the information they shared would be confidential. For those who had not attended the pre-data collection workshop, opportunities were provided to come up with pseudonyms.

Whilst undertaking the participatory research consideration was also given to the spaces in which it took place. This is a particular concern when conducting research in schools, as there is a possible danger that participation might be perceived as schoolwork, which may result in

participants 'feeling pressure to give the right answer' (Fargas-Malet et al 2010). It was hoped that the established relationships with most of the participants, built up through regularly attending the Street Team meetings and participation in other activities and trips, in addition to always using my first name (rather than 'Miss') would help mitigate these issues. Nevertheless, further precautions were made to ensure the participants differentiated the research from schoolwork. As such, the workshops, interviews and focus groups were either conducted in the community room (where the Street Team met weekly) or the learning centre (a room with computers and sofas used in break times or after school). Research activities always took place outside of school lessons. The workshops and focus group took place after school and individual or paired interviews were held in lunch breaks.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a reflexive account of my research journey. It has detailed the methodological decisions made throughout the research including the choice of research design, methods, participants and the analysis of data. The multi-method qualitative strategy generated an in-depth understanding of the implementation and operation of a time bank in its real life setting. It gave voice to the young people who participated in the time bank allowing for a better insight into their views and experiences. By observing and engaging with key actors involved (directly and indirectly) in the time bank, I was able to gain an appreciation of their varying perspectives and interpretations of the time bank's creation.

CHAPTER SIX: IN THE SAME BOAT? CO-PRODUCTION, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL COHESION

6.1 Introduction

It is important to explore how the concept of time banking is understood by various actors involved in its creation, implementation and operation, and how this was played out within the case examined. Despite the often-cited simplicity of time banking (Cahn 2000a), its purpose has also been described as flexible and multiple (NEF 2008b). Moreover, as highlighted in Chapter Four, the conceptual underpinning of time banking as a mechanism to facilitate co-production has opened up considerable space for ideological interpretation.

While the empirical chapters that follow (Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine) explore time banking in practice, examining in turn the technical issues of implementation and integration (Chapter Seven), the process (Chapter Eight) and outcomes of participation (Chapter Nine), this chapter draws on findings from the case study to explore the rationale(s) for creating the time banks. This chapter acts as a prerequisite for examining the Bryn Secondary time bank in practice. Drawing on documentary analysis and interviews with key players involved in the creation and implementation of the time bank, this chapter examines the stated aims and aspirations, while the subsequent chapters explore the lived experiences and to what extent these aims and aspirations were realised. Were the outcomes of the time banks shared or were there different shades of understanding and meaning in the ways time banking was represented?

The analysis presented here specifically addresses two central research questions:

- what are the aims for implementing a youth time bank?
- are justifications for doing time banking embedded in notions of co-production?

Consequently what follows is an empirically informed debate surrounding the theoretical underpinning of both time banking and co-production.

This chapter is structured around three broad aims of the time bank identified in the data: co-production, citizenship and social cohesion. For organisational purposes, these can be categorised using the analogy of a rowing boat. The boat is the vehicle moving the policy forward. The rowers are the people the policy is designed to engage; they help carry the policy towards a destination. The boat's final destination is the policy's ultimate end goal. Co-production is the boat, the rowers are the young members of the time bank – the citizens (in the making) – and the final destination is social and community cohesion.

The analogy of the rowing boat is not meant to be all encompassing and rigid but helps make sense of the aims and how they represent slightly different goals. The metaphor highlights how different aims can be mutually dependent, how the constituent parts of the rowing boat work together in different ways to reach an end goal. However, these constituent components are also important in their own right. For some, rowing is mainly about reaching a destination, for others, the activity (rowing or being out on the boat) is beneficial in its own right. For instance, whilst rowing is the necessary motion to reach the final destination, rowing is not purely an activity that relies on moving towards a final point. Rowing is not always about getting from A to B, but could be seen as a rewarding activity worth pursuing in its own right. The term 'rowers' has been intentionally opted for and should not be mistaken for policy 'steerers' (Osbourne and Gaebler 1992). In much the same way that Osbourne and Gaebler (1992) famously differentiate between

rowers and steerers, a similar distinction can also be made here. The young people are viewed as the rowers as they help move to the policy along. While they could be considered as helping steer towards its destination, they are not responsible for the overall direction of the policy. The steerers on the other hand, are tasked with leading the policy vision. This role can be seen as belonging to Together and the coordinator of the time bank. They came up with the policy and have overall responsibility for providing the guidance and communicating the direction it should take. In this way, they can be considered the cox of the metaphorical rowing boat. The rowing boat analogy thus highlights the interplay of aims within the time bank. At the same time it draws attention to the complexity at play, as not everyone shares or recognises the same goals. For some the interplay is designed to achieve a particular outcome whereas others emphasise the different goals that can result from the activity of rowing.

The chapter will begin by introducing the boat – in this case, co-production (6.3). Although this is a multifaceted term, here it has been conceptualised as a new way of doing services (6.3.1), embedded in normative values first coined by Cahn (6.3.2). Subsequently, the chapter will consider debates surrounding the policy actors (6.4). Specifically these will address young people's citizenship status (6.4.1), whether the time bank will be used as a form of behaviour modification and social control (6.4.2) or as an instrument to help extend young people's entitlements (6.4.3). Next, we reach the final policy destination (6.5). Here discussion turns to the main rationale for introducing the time bank, namely, to improve social and community cohesion. It is suggested that this may be achieved through greater parental engagement (6.5.1), school and community connectivity (6.5.2) and by the facilitation of social networks (6.5.3). Finally the chapter concludes by drawing these themes together, demonstrating the complexity of these issues and ultimate purpose of time banking.

6.2 The Rowing Club Rules: Together

Before outlining the three main aims (of co-production, citizenship and social cohesion), the rowing club rules will be introduced. This is the *raison d'être* of *Together*, the organisation that has brought time banking into the schools. Here discussion will be drawn from a review of their official documents (their websites, published articles and funding bids). A brief overview of their history will be provided, their main aims and mission statements will be outlined and the specifics for creating the school time banks will be offered. Consequently, this section provides an overview of the 'official rules', the documented aims of the time bank, whilst the following section focuses on how these aims have been taken on board or adapted by the various stakeholders involved in the time bank.

6.1.1 *Together's* *raison d'être*

Together is a UK-wide time banking organisation that develops P2A time banks for community and public services. Initially, they began their life in Wales in 2003 as an institution housed within a Welsh College. The institute was created to develop time banking, trying and testing new models in the South Wales valleys. After five years of European funding, the Welsh institute split into two independent organisations; *Together* became one of these.

Together's original objective and reason for developing time banking was to create a 'sustainable and successful catalysis for engaging people in transforming their communities' (*Together* official publication). *Together* wanted to recreate the rich culture of mutual support they believed was once so prevalent in Welsh communities but (since the closure of the mines and other key Welsh institutions) has been in a constant state of decline.

In the adversity and hardship experienced during the era of coal, there had existed a strong feeling of collective identity and mutualism...Coal mining had brought common purpose. In the modern diverse economy of Wales, there have been winners and losers but the sense of common purpose has been eroded (*Together* official publication).

Together believed that disengagement has since become widespread, weakening social capital and increasing social problems. The Welsh P2A model of time banking, developed by the Welsh Institute and refined by *Together*, was designed to rebuild communities and the sense of common-purpose once found in the Welsh valleys. *Together's* aim is to provide '...greater civic engagement in communities' and creating more positive relations between community members and public/community services. Community members will no longer be seen as 'passive recipients' of services, but viewed as people of value who have something to contribute. Their model of time banking was developed to enable people to become actively involved in the design and delivery of services, to engage community members in 'co-producing' public and community services. *Together* believe that time banking would consequently '...increase active engagement, reduce dependency and rebuild communities' (*Together's* official statement).

Although *Together* began life in Wales, it has since expanded out into a UK-based organisation, with projects running in England and Wales. *Together* has a number of different programmes and areas of work across the UK. As well as developing time banks in specific localities, with local councils and community development organisations, the company have also developed thematic projects, working with health and social care providers, housing associations, and schools.

6.1.2 The school project

In the schools that are the subject of this study, the documented aims for developing time banking seem to mimic those outlined in *Together's* mission statement. In their funding bid, *Together* state that the school time banks will help build a more cohesive, stronger community and encourage a greater 'sense of belonging'. The funding bid states:

The focus will be on community and intergenerational engagement, with the target of improving positive community cohesion, reducing

isolation, lowering anti-social behaviour and improved perceptions of community... (Funding Bid 2009)

Whilst the aims of the time bank appear to reflect those generally stated by *Together*, it is also evident that these have been tailored to the pedagogic setting. By encouraging young people to contribute to their school and community and then ‘thanking’ them for these contributions, *Together’s* official documents states that the young people will ‘develop a greater sense of self-esteem which will lead to improved attitudes and stronger engagement in education’ (Funding Bid 2009). Moreover it also states that by engaging other community members, including those who are ‘previously disconnected with their school and communities’ (Funding Bid 2009), that the time bank will enable greater cohesion between the two.

It is evident then when looking at the funding bid (and other official documentation) that the ‘final destination’ is social and community cohesion. This appears to be the main aim for developing the school time banks. The rowers have also been implied; there is some discussion of desired behavioural change, which includes improved attitudes, and a greater propensity ‘to avoid risky behaviour’ (Funding Bid 2009). However, what is also notable is that there is little mention of the boat (co-production). Whilst co-production is referred to in its normative sense (valuing people and thanking them for their contributions), it is not mentioned to the same degree as in the mission statement. As shown when outlining *Together’s raison d’être* co-production was explicitly stated as an aim and was considered the vehicle needed to achieve the final destination.

With this in mind, the chapter now turns to explore these aims in more detail. Using the analogy of the boat, it will examine the stakeholders’ understanding of the key reasons for creating the school-based time bank. In doing so it will examine the degree to which these aims are shared (or whether different stakeholders prioritise different goals) and how these map onto those mentioned in the official documentation produced by *Together*.

6.3 The Boat: Co-production

As aforementioned, the NEF (2008b) regard time banking as a flexible tool that can be utilised for a variety of different means. Underpinning these aims are time banks' proclaimed aptitude for developing co-production. In line with this and the existing literature, the endeavour to facilitate co-production was reflected in the data. As well as being mentioned in *Together's* mission statement, outlined above, it was explicitly mentioned by the CEO as an aim of the school time banks,

'...it is about young people within the school being more actively involved in school life, giving their time helping to run, for us we would term that helping to produce a public service together; *co-producing* the project together. Looking at running activities together...the time credits are a mechanism to encourage it' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

In Chapter Two (and to some extent also in Chapter Four) it was suggested that there was 'no agreed definition of co-production' (Boyle and Harris 2009: 16). Co-production is not a homogenous concept. Many different conceptualisations of co-production exist referring to a variety of different practices in relation to user participation. The CEO of *Together* (Claire) conceptualised co-production as a collaborative process, in which young people – the users of a service – become more involved in running the service. Here co-production is offered as a new way of delivering services.

6.3.1 Public service delivery

Claire believes time banking offers a 'shift' in traditional user/provider relationships. Service providers are no longer sole deliverers, but become facilitators. As outlined in *Together's* mission statement (see above) users are no longer 'passive recipients' of services but become actively involved in 'their design and delivery'. For Claire the aim of the time bank is to develop different types of user/provider relations, which subsequently provide a new way of delivering public services.

‘We are looking at a different way of working. A different relationship between the professionals and pupils in the schools...We are asking people [providers] to move from delivering everything themselves to becoming facilitators of other people...’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

‘I guess in what we are trying to achieve is finding new ways to deliver services within communities and supporting communities to be helping one another’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

Claire’s suggestion that co-production, through time banking, facilitates a different way of delivering public services is one that is reflected in the literature. As shown in Chapter Two, while some sources do not make a significant distinction between co-production and current models of service delivery (Garn et al 1976; Brudney and English 1983), a number of academics and those writing on behalf of think tanks (Boyle et al 2006, 2010; Bovaird 2007; NEF 2008a, 2008b; Boyle and Harris 2009; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) highlight its potential as an alternative way of delivering public services. For some it has even been ‘position[ed] as a radical break from existing delivery models’ (Needham 2008: 224).

Bovaird (2007), argues that co-production – which he defines as an approach rooted in the principle that services should not be one directional, but shaped and delivered by users and community members alongside professionals – offers a ‘potentially revolutionary concept in public services.’ Using a similar conceptualisation of co-production as Bovaird (2007), Boyle and Harris (2009) claim a co-productive approach offers users’ increased responsibility, altering perceived power imbalances towards more equal relationships between users and professionals. With this in mind, they make a similar claim, namely that co-production has the potential to offer a ‘major shift’ in the way that public services are provided. Whilst Claire does not go so far as to explicitly state that time banking offers a ‘radical break’ in service delivery, her conceptualisation of co-production parallels those who make these claims.

Claire is not the only stakeholder to see time banking as a new way of delivering services. Although no one else explicitly mentions co-production as

a rationale for creating the time banks, both Rich – a Communities First employee – and Dewi – the facilitator of the Field High time bank – suggest that time banks enable service users, whether pupils or community members, to become more active:

‘...[the time bank is] helping them [pupils] to set up different activities that they can run themselves and other people can use their credits to access, as well as getting them to use their skills like a sports group doing some transition sports with junior schools and stuff’ (Dewi – Facilitator, Field High).

‘...part of the idea [for creating a time bank] came from, one of the things we are trying to work against is the hand out culture in x where you have a lot of public services which are diminishing, but still quite prevalent. We are not going to see the...library close in the next year, you go to some communities in England and the swimming pool’s shut and the library and the youth centre’s closed. But I think time banking the principles of it empowering people to do things for themselves that’s what we want to see really, some community action really, to get the activist working positively’ (Rich – Communities First employee).

Rich and Dewi both see time banking as altering the way services are delivered. While Dewi discusses this from the school perspective, suggesting that an aim of the time bank is to provide pupils the opportunity to be involved in the design and delivery of activities, Rich discusses this from a community perspective. For Rich, time banking is a tool to promote community action and as a corollary, challenge the existing culture of public service delivery.

By empowering people to take action, Rich believes time banking can alleviate some of the challenges presented in an endemic era of public service cuts and current culture of dependency. This view emulates that of Boyle et al (2010). Writing for the NESTA and the NEF, Boyle et al (2010) argued that an alternative model of service delivery is needed. They claim the existing model is disempowering and often results in a culture of dependency as it fails to address underlying causes. If service users are not encouraged to become involved in delivery, they are essentially being told that they have no

value. Using time banking as one example, they call for the mainstreaming of co-production as a more progressive way of delivering public services.

However, whilst Rich's suggestion is similar to Boyle et al (2010), there does appear some dissonance. Rich's view that time banking empowers community members 'to do things for themselves' suggests participation as a move towards self-help. According to Boyle and Harris (2009 and others; see Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) self-help is not co-production. While they acknowledge that as an endeavour, self-organisation is extremely beneficial, they claim that co-production only occurs when community members work alongside professionals to utilise one another's 'assets' (Bovaird and Loeffler 2012). Co-production requires input from both users and providers in order to create more equal relationships. With this in mind, despite Rich's allusion to self-help, his stance is clearly very similar to co-production advocates (Boyle and Harris 2009; Bovaird and Loeffler 2012) sharing the opinion that time banking promotes equality.

'...it's a very equal way of working...it works on the whole basis of equality and people [becoming] valued' (Rich – Communities First employee).

Equality, valuing people and seeing everyone as assets are all central tenets of co-production (Cahn 2000a). As noted in Chapter Two, Cahn (2000a) provided four underlying principles of co-production to normatively ground time banking (Glynos and Speed 2012). These included seeing people as assets, redefining work, developing social networks and reciprocity (Cahn 2000a). By introducing these four values, Boyle et al (2006) maintain that Cahn has 'deepened' the concept.

Returning to the earlier discussion of co-production as a radical alternative to service provision, it is Cahn's four values, which are often used to warrant the claim. While only a few stakeholders (the CEO of *Together*, a Community First employee and the Facilitator of the Field High time bank) mention changing

current service delivery practices as an aim of the time banks, a number of stakeholders did suggest that the time banks were either created for, or enabled the acquisition of, these four principles.

6.3.2 Normative basis of co-production

The coordinator of the time banks in the schools was amongst those who suggested that time banking enabled the normative principles of time banking to be attained. As evident in the extended quotation below, for the co-ordinator (Rhiannon), one of the reasons for creating the time bank was to realise Cahn's four principles;

'...for me and I think it is universal, but it is about showing people that they are valued and that they have something to give...by saying to somebody come and help out give some of your time doing something that you are good at we can say thank you to you. So I think it is that making everybody feel valued and making them feel like an asset, making them realise that unpaid work is as important as paid work and often can lead to paid work if that's what they are looking for, they might not be, they might just want to give some time...They might not even realise they have skills and it's kind of our job to find those...'
(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

Although Rhiannon does not mention co-production as an explicit aim of time banking, her remarks clearly reflect a number of these principles underpinning the concept. The time bank is a tool to thank people for the contributions they make. It shows people they are valued. This clearly mirrors Cahn's (2000a) first principle that underpins time banking – people are assets. For Cahn (2000a: 24) people are 'the real wealth of...society.' They are assets and they should be recognised for the contributions they can and are willing to make. Related to this, Rhiannon also suggests that time banking allows all contributions to be valued including unpaid work. This reflects Cahn's (2000a) second principle – redefining work. Cahn maintains that it is important to value work that is not normally recognised or valued by the monetary economy. Arguing how the market works on the principle of supply and demand, he states that this in turn devalues important human traits, such as helping one's neighbour, simply because they are in abundance. He states

that work must be redefined to include and acknowledge the full range of socially useful contributions that people make to create a healthy, vibrant democratic society (Cahn 2000a). It means honouring the work that people can do and rewarding it.

The coordinator of the time bank was not alone in these views. The capacity for time banking to redefine work and value people was also acknowledged by the CEO of *Together*. Although she did not state these as explicit aims of the time bank she did suggest that these would be potential benefits for those involved:

‘I think there is a particular thing around for those that struggle with the academic side of school life that there is an opportunity to be recognised for doing something positive outside of the academic side of life. I think that’s particularly important where pupils are having challenges in classrooms and actually there is a real chance to do something positive outside of academic context’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

The CEO shares the position that participation in the time bank will enable people to feel valued. It helps create a space to recognise contributions that often are not valued or go unnoticed. Time banking practices define people as assets and redefines what is traditionally viewed as ‘work’.

Linked to these assertions is the theory of reciprocity. While the coordinator implies the use of reciprocity in an earlier quotation, ‘...we can say thank you’, she also explicitly states this as a practice and ideology that underpins time banking;

‘you know there has to be that, the reciprocity has to run across it and the people running the time bank have to be of the mind-set that we are doing it to value them’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

For the coordinator, reciprocity is an essential component of time banking. Reciprocity is the key ingredient that differentiates time banking from traditional volunteering. By giving people time credits, people are directly thanked and their skills are given worth and value:

‘People volunteer all the time and they do it for the love of volunteering but a lot of time nobody says thank you to them...and that’s where you can pull new people in because they can see that they are valued’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

The coordinator’s assertions echo those of Cahn and Gray (2004). It is the reciprocal nature of time banking that makes it different to conventional volunteering. According to its leading proponents, time banking values people in a way that traditional volunteering does not. It is this aspect of time banking, reciprocity, that Cahn and Gray (2004) proclaim leads to a transformative conceptualisation of co-production. They suggest that conventional forms of volunteering are commonly seen as acts of pure altruism. When people volunteer it is viewed unfit to ask the person they are helping to give something back. However, this does not send a very positive message. Unintentionally, one could read this as ‘I have something you need – but you have nothing I need or want or value’ (Cahn and Gray 2004: 7). Thus reciprocity is central to time banking;

Wherever possible, we must replace one-way acts of largesse in whatever form with two-way transactions (Cahn 2000a: 24).

While the coordinator suggests time banking is a way of thanking people who normally volunteer, like Cahn and Gray, she also acknowledges that the reciprocal element of time banking empowers people who would not traditionally donate their time. Thus the core of this view is that people should be valued through reciprocal relationships. Thanking people shows them that they have something to contribute – that they are valued. By giving people something back time banks create a two-way street of giving and receiving.

Although Rhiannon was the only stakeholder to specifically mention reciprocity as an important characteristic of time banking, it could be argued that this aspect was implicit in others’ suggestions. As noted by Cahn (2000a) although many people do not use the term reciprocity they do recognise its value. In the observations below, a number of stakeholders highlight the

importance of ‘thanking’ and ‘rewarding’ members’ contributions, implying that time banking enables reciprocity:

‘It is the recognition as well...it’s really good that you can recognise it and reward them’ (Barbara – Support Staff, Bryn Secondary).

‘They got a well done which they hadn’t had for a while, so it’s that kind of reason really’ (Rich – Communities First).

‘We gave her a card with time credits inside for the so many hours she took making the jewellery. It was a thank you’ (Teacher - Bryn Secondary).

These quotations signify a shared view amongst many of the stakeholders, that time banking, through the issuing of time credits, was a vehicle to thank and recognise people’s contributions. As noted at the beginning of this chapter in the rowing club rules, these were also principles explicitly mentioned by *Together* in their mission statement and funding bid. For instance the funding bid stated that ‘time credits will create an environment where people are valued as contributors.’ Young people will be ‘thanked as assets...for their contribution.’ Thus the ideas of Cahn and his intellectual rationale for developing time banks does seem to underpin *Together’s* motives and the work of the local policy actors. There appears to be some unity amongst *Together* and other stakeholders that time banking is an approach embedded in the normative values Cahn⁵⁴ identified as underpinning co-production (valuing people, redefining work and reciprocity⁵⁵).

However, with this said, it is apparent that while some of the local policy actors do mention these values they do not place as much emphasis on these as the coordinator – nor do they cite them as explicit aims. For instance although the CEO of *Together* refers to these key values she does not

⁵⁴ It is worth noting that although Cahn is acknowledged in *Together’s* official document, where he is recognised as the originator of time banking, unlike other publications which seek to promote time banking and co-production (NEF 2008a, 2008b, Boyle et al 2006, Boyle and Harris 2009) in which his four founding principles are not directly cited as the principles underpinning time banking.

⁵⁵ The fourth principle – developing social networks – was also evident and will be discussed in section 5.3 of this chapter.

mention them when directly discussing the aims of the time bank. Accordingly, it could be assumed that the time bank was not created with the sole purpose of realising these aims; rather these were seen as the normative values that underpin the time bank. It is these principles of co-production that could be seen as prerequisites to help achieve the main policy aim. Thus co-production was a means to an end, a policy vehicle to help reach the final policy destination.

6.4 The Rowers: Young People's Citizenship, Rights and Responsibilities

In addition to the facilitation of co-production, there was an emergent premise that the time bank could help develop young people's citizenship. This section focuses on the rowers (the young people the time bank is designed to engage). In particular it explores discourses of citizenship. It includes discussions surrounding 'the good citizen', youth as a period of 'becoming' and young people's rights and responsibilities. It examines various conceptualisations of young people assessing how the aims of the time bank interacted or perpetuated certain ideals.

6.4.1 Active citizens

For a number of stakeholders involved in the time banks (including those based in the local community, employed by *Together* and working in the schools) a key reason for their creation was to encourage active citizenship.

'The general aims of time banking are to encourage active citizenship. To encourage people to be part of their community, part of the setting around them so that they can actually give something back...to just be more proactive really in their local communities' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

'To get community members as like covering from children right through, to become active in volunteering, to putting something back into the community...and gaining credits for their services then...' (Dewi – Facilitator, Field High)

The interest in active citizenship has been a generalised feature of late modernity (Mills 2012). It is a concept that has found much cross-party political support throughout the last century. Children and young people have mostly been at the mercy of many of these initiatives (France 1998; Smith et al 2005; Mills 2012). For instance, Smith et al (2005) describe how both the late 1980s Conservative Government and the New Labour Government promoted this approach using definitions that emphasised voluntary action within communities and focused many of their policies exclusively on young people. Mills (2012) has also recognized similar iterations from the 2010-15 Coalition Government. Soon after their election in 2010, they started publicising their new flagship initiative – the National Citizen Service – a volunteering programme (again) specifically targeted at young people. The Cabinet Office (2010), pronounced the NCS as an initiative ‘to develop the skills and attitudes they need to get more engaged with their communities and become active and responsible citizens’ (in Mills 2012: 120).

It has been argued that this citizenship-based rhetoric is consonant with perennial notions of young people as not fully citizens (Marshall 1950; Mills 2012). As the time bank was targeted predominantly at young people and the active citizenship discourse presented in the data can be seen to mirror these, the same suggestion is advocated here. Young people were viewed ‘as citizens in the making’ (Marshall 1950).

‘Year 9’s the age where lots of them have no real purpose in life, they’re no longer child, they’re definitely not adult...it’s a pretty difficult time...We’re making it that no 14 year old in either of our schools has the excuse for saying they can’t do anything...creating the idea that they have responsibility to be socially useful...’ (Executive Headteacher)

When discussing the ambivalent identities of a certain cohort of pupils it is clear the Executive Headteacher believed these pupils are distinct from adults. Smith et al (2005: 429) notes that as adults are considered citizens, if youth is ‘othered’ from adulthood, young people are considered as ‘lacking in citizenship.’ Accordingly, it appears that pupils are not given full citizenship

status but are perceived as ‘apprentice’ citizens (Matthews 2001). Young people were not considered as ‘beings’ but in a state of ‘becoming’ (Freeman 2010). Consequently, an aim of the time bank was to enable these young people to ‘become’ citizens.

6.4.2 Behaviour modification

In Chapter Two, it was noted by a time banking researcher, Naughton-Doe (2011: 76) that, in certain situations, time banking could be viewed as ‘reminiscent of behaviour modification techniques’ whereby time credits could potentially be used to promote and reward desired behaviour. A similar forewarning was also proposed by Gregory (2012b), who claimed that if time banks are used to encourage compliance, they become little more than a form of ‘nudge style economics.’

In the above quotation the Executive Headteacher claims that it is important to encourage young people to become socially responsible. The language used by the Executive Headteacher, coupled with that cited by stakeholders when discussing the aim of creating active citizens – which France (1998) maintains is entrenched in discourse surrounding ‘responsibilisation’ – sways towards the approach to time banking outlined by Gregory (2012b) and Naughton-Doe (2011). Using the time bank to create more responsible citizens could be seen as a form of behaviour modification and thus social control. This is further alluded to below;

‘When they go into Year 10 we’re expecting all of Year 9 to be civilised and to contribute to the community, time banking will be a spin off they will get as a result of their contribution, we want all involved’ (Executive Headteacher).

‘It all moulds into one really that they become a better citizen’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

Rather than using the ‘progressive’ terminology presented in the previous section such as valuing people and seeing people as assets, here young people are conceptualised as deficient. The time bank is viewed as a solution

to this deficit, helping create 'better' more 'civilised' citizens. The potential use of time banking as a form of 'nudge style' behavioural economics is further cemented in the quotation offered by the Communities First employee Bran:

'The credits are the carrots in terms of the reward mechanism...that's meant to be the bit that encourages people to do it...I think that's the essence of it...the whole thing about...active citizenship' (Bran – Communities First)

By using time credits as a reward mechanism, the time bank incentivises 'better' behaviour. Time banking, through the use of credits positively reinforces desired behaviour change, creating 'active', 'civilised' citizens.

This prospect of altered behaviour was similarly discussed by the facilitator of the Field High time bank and the CEO of *Together*. Both suggested that the time bank could potentially lead to improved behaviour, specifically in schools or on trips:

'If young people are doing some stuff, you know like activities then they're going to be more likely to behave better, come to school, all sorts of things really. I think it's just a handy tool to have to have. If you're engaging with the students differently from lessons then you probably get more respect and behaviours, attendance you know all of those things' (Dewi – Field High facilitator).

'I think one thing we are also particularly interested in looking at is actually...is...behaviour in the school, what difference does it make. So if you are going on a time banking trip and everyone has worked hard to go there, does it have an impact on behaviour on that trip, do people value the trip because they have worked harder for it. Our experience has been in youth projects so far is actually it has had a massive effect on kind of people's attitudes towards that trip' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

While it is evident that both Dewi and Claire believe that time banking has the potential to alter the behaviour of young people, it was also apparent that this was not seen as a primary aim or an attempt to modify behaviour though incentivised participation. In the previous section, Dewi and Claire both emphasised the time bank's role in changing the way services were delivered, with young people becoming more central. Building on this, they

both indicate here that any change in behaviour may be a result of that change to service provision. For instance, Claire suggests that behaviour may improve on trips because young people have earned the place on that trip. Dewi suggests improved behaviour may be a result of different forms of engagement, which encourages greater respect. It was believed that any positive change in behaviour would be a *consequence* of co-production, rather than a specific aim that was sought through incentivised participation.

Although these examples indicate that time credits might be used as form of behaviour modification (Naughton-Doe 2009) to encourage compliance (Gregory 2012b), and perpetuate government ideals of responsabilised citizens, there was also evidence that this was not the predominant aim of the time bank for most stakeholders. While there were also iterations in the funding bid of time credits promoting ‘positive behaviour’ and ‘improved attitudes and...engagement with education’, these tended to be placed alongside a more progressive belief that young people have rights, such as accessing more opportunities, that time banking could help extend.

6.4.3 Extending entitlements

While the previous sections highlighted concern over the use of time banking to encourage active citizenship, and the ‘responsibilisation’ of young people, it also noted the promotion of a more progressive agenda, rooted in young people’s rights. Amongst these rights was the belief that young people should be able to access new opportunities:

For young people the credits create a positive incentive to engagement, thanked as ‘assets’ by community members for contribution [they will use] these credits to access a far greater range of arts social and cultural activities, which will open new horizons’ (Funding Bid 2009)

This extract from the funding bid demonstrates that through the time bank – specifically the receiving and using of time credits – young people should be able to access more opportunities. This was not a throwaway statement made only in the funding bid, but was also a widely shared view amongst

stakeholders. It was believed that through participation in the time bank, young people would access a host of new activities and experiences; it was also inferred that without the time bank, these opportunities might otherwise be inaccessible:

‘...for them [pupils] to be able to use their time credits to do new things, to go to new places. When we were doing the initial prep work in some of the workshops one of the things we found a lot is that the young people hadn’t been to loads of the facilities in X or even the local facilities and that was partly about perceptions of them being able to go to art centres or even leisure centres and things like that and also just cost as well and being able to access some of those things’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

‘to spend the time banking credits on extra opportunities’ (Barbara – Support Staff, Bryn Secondary).

‘Some of them are able to go on long weekends, some of them wouldn’t have been able to afford’ (Teacher – Bryn Secondary).

These quotations clearly demonstrate that a number of stakeholders believed the time bank – specifically the receiving and using of time credits – would enable young people to access a host of new opportunities and experiences. It can also be inferred that without the time bank, these opportunities might otherwise be inaccessible.

Two reasons are suggested for why young people might be able to have more access to new opportunities through the time bank. The first offered by the CEO of *Together* is that local services are not very accessible primarily because young people do not consider these services open to them. By making these services accessible through time credits, these perceptions might change. The second, which was more widely cited by stakeholders, is that many opportunities offered through the time bank would otherwise be unaffordable. Young people may miss out on opportunities because they cannot afford them. Of course the two may also be linked; socio-economic status may also limit service knowledge and a sense of entitlement.

The proposal that banking could provide opportunities that would otherwise be unaffordable is further noted by the Executive Headteacher:

'[I] am aware of schools where, I've worked with schools in the past where...Kids were going home to pocket money done through direct debit...The pocket money transactions of the middle class means the time credits probably has a limited value. We could really do with it in areas of deprivation. It's far, far more difficult whereas if a kid ends up with £2 in their hands in the evening, the choice is 'Do I get my supper from the chip shop or kebab shop or do I spend it on the cinema on the weekend?' the cinema hardly ever wins and I think time credits is what allows that access to the cinema ...other difficulties in life don't go away but we can add some genuine extras to their lives...if the government is serious about their anti-poverty strategy, promoting time banking is a huge way forward...' (Executive Headteacher)

The Executive Headteacher's belief is that time banking could be a useful tool in helping young people access experiences that they miss out on. He argues that while middle class pupils are often able to access a range of opportunities, for those living in areas of deprivation such opportunities are often beyond their reach. The underlying belief is that all young people should have the right to access a number of opportunities. This standpoint emulates the ideology central to the Welsh Government's policy *Extending Young People's Entitlements*.

The *Extending Entitlements* documentation is based on the ideology that every young person in Wales has the right to access a 'package of entitlements' (Williamson 2002). While many young people have plenty of opportunities to attain these entitlements, some young people do not. The underlying premise of the approach is that the 'package of entitlements' is made universal. If some young people struggle to access it, then they should 'have it extended to them through public services' (Williamson 2002: 98).

In Chapter Four it was suggested that time banking may be one initiative that helps achieve the Welsh Government's vision of extending young people's entitlements. The extracts outlined above are indicative of this suggestion.

There is a clear resonance between the views of the stakeholders and the ideological underpinning of the *Extending Entitlements* documentation.

The documentation outlines 10 basic entitlements for all young people in Wales. These include rights surrounding: advice and support; skills and education (which can help promote social inclusion); volunteering and active citizenship; accessible services and facilities; recreational and social opportunities (to broaden young people's horizons); and the right to have a voice on all matters which concern them.

A reading of the opinions above suggests it was apparent that the time bank could, to some extent, extend young people's entitlements. For instance, the suggestion that the time bank would increase young people's opportunities to access new experiences included those outlined in the Welsh Government policy document such as recreational and social opportunities. Likewise by linking up to external partners such as leisure centres, young people could also have greater access to local services and facilities. In addition, various other benefits of time banking were also identified. These included, building confidence, gaining a voice and developing new skills:

'...young people will report that as a result of the project they have learnt new skills and have gained confidence in their own abilities' (Funding Bid 2009).

'They...develop their skills [and] maybe share their skills with others' (Barbara – Support Staff, Bryn Secondary).

'...we feel like one of the main aims is to give them this voice to make them feel heard' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

'Also [they benefit] from self-esteem, if you reward someone' (Teacher - Bryn Secondary).

Again these benefits closely reflected a number of those specified in the *Extending Entitlements* documentation. Thus, the extract from the funding bid, taken together with stakeholders' iterations, suggest that time banking was thought to be a tool which could deliver certain rights to young people.

However, rather than being primary aims of the time bank, most were mentioned either as additional benefits for young people or ‘soft outcomes’⁵⁶, (Claire – *Together* CEO). Extending young people’s entitlements was not the main reason for creating the time bank; rather it was recognised that young people had certain rights that the time bank could uphold.

Thus, with this in mind, taken alongside the suggestion above that time banking will assist in developing young people into better, more active citizens, it appears that young people are given a dual character. Young people were simultaneously viewed as both ‘being’ – evident in the suggestion that young people have a number of entitlements, especially the right to be heard – and ‘becoming’ – apparent in the active citizenship discourse whereby young people were conceptualised as en route to full citizenship status. Freeman (2010) argues that, placed in unison, the two represent a more accurate depiction of young people. He affirms that there should be no dichotomy between the two. In the same way that adults should not be defined solely as ‘being’ (they too experience differing degrees of citizenship status), young people should not be defined only as ‘becoming’. While young people may require some level of guidance, they are also capable of autonomous action and have certain rights that should be upheld.

Thus it was suggested that participation in the time bank, could help develop young people into more responsible ‘becomings,’ as well as strengthen their existing rights as ‘beings’. By enhancing young people’s citizenship status – by encouraging young people to become more active in their schools and community and enabling them access to more opportunities – it was also implied that the rowers would help move the policy towards its final destination; engagement in the time bank would reach the main policy goal of community and social cohesion (discussed below).

⁵⁶ Giving young people a voice was the only entitlement of this kind to be explicitly mentioned as an aim of the time bank.

6.5 The Final Destination: Social and Community Cohesion

The previous sections have introduced two rationales for implementing a time bank. The first was concerned with the boat – the policy vehicle, which it was suggested that the time bank was established to facilitate co-production, a new and potentially radical way of working. The second section focused on the rowers – the young people the policy was designed to engage. It was believed that the time bank would help create active citizenship, increasing young people’s rights and making them more responsible contributors. Arguably both these aims, developing co-production and creating active citizens, were not seen as the main rationales for introducing the time bank, but instead necessary requirements to help reach the final destination.

The final destination of the time bank, the pre-dominant aim outlined in *Together’s* official documents and in the interview data was greater social (family and community) cohesion. What now follows is an exploration of this rationale. Primarily this section focuses on three related endeavours: increasing parental engagement, promoting school and community connections, and forging social networks.

6.5.1 Parental engagement

Employees of *Together* frequently mentioned that an aim of the time bank was to get parents more engaged in the school. Both the CEO of *Together* and the coordinator of the time banks maintained that parents generally become disengaged with their child’s schooling after transitioning from primary school to secondary school. Any interaction parents do have with the school was presumed to be either at annual formal events or under negative circumstances (such as misbehaviour). Consequently, the time bank was viewed as a way of creating more positive parental involvement:

‘...you get into secondary education and there is a real drop off of parent engagement. So we wanted to look at whether or not this would help just increase parent involvement’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

‘Another one [aim] is to engage parents in their learning, parents are generally quite actively involved in primary school...[in secondary schools] the only time they get called is if something bad has happened, or they’ll go annually for their parent teacher night. And we want them to be more involved than that especially some of the younger people who may be struggling. And there’s lots of different ways to do that using time banking but that is quite a big aim’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

However, while both the CEO and the coordinator suggest time banking could be utilised as a potential re-engagement tool, they clearly show a level of uncertainty whether this is achievable. The apparent lack of conviction could be attributed to the nature of this aim and its relation to the project. Whereas previous aims discussed – such as co-producing – could be considered a general aim of P2A time banking (see Boyle et al 2006; NEF 2008b; Boyle and Harris 2009), parental engagement is much more specific to this project. The school projects were pilots, with very few schools⁵⁷ doing time banking. As such there exists little previous evidence in support of this specific objective, which may explain *Together’s* reservation towards its achievability.

This is not to understate the significance of this aim. Although suggested with some reservation, parental engagement was a key aim shared across stakeholders involved in initiating, coordinating and running the time bank and was also explicitly mentioned in the funding bid.

‘[The time banks will] encourage volunteering and engagement by students, parents and adult community members in activities in the school, the local community centres and the neighbourhood’ (Funding Bid 2009).

While neither the CEO nor the coordinator offered much detail as to why engagement was important, the Bryn Secondary time bank facilitator did elaborate. As her observations below illustrate, involving parents through time banking could potentially alter students’ attitudes toward education and foster family and potentially community cohesion.

⁵⁷ According to *Together*, no other schools were trialling time bank schemes.

'I think it has the potential of...strengthening family life. If parents are more involved in the education of their children, more involved in the school then young people are more likely to have a better attitude towards education, towards learning and towards other people. And that in turn makes the community a safer and better place' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

'Then you know...they can do nice family things so it can help promote the whole ethos of strengthening the family unit so you can take your children to Jump or you can take them to the leisure centre so it almost compounds what we are doing in strengthening the family trying to bring family together' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

In Helen's view parental engagement is not an end in itself but is a means of strengthening family relations and improving young people's attitudes towards school and the wider community. Thus, engagement with time banking goes beyond participation and has impacts for social cohesion. Nevertheless, Helen's suggestions do exhibit a leap of faith. In practice it is likely to be more complex than this, for instance, parents may not partake in activities with children once they have received time credits. Parental engagement in 'thanking' may be a necessary but not sufficient factor in ensuring community cohesion.

Whilst the aim of engaging parents appears to be shared across the *Together* staff, this does not appear to have been channelled down to the school. This is indicated through the lack of acknowledgement of this aim by the school staff. Although one teacher mentioned that she had given time credits to a parent who had made jewellery for her daughter to sell at a fundraising event in the school, the following quotation suggests she was unaware that parental engagement was an actual aim of the time bank:

'I think can't we extend it to family members. Could we find a way to reward parents with time credits as well?' (Teacher – Bryn Secondary School)

Although this interviewee undoubtedly shares the belief that parents should be directly involved in the time bank and rewarded with time credits for the help they give to the school, she clearly was not aware of it as an aim. This

suggests, then, that there is some breakdown in communication about the aims of the project beyond those directly implementing it. This was further illustrated in a statement from the Executive Headteacher of the two schools:

‘...if it’s only a child’s time bank well fine...but it doesn’t help with the next stage of getting parents involved with their children’s education that’s a chestnut we got to deal with next and time banking will be very helpful there’ (Executive Headteacher).

Although he clearly agreed that parental engagement in the time bank was a key goal, his statement indicates that he may not have been aware that this was a primary aim of the time bank from the outset. This demonstrates a level of confusion in transition of aims from *Together* to frontline practitioners and signifies cloudiness about the aims and purpose of the time bank.

6.5.2 School and community connectivity

Akin to parental engagement, connecting the school and community was an aim shared by those involved in initiating, coordinating and running the time bank:

‘...the aim was to make the school a community resource, to get more community members involved in the school more school children involved in the community and everything that goes with that’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

‘the whole community thing really about community groups and the school having more connections and being seen to be part of the same community’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

The CEO of *Together* and the coordinator both maintained that one of the key reasons for creating a time bank was to help embed the school into the community. The time bank would enable pupils to actively participate in the community and bring community members into the school. This aim was instigated from the outset. This was evident in the following extract from the funding bid and acknowledged by the facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank:

‘...more connections between pupils and teachers, more connections between pupils and other pupils, between community groups and the school, between pupils and community groups and community groups and other community groups...’ (Claire – *Together* CEO)

‘...the long term thinking is that it would provide far more network and community together, or glue or whatever you want to call it’ (Rich – *Communities First*).

As previously mentioned this optimism that time banking can create social networks is well founded in the literature. Not only is this stated by Cahn (2000a) as one of the four key principles underpinning time banking, previous research findings (see Chapter Two) have also suggested that participating in time banking schemes, enabled communities to forge new social networks and develop social capital (Seyfang 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Seyfang and Smith 2002; James 2005). By attracting a diverse membership who took part in intergenerational activities, time banks helped create new bonds and thus ‘bridging’ social capital. This form of social capital is said to be healthier than bonding social capital (strengthen existing bonds between people). The former relies on the formation of ‘weaker’ ties (Granovetter 1983, in Seyfang 2004) as opposed to ‘dense ties’, which can end up being exclusionary.

It is these types of network, that *Together* employees envision the time bank creating. This is evident in the CEO’s suggestion that the time bank will enable

‘...people coming together who wouldn’t normally come together through the time bank...’ (Claire – *Together* CEO)

Creating these weak ties, especially those forged through intergenerational projects, were seen as way of enabling more positive interaction between young people and community members. It was anticipated that this would alter some of the negative perceptions and pre-existing stereotypes held of young people:

‘...increasing the perception that young people getting involved in this project were doing something positive for the community. So that sense

of breaking down some of those intergenerational barriers and people looking at young people as a negative force in the community and seeing that these young people are doing something really positive either in their school or within their community' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

'Increase intergenerational participation will help reduce negative stereotyping of young people and improve intergenerational relationships. Young people engaged and recognised for their positive contributions to the community will experience increased self-confidence and reduced propensity toward anti-social behaviour, thereby improving community safety. Adult community members will benefit from working positively with young people: building important intergenerational relationships and reducing fear of crime and anti-social behaviour' (Funding Bid 2009).

The latter extract emphasises the fact that *Together* are metaphorically spinning a lot of plates. In working towards the end of developing community cohesion, there are various steps to achieve. In particular, as alluded to in these extracts, breaking down these negative stereotypes or labels placed upon young people is a goal of the time bank and one that is particularly important in the prevention of ASB and promotion of community safety.

To some extent, this suggestion reflects a well-established theoretical standpoint. Labelling theorists argue that to avoid the potential damaging consequences of a criminogenic labelling process it is important that young people are not labelled as deviant in the first instance. Once someone is labelled as deviant it is likely to lead to further deviance. It is important to avoid labelling for it can result in a new 'deviant' identity, which will override those held previously and become a new 'master status' (Lemert 1967).

The quotations suggest that by breaking down barriers between young people and community members through time banking activities, pre-existing stereotypes of young people as troublesome and 'risky' can be challenged. Rather than viewing youths as 'anti-social' they can be viewed as community members with something to offer. Consequently time banking is believed to help reduce the fear of crime, as young people are less likely to be perceived as a threat through a process of 'destigmatisation'. The time bank also has

the potential to reduce the likelihood of young people becoming involved in ASB due to the strengthening of community bonds and a change of attitude towards young people.

Labelling theories clearly have much in common with the stated motivations of the time bank. Whilst Downes and Rock (2011) have suggested that there are inevitable and significant obstacles to translating sociological theories of deviance into practical, effective social policies, they also indicate that labelling-informed policies have a degree of promise. Specifically, they point to the work of Braithwaite (1989) who brings together the key elements of labelling theory (such as the importance of destigmatisation) – alongside a Durkheimian position (and to some extent elements of Hirschi's (1969) control theory) that integrated societies in which people are interdependent have lower crime – to emphasise a policy response based on reintegration and the maintenance of social bonds between community members.

Both the coordinator of the time banks and the facilitator in Bryn Secondary also proposed that an aim of the time bank was to improve community bonds, specifically intergenerational relationships. Rather than just tackling negative opinions of young people they suggested that altered perceptions would be multi-directional. Bringing community members together would enable them to develop a greater mutual understanding and respect:

'...then it is all just about respect – respect on all intergenerational levels, and that's children, parents and older people in the community...' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'Just improving relationships, breaking down the barriers between the generations where you have quite often ASB out on the streets. If you can change the ethos of understanding between the generations, make the elderly more tolerant towards young people...make the young people more understanding so as they spend time with elderly people they usually appreciate them more and understand that they need to be friends together' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

By encouraging young and older community members to 'work' together, they realise their perceptions of one another are misinformed. Consequently

the generation of weak ties would result in a general improvement to community relations and greater community cohesion. Arguably this could be considered the main purpose of the time bank and the final policy destination. Not only was this shared by many of the stakeholders involved in its inception and implementation, it was clearly stated as the main rationale from the outset:

‘Time credits will...increase social capital through volunteering by young and old...the focus will be on community and intergenerational engagement, with the target of improving positive community cohesion...’ (Funding Bid 2009).

This particular policy aim – creating social capital in order to increase community cohesion – is one that is central to time banking. Cahn (2002) specifically states the facilitation of social networks as a central tenet of time banking; time banking is a mechanism to revitalise the core economy that consists of family, neighbourhoods and civil society. *Timebanking UK*, the organisation that first brought time banking to the United Kingdom, echoes these sentiments. They maintain that ‘time banking is a tool to strengthen communities and raise social capital through co-production’ (Timebanking UK 2014). Whilst it has been argued previously that one of the aims for creating a time bank was to facilitate co-production, here it is suggested that co-production is a means to an end. Co-production is a mechanism to help create greater social relations that help improve community cohesion.

6.6 Conclusion

A number of aims were proposed for creating the time bank. To return to the analogy above, these appear to map on to the ‘rules of the rowing club’, which, broadly speaking focused on the boat (co-production), the rowers (young people’s citizenship) and the final destination (social cohesion). However, while stakeholders shared most of these aims, some emphasised particular values over others. The facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank (Helen) claimed that the time bank was, first and foremost, a tool for

increasing active citizenship and fostering social cohesion. For Helen the aim of the time bank was to enhance the rowers – the young people the policy was designed to engage – so that they could move towards the final destination. The coordinator (Rhiannon) on the other hand emphasised the importance of valuing people, recognising their contributions and the reciprocal nature of time banking. Thus for Rhiannon, the time bank was primarily about the normative values underpinning co-production – the policy vehicle. While co-production was to some extent an end in itself, Rhiannon also commented on the ‘final destination’. She acknowledged the aims of bringing the family into the school and improving community, school and intergenerational relations, thus to some extent she also framed co-production as a means to an end, with the ends being greater cohesion.

It was also apparent that some interviewees did not recognise aims and outcomes stated by other stakeholders and the rowing club rules (the official aims outlined by *Together*) had not been effectively translated. Apart from the Executive Headteacher (and the two facilitators employed by *Together*), the school staff had no awareness that an explicit aim was to get parents engaged in the school and create greater cohesion between the school and community. They were not aware of the final policy destination. For school staff, the time bank was mainly about the young people. It was a tool to thank them for their existing contributions and enable them new opportunities as a result. Unlike Helen, who sees rowing as an activity that enables young people to reach the final destination (she emphasises young people’s development into full citizens in order to contribute to the cohesion of communities), the teacher and the school support worker see rowing as a rewarding activity in its own right. Rowing helps extend young people’s entitlements; it is not about moving towards some final end point but is a form of empowerment. Consequently, the rowing boat analogy provides a helpful tool for understanding the complexity that is evident in the various understandings of the aims of the time bank. It has helped illustrate the

interplay between aims within the time bank. At the same time it has drawn attention to the fact that not everyone shares or recognises the same goals.

To some extent, what emerges is that perceptions of the aims of time banking are related to the role or affiliation of stakeholders. The school staff spoke mainly about the pupils whereas the Communities First team talked mainly about community networks and engagement. The CEO of *Together*, meanwhile, spoke in great detail about the various aims and gave an account that most closely resembled the official rules of the rowing club. This was perhaps unsurprising given her position in *Together* (it is likely that she would have been responsible for these outputs or at least have had a larger amount of input in writing these documents).

Whilst some differences in perceptions are therefore to be expected, the fact not everyone recognises all of these goals suggests that the aims are not being translated effectively. In the context of the analogy, it raises questions about Claire's capacity as the cox of the rowing boat to steer the time bank accordingly. There appears to be a degree of cloudiness, as well as more than a little ambition regarding the aims of time banking. While time banking has been considered a 'simple concept' (Cahn 2000a), as this chapter illustrates the reasons for its utilisation are not. It appears to be an initiative, which will be able to do many things for many people. *Together*, in particular, exhibited a significant degree of ambition with what the project could achieve. Other stakeholders, however, appeared not to share these visions to the same extent. These issues could potentially be problematic. If people hold different priorities they may work to different agendas. Those working on the ground could promote the project differently to those who created the project. Implementation at this level is explored in the following chapter (Chapter Seven), whilst Chapter Eight and Nine will investigate how these aims played out in practice. Throughout we see this division between rhetoric, the scale of ambition and actual practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLEMENTING CO-PRODUCTION: 'INTEGRATING' TIME BANKING IN THE SCHOOL

7.1 Introduction

When Rhiannon went I asked Dewi if there was any time banking activity I could get involved in. The only one he could think of was the rehearsal for the school show. We tried to track down the teacher and when we found her she was busy as she was about to go into an interview. She couldn't tell me the times of rehearsals instead she pointed me to a board and said if I looked at it each week they will say what rehearsals are happening. I asked Dewi if the students get time credits for rehearsals. He said no. At the moment only the people working backstage get time credits for helping out on the day of the play. We then went to find the teacher in charge of the sports leaders. Dewi wanted to know if he had signed any of the pupils up to time banking and given out any credits. The sports teacher said he had told all the kids about time banking but none of them were into it. He said that the stuff on the 'time-out' menus were too far away. He said he would happily write down a list of all the sports leaders, explain all the work they have done and put the amount of hours down. Dewi asked the sports teacher if he still had the folder that he had given him because he needed it back. The sports leader said he wasn't sure. When Dewi explained it had time credits in the sports teacher disputed this. He said he would have a look but he was sure he hadn't seen them. When we left I asked Dewi if he thought the sports teacher would start giving out time credits to the sport leaders or whether he would be able to see the sports leaders as he'd asked. Dewi replied no. Dewi then explained that this is what he had planned for the rest of the afternoon, chasing teachers.

Fieldnotes, Field High, June 2011

This introductory extract was taken from my fieldnotes. It documents a visit to Field High. It represents a typical example of some of the frustrations the facilitator at Field High encountered in attempting to implement a time bank in the school; the focus on which is the subject of this chapter.

This chapter is the first of three to examine time banking in practice. The chapter introduces the reader to the *modus operandi* of the time bank operating in Bryn Secondary and examines and compares its implementation and integration into the school with that of the time bank in Field High. The

argument of this chapter is that there are a number of contextual or organisational factors that can promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking in the school. These manifest differently depending on the particular environment. An explicit link is made to research question three which asks 'are there any contextual or organizational factors that promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking or co-production?' The chapter draws on data gathered from participant observation and interviews with the stakeholders. The outcome of the discussion is an appreciation of the complexity of bringing about organisational change and a greater understanding of what and who is necessary for successful implementation of time banking in a school.

This chapter begins by introducing the school time banks and the two contexts for implementation (7.1). The chapter then identifies one of the primary factors impacting upon implementation and the integration: the receptiveness of school staff (7.2). It examines stakeholder perceptions of teachers' understanding and engagement with time banking practice specifically as a means of co-producing. Highlighting the issue of staff receptiveness, this section focuses on time commitments, teachers' discretion (Lipsky 1980) and the culture of the school. This leads to a discussion of the organisational structure of the school, its hierarchical nature and the importance of the headteacher's support (7.3). Throughout, the chapter will uncover some of the challenges experienced during the implementation phase of the time bank and the differences between the two schools. Before concluding, this chapter will discuss the roles and relationships necessary for the successful implementation and delivery of a school time bank (7.4).

7.2 Introducing the School Time Banks

While the findings in Chapter Eight and Nine focus solely on the Bryn Secondary time bank⁵⁸ this chapter draws on the data collected from both the Bryn Secondary and Field High time bank. It was felt that this would allow for some fruitful comparison into the development of school time banks and provide further insight into factors affecting successful implementation.

The accounts presented here discuss the structure and operation of the time banks over a specific time period (from November 2010 to August 2012) and thus should not be taken as a fixed representation. When the fieldwork commenced the time banks had only just become operational in the schools. As such this chapter discusses the ‘birth’ and development of a new initiative, focusing on the process of implementation and integration of the time banks.

The two schools – Bryn Secondary and Field High – are situated a mile from one another. They are located in the same Communities First area and were both part of a pilot time banking project. The pilot project was initiated by *Together* and was granted two years funding from April 2010 until March 2012, from the Welsh Government’s Outcomes fund⁵⁹. During the fieldwork, *Together* received an additional six months funding, ensuring the pilot operated until September 2012⁶⁰.

Although funding was secured by *Together* in April 2010, the time banks did not technically launch in the schools until November 2010. This was due to a period of ‘design and set up’ (Claire – *Together* CEO) required before the time bank became operational:

‘...we launched the time bank in November...there was six months of work before that...It was lots of general getting the brand ready, getting the notes printed, doing the audits to find out what’s going on in the

⁵⁸ See Chapter Five for a discussion on this.

⁵⁹ The Outcome Fund is a funding stream of the Welsh Government for Communities First partnerships.

⁶⁰ From September 2012 any schools that wish to run a school time bank with the aid of *Together*, including the existing schools will have to generate their own funds in order to access their services.

schools, we did the co-design workshops to find out what the kids might want to be involved with, and working with the support team to ensure that everybody understood, there was no point launching a time bank if the people in the school didn't know what a time bank was. So we spent a lot of time figuring out how it would work in a school...' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'Where it started was out of the pre work...because we were looking for some quite serious buy-ins from those schools, before in terms of match [funding] and also in terms of delivering the project. The work around the kind of outcomes was done around that point; what could the possible outcomes be; what could it look like in the schools. So by the time we got to the point where actually it was funded quite a lot of the prep work had taken place really within the schools to what the project could look like' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

From both these quotations it was clear that significant time and effort was invested in the time bank prior to its launch in the schools. Even before the funding was granted, the CEO of *Together* explained that a lot of preparation work had taken place. Both *Together* staff believed it was vital that the school was on board from the outset and gained an understanding of the project and its potential outcomes. A key part of the planning process was ensuring that pupils in the school and members of staff had heard of the time bank and that those facilitating the time bank were aware how pupils might want to be involved. However, while some early events did take place in the school, such as the co-design workshop designed 'to find out what the kids might want to be involved with' (Rhiannon, Time bank coordinator), as will be shown throughout this chapter and in subsequent chapters (Eight and Nine), this did not automatically result in a greater understanding. In reality not everyone in the school (staff or pupils) knew about the time bank before (or during) the time bank's implementation stage.

Both of the school's time banks were overseen by a coordinator, employed by *Together* to specifically manage the time banks in the pilot project. Both schools had an employee appointed by *Together* who worked one day a week in the school to facilitate the time bank. In Bryn Secondary the facilitator was an existing member of staff whose main role was the school's community

focused coordinator. In Field High, the facilitator was an external member of the school. He was not an existing member of staff. He was a community development worker (based in a different locality to the school). The importance of these roles and the differences faced in the schools as a result of the facilitator's position will be discussed when exploring the implementation and integration of the time banks below (7.4). It is also worth noting here that both schools underwent considerable leadership change in the period of the time bank's two years funding. There have been two different headteachers in Field High and three different heads in Bryn Secondary. In Bryn Secondary there was also a period of time where the school had a temporary leadership team⁶¹. Attention now turns to the operation of one of the time banks. As outlined in Chapter Five, because I was unable to see any activities in Field High or any menus of activities, detailed description and analysis can only be given to the *modus operandi* of Bryn Secondary.

7.2.1 Bryn Secondary

Pupils⁶² can earn time credits through a number of different activities. These are known as 'time-in' activities. 'Time-in' activities involve a combination of one-off events, sporadic events or regular events, which happen either on a weekly or yearly basis (see Table 3). 'Time-in' activities are made up of both existing activities and new activities. Existing activities included those that operated before the time bank's implementation, such as the Eco Club and the Garden Club. Both these clubs were already up and running and when the time bank launched pupils involved in these activities automatically became members of the time bank and received time credits. New activities⁶³ refer to those created after the time bank was introduced to the schools. These activities were either created with time banking in mind or when first

⁶¹ See Appendix G for a timeline of key events that occurred within the time banks and schools more generally which have shaped the implementation process.

⁶² Parents can also partake in a number of 'time-in' activities.

⁶³ How these new activities have been developed and how they are facilitated and delivered will be discussed in subsequent chapters (Chapters Eight and Nine).

initiated gave out time credits from the outset. The majority of these events were either monitored by Helen, the facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank, or Barbara, a support worker at Bryn Secondary. The only other members of school staff who distributed time credits were a teacher who ran the Eco Club, a member of staff who ran the peer mentoring and – intermittently – the teacher who organised catering at school events. Beside these, the other people who distributed credits were external to the school, such as the gardener or the time bank coordinator. Table 3 below gives details of the different activities pupils were able to participate in to earn credits. It also outlines whether it was a new or existing activity, whether the activity was open to all pupils or restricted to certain year groups and the regularity of the events. While this list may not offer a complete representation of all the ‘time-in’ activities at Bryn Secondary, the list was generated from the official records of monitored activities and issued time credits. The table was generated in March 2012 showing a snapshot of the amount and type of activities pupils could engage after two years of project funding.

Once time credits have been earned, students are able to spend them through a ‘time-out’ menu. This menu offers a range of activities provided through the time bank. These have included two adventure weekend trips in Wales – one for pupils from year 7 to year 9 and one for pupils from year 10 and year 11. They have also included day trips to Welsh seaside towns and English cities all of which have been funded through the project’s budget. Additionally, time credits can be used with external partners of *Together* in and around the community. These include leisure centres, sports venues such as football grounds and arts venues such as theatres and a specialised film venue. How these are decided upon will be discussed in the next chapter.

Table 3: 'Time-in' activities, Bryn Secondary, March 2012

Activity	New/existing	Who	Regularity
<i>Gardening Club</i>	Existing	Not restricted	Weekly
<i>Museum Project</i>	New	Year 9's	One-off event
<i>Fruit and Veg co-op</i>	Existing	Asdan pupils	Weekly
<i>Romance Academy</i>	New	Apply	One-off event
<i>Evaluation Interviews</i>	New	Selected pupils	One-off event
<i>Transition Art Mural project</i>	Unknown	Year 7's and 9's	One-off event
<i>Peer Mentoring</i>	New	All	Unknown
<i>Street Team</i>	New	All	Weekly
<i>Talent Show Prep</i>	New	Initiated by pupil	One-off
<i>Saturday Club</i>	Existing	14+	Weekly
<i>Eco Group</i>	Existing	All	Weekly
<i>School Council</i>	Existing	Unknown ⁶⁴	Unknown
<i>Catering/Hosting Events Group</i>	Existing	Unknown	As required
<i>Pupils visiting care homes (Age Concern)</i>	New	Sixth-Form pupils	Weekly (4 weeks)
<i>Journalism Club</i>	New	Unknown	Weekly
<i>Christmas Dinner for Age Concern</i>	Existing	Catering pupils and Year 11's	Annually
<i>Community Garden Party</i>	Existing	Eco, gardening and catering pupils	Annually
<i>'Save the Children'</i>	New	Unkown	Weekly
<i>Peer Mentoring Training</i>	New	Year 10's	Unknown

⁶⁴ Those boxes marked 'unknown' refer to instances where I had not been given this data, or been unable to witness participation in the activities.

The time bank facilitators (Helen or Bran) or the people running the ‘time-in’ activities (the gardener, the Eco Club teacher or Barbara) are meant to record when young people take part in an activity, when they give young people credits and how many time credits they give out. In reality young people were not always given these physical time credits every time they did an hour’s activity, but for some activities they would be given time credits after a few activities representing the amount of hours they had given. Young people would then trade these credits for ‘time-out’ activities. Time credits that had been spent on internal ‘time-out’ activities (those hosted in the school or by the *Together* staff) would then be collected by the facilitators to redistribute to those facilitating ‘time-in’ activities. Credits that had been spent on external ‘time-out’ activities would then be collected by Rhiannon, the coordinator of the time bank, who would redistribute these across the schools. In theory time credits were meant to be in constant circulation and the time bank facilitators were supposed to keep accurate up-to-date records of who how many people were taking part in each activity and how many credits were given out. However as is discussed below (see section 7.3.1) the facilitator found the administrative related tasks difficult. Attention now turns to focus on the process of implementation of the time bank.

7.3 School Staff Receptiveness

One of the primary factors that have the potential to assist with the development of time banking in the schools is the receptiveness of teachers. Previous findings state that ‘...buy in from the head and staff was absolutely vital’ (Boyle and Smith 2005: 13). As teachers are frontline workers, they have the potential to help facilitate time banks. As Boyle and Smith (2005) have argued, school staff are essential in helping integrate the time banking into all aspects of the school. An evaluation of the SchoolLets project, which attempted to roll out time banks or ‘Lets schemes’ in nine primary and

secondary schools, found that standalone projects, which are not integrated into the school, are far more likely to fail. Integrating the time bank into the schools and linking it up to existing activities was mentioned as a particular challenge:

'I think within the school one of the on-going challenges is just the levels of integration. So we are looking at how do we get it into all aspects of the school life...I think timing has been an issue, we underestimated how long that might take umm, so for example looking at how do we ensure that all school activities there's an option of using time credits on. I think that's probably been I don't think it's really a barrier but biggest challenge within the schools' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

While there was clearly an aim to integrate the time bank into the schools it was apparent that, in practice, this was more challenging than expected. The CEO of *Together* identified integration as one of the main obstacles to implementation. A potential reason for this obstacle, she further explained, could be the relatively low involvement from teachers:

'I think there have been a lot of staff members who have not been, are not involved yet and it's starting to, how do we involve them in their day to day work that they are doing' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

Discussing the overall response to the time bank, the CEO of *Together* acknowledged that a number of the school staff were not engaged. This was something they were not sure how to resolve but recognised a need to involve teachers through their normal work in the schools. A lack of teacher engagement with the time bank was a common theme running through discussions with staff involved in the time banking (*Together* staff and school staff). This was marked in both Bryn Secondary and Field High. In Bryn Secondary, only a handful of school staff facilitated time banking activities:

'I was talking to Rhiannon today and she was saying that although things are ticking along in Bryn Secondary, there are only four or five members of staff in the schools that, in her words, 'care'. The other teachers are not involved.'

Fieldnotes, Meeting with Rhiannon, March 2011

‘We are the only two [teachers that use time banking], me and Mr Crew and Debbie from gardening. I see her as one, but I know she is from outside [the school]. Barbara uses time credits as well...I’d like a lot more support...other departments...It would be good to have other departments helping’ (Teacher – Bryn Secondary School).

In the discussion with the coordinator of the time banks – Rhiannon – and the quotation from the teacher, it was apparent they both thought more staff should be involved in the time bank. The coordinators use of the term ‘care’ rather than involved gives the impression that she is quite hostile to the lack of teacher engagement. It suggests that she considers teachers as apathetic or opposed to the ideology of time banking. As mentioned in Chapter Six, for Rhiannon the main aim of time banking is to realise the normative principles of co-production. Time banks help value people’s skills, recognise them as assets and thank them for their contributions. These aims were stressed far more by Rhiannon than any other stakeholders. Thus for Rhiannon the dearth of involvement from teachers might signal a lack of sympathy for these aims. However, this is not necessarily the case. As mentioned in the literature discussing educational change, Fullan (2007: 126) states that one should not equate problematic implementation with the ‘outright rejection of the values embodied in the change or hard-core resistance to change.’ There may be other reasons why teachers do not engage with a policy.

Alas, due to difficulties accessing teachers, especially teachers who were not involved in the time bank – which appears to be the majority, according to the quotations above – their voices are largely silent⁶⁵. However, while it was not possible to draw on the subjective experiences of teachers who were not involved in the time bank, some insight can be generated through the exploration of the views of others. Presented below are a number of reasons

⁶⁵ See Chapter Three for a full description of why it was difficult to access teachers

for the lack of teacher engagement, provided by those who were, in some capacity, involved in the time bank⁶⁶.

Whilst it was evident that there was some, albeit limited, staff involvement in Bryn Secondary, it was far less evident in Field High. The extract at the opening of this chapter from a morning spent at Field High with facilitator of the time bank – Dewi – highlighted the problems faced in trying to engage teachers. It explained the difficulties Dewi had trying to locate teachers and the struggles he had trying to encourage them to sign students up to time banking. This is also evidenced below in another extract from a visit to Field High earlier that academic year:

Dewi came in and talked about how it has been difficult to get the prefects to earn Time credits. Dewi had to see so many different members of staff in order for prefects to be able to receive credits. This was the case with everything. Everyone says see this person instead. No one's actually giving out time credits. Rhiannon said that Field High has this can't do attitude; it's not us it's them! Neither the sports helpers nor the prefects have been given any time credits. Dewi says that he needs to find the teacher in charge of mentoring so she knows how to give out time credits to the pupils who do extra days. Rhiannon said it's stressful there all the time – the teachers don't want to do it – even though it's not a lot of work.

Fieldnotes, Field High, March 2011

Again, discussion is centred on the difficulties of administering time credits and getting teachers to facilitate time banking activities. It was clear from a visit to Field High and talking to the facilitator of the time bank (Dewi) that they were struggling to get teachers on-board. Although this was an on-going problem in both schools – reported throughout the entire fieldwork period – this was far more challenging in Field High than Bryn Secondary. What was more problematic was that the Field High facilitator only worked in the school one-day-a-week and so was reliant on staff support to help facilitate the time bank. Paradoxically, his 'outsider' status might actually have been a

⁶⁶ These include the CEO of *Together*, the coordinator and the facilitator who were all involved in the design and implementation of the time bank. A teacher who was actively involved in the time bank and the Executive Headteacher of the two schools.

contributing factor to the lack of teacher engagement. As discussed later in this chapter (7.4), having not worked in the school before may have made his role harder as he did not have access to existing school staff connection.

A number of reasons could be used to explain why teachers were not as involved in the time bank as initially expected and why Field High found this much more problematic than Bryn Secondary. In Chapter Two it was mentioned that one of the challenges of trying to develop co-production in public services is that service providers may be resistant to new ways of delivering services (Boyle ND; James 2005; Gregory 2012b). To some extent this was evident from the data. It became clear that time commitments, the culture of the schools and missing links in the communication chain all amounted to a degree of resistance to the project. The first of which will now be explored.

7.3.1 Time constraints, discretion and 'self-interest'

One of the reasons for the lack of teacher engagement often cited by stakeholders who were involved in facilitating time banking in the schools (school staff and *Together* employees) was time pressure. Mirroring Ball et al's (2011) findings that teachers often feel a sense of work overload, the facilitator of the time bank at Bryn Secondary acknowledged that the school staff have a high demand on their time:

'You know school is a very busy place, teachers have a lot of priorities. This is not necessarily their main priority. So it's not that they don't want to be involved it's just it's not on their top priority. So it is just raising the profile all the time and letting teachers see that there is not a lot of work involved in it...I think some of it is we have already got a lot to do we don't want any more paper work and they do they already have a lot of paper work a lot of things that they are trying to stay afloat with and they do' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

The facilitators suggest that due to teachers' already busy schedule time banking is not a main priority. Consequently staff might not feel they have the time to commit to the time bank. Having other tasks to prioritise to some

extent resonates with Lipsky's (1980) influential thesis, which claims street level bureaucrats (teachers, police, nurses) operate with high levels of discretion. Discretion enables street level bureaucrats to 'balance the demands of policy implementation' with existing institutional priorities (Lipsky 1980; Maynard-Moody and Musheno 2000, 2003, in Gofan 2014: 3); it provides an element of control over how different policies are played out in practice. In this instance teachers used their discretion to prioritise other tasks over time banking. Teachers' discretion gave them some power to influence the implementation process. While Helen, the facilitator, appears somewhat sympathetic to this, the coordinator of the time bank – Rhiannon – was far more critical:

'But I don't think it's a big surprise that the staff are a bit of a barrier I think it was always going to be that way. And teachers do feel like they have a lot of work to do, that they are put upon which may be they should try and work in the real world sometimes as well. Yes it's a difficult job when you are working with difficult children and it's very stressful and you've got to do your lesson planning but actually sitting in a room and supervising six formers doing a club means you can get on with your work anyway (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'...giving an hour a week isn't a huge thing...but most of them, they don't have to. It's not part of their contract...and I think to move into the future if a school adapts or takes on board time banking whole heartedly then staff contracts are going to have to say and you will give an hour a week' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

Speaking in retrospect Rhiannon recognises that an inevitable barrier to the implementation of the time bank was teachers' sense of being overworked. Rhiannon sees a lack of engagement from teachers as resistance to working beyond their normal hours. This mirrors the work of Boyle (ND) who has suggested that one of the barriers for staff changing their roles from providers to facilitators is they might be averse to the change in their normal working day. Co-productive services often require more flexibility in order to meet the needs of users.

However, rather than being sympathetic to teachers workload, as is the facilitator, Rhiannon frames teachers' unwillingness to work more hours as purely self-interested. It is not that teachers do not have the time, but rather are opposed to giving their time. Rhiannon is clearly keen to limit teacher discretion – evident by her proposal to write time banking into teachers' contracts. While Helen does not see discretion as a particularly pertinent issue, Rhiannon does. Thus debates here seem to mirror previous ones over whether discretion is beneficial or necessary, or whether it is problematic, signalling poor 'top-down control' (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Barrett and Hill 1984; Linder and Peters 1987; Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983, in Gofan 2014). The different reactions to unresponsive staff and the debates about discretion may reflect the different roles and relationships *Together* employees have with the staff. Helen herself is a street level bureaucrat; she is a member of the school staff who also has other 'priorities' that lie outside of time banking. On a number of occasions both she and Rhiannon mentioned that Helen herself struggled with the paperwork involved in recording the time bank. Rhiannon on the other hand is not a member of school staff. She is an 'outsider' whose full time job is coordinating the school time banks. This might explain why Rhiannon is less sympathetic to teachers' supposed unwillingness to donate their time.

However, while the coordinator is quite hostile to the notion of time affecting engagement, even a staff member who was very active in facilitating the time bank also mentioned time constraints. Not only did she suggest this might hinder other staff getting involved, she also mentioned that she finds it problematic herself:

On my first visit to Eco Club the teacher facilitating the club discussed with me all the different activities pupils earned time credits for. She said they earned credits for coming along to Eco Club which was held every Tuesday lunch time. She said they also have earned time credits for speaking in assemblies about the Eco Club. She explained how they had also earned time credits for helping out at the Christmas bazaar and for making the recycled jewellery that they sold there. Enthusiastically

she explained how three boys wanted to bake some cakes to sell. She explained to them that she couldn't pay for the mixtures, so one asked his mum to help them. They baked at home for two hours so she gave them two time credits. She also mentioned how they recycled clothes. She explained that she takes the clothes down to the charity shop, but the problem is having enough time. She said she has to go after work, but she can't get a time credit for that.

Fieldnotes, Eco Club, February 2011

While it is clear from the above abstract that teachers struggle with the time commitments often required when doing time banking, it also shows that there are those who are nevertheless prepared to find time to engage with time banking. This resonates with Ball et al (2011: 625), who assert that '...actors in schools...take up different positions in relation to policy.' Different actors can respond to and engage with initiatives in different ways. While some teachers might take up '...positions of indifference, avoidance or irrelevance' to new enterprises – as was the case for many of the teachers in Bryn Secondary and most in Field High – other teachers can be positioned as enthusiasts (Ball et al 2011: 625). The teacher who ran the Bryn Eco Club can be considered in this latter role. The above quotation shows that the teacher found a number of different activities to engage with the time bank and administer time credits. This was also clear from time spent in the school. She would regularly approach me to tell me who and how people had been earning credits. She was constantly thinking of new ways pupils could earn time credits. Her enthusiasm was paramount. Thus with this in mind, given that some teachers could find time to engage with the project, this indicates that there were more underlying reasons for lack of involvement than time constraints alone.

7.3.2 Culture change

In addition to being averse to working different hours, it has also been suggested that staff might find it difficult to adapt to their roles (Boyle ND; James 2005). Teachers may have been reluctant to get involved due to the

culture shift the project required. For instance, in their discussion of co-producing health care, Dunston et al (2009: 42) argue that co-production

...profoundly disturb[s] many fundamental constructs that have long informed professional identity, defined and differentiated expert knowledge from lay knowledge and shaped the roles and rules that typically govern the ways in which health professionals and health consumers interact. The shift from a traditional expert-based health system to a co-productive health system, and from traditional expert-based health professional practice to co-productive professional practice, will necessarily involve substantial socio-cultural and organisational change.

Although Dunston et al (2009) focus solely on the cultural change required in co-producing health care these remarks offer useful insights for education. In schools teachers are defined as experts; their role is to deliver knowledge. Students on the other hand are at school to learn, they are the recipients of knowledge. Thus the required change proposed by Duston et al is just as applicable to educational institutions wishing to co-produce.

The change in roles and the cultural shift necessary when implementing time banking was identified by the CEO of *Together* (Claire) as one of the main challenges, not just within the school, but for time banking in general:

‘I think in terms of challenges more broadly to time banking, I still think it comes back to this kind of cultural shift about the way that we are working with professionals and supporting professionals then to work in a different way....For example, say that you ran an after school programme and your culture right now is that you prepare all of that you deliver it, you might have a few people help you out on tasks but actually its yours and you do it we are looking to say to that person how could you get young people involved in how to deliver that in either in the school or youth centre setting. So for that person you are moving effectively from delivery to supporting other people to deliver. That I think is quite a shift for an individual person ... that cultural shift for a professional I think is the biggest shift for time banking’ (Claire – *Together* CEO).

Claire recognised time banking as a different way of working than most professionals are used to. It requires a shift away from providing services, to providing support to users to deliver services. This shift in working requires a

culture change. This idea echoes the literature surrounding potential problems with facilitating co-production (Boyle ND; James 2005; Duston et al 2009). Like Boyle (ND), Claire also suggests that people who are used to working as service providers may find it difficult to adapt to a more collaborative role. The authoritarian nature of the schools with its pre-existing power dynamics operating between teachers and pupils might make this change more difficult. Huberman (1973: 45) has stated that ‘...teachers resist in particular all change which leaves them less control over the classroom or over the students in it.’ While pupils might, to some extent, be engaged in co-producing their learning, there is still a clear dichotomy between pupils as service users and teachers as service providers. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that on a number of occasions the CEO of *Together* refers to time banking as quite ‘...a cultural shift for the schools’ suggesting that ‘...it is not like anything the schools have done before’ and thus ‘...they’re still taking a bit of time to understand it.’

A culture change appears to be a prominent theme, not just in the co-production literature but also in the educational reform literature (Huberman 1973; Giltin and Mangonis 1995; Evans 1996; Fullan 2007). Huberman (1973: 3) states that a significant factor effecting implementation is not the ‘the nature of the innovation’ rather it is the ‘concept of change’ that those implementing the initiative/the organisations will have to make. Moreover, as stated by Gitlin and Mangonis (1995) there is a school of thought that claims that if the school’s existing culture – the social norms and regularities that guide behaviour and social interactions in the school – is not taken into consideration, the proposed initiative is almost certainly going to fail. While the CEO of *Together* did not differentiate between schools it is evident that Field High found this change more challenging. This may be attributed to the prevailing culture of the school, which is described as more utilitarian than Bryn Secondary and where school is viewed as a means-to-an-end:

'The difference between the two schools is quite marked, there are two very different in-school cultures, one is far more participatory where enjoyment is cherished and smiling is cherished and the other is far more utilitarian in terms of what the purposes of school is and what the purpose of a young person is therefore it's been far easier I think to get time banking working in a school that has the values around enjoyment and smiling to go with social contribution rather than a more utilitarian approach to school and lessons. I'm not saying that's a strictly accurate dichotomy but there's a kernel of truth there which people who know the two schools would say is right ...' (Executive Headteacher)

It is clear that the Executive Headteacher of the two schools believed that Field High and Bryn Secondary have very different cultures⁶⁷ and that this may explain the difference in uptake of the time bank. It is suggested that Bryn Secondary is more conducive to time banking and this is a product of the school's culture. It is supposed that time banking will be easier to implement in a school which values 'social contributions' and is participatory by nature. However, in Field High which is more orthodox with the main concern focused on learning outcomes, there is less room for the values that would encourage time banking to prevail. The culture in Field High, therefore, is less amenable to time banking. If time banking is to be successfully integrated the school requires change. The Executive Headteacher is not the only one to suggest that Field High has an existing culture that is less hospitable to time banking. This is also evident from discussions with Rhiannon and Dewi on a visit to Field High:

Rhiannon was explaining to Sarah some of the difficulties they were having in Field High. She explained that the teachers work to the curriculum. If it's not on curriculum they don't want to know. She

⁶⁷ The difference in school cultures was also recognised by some of the pupils in the schools. During an afternoon spent at Bryn Secondary with a group of year 8 time banking members from both schools, a conversation was observed which highlighted the schools perceived differences:

'I was with a group of three girls whilst they worked on their presentation about their recent visit to the museum. Two of the girls were from Bryn Secondary and one of the girls was from Field High and they started talking about the differences between their schools. They discussed how Field High was very 'strict.' The girl from Field High explained that when they had the fire at the school earlier that month, a boy who was hiding from his friends in a room got excluded. A girl from Bryn Secondary said, you get excluded for everything at your school. The girl from Field High agreed. The Field High pupils said that it seemed a lot more 'relaxed' at Bryn Secondary. In Field High you get a detention for wearing your coat inside.'

Fieldnotes, Museum project Bryn Secondary, April 2011

explained how they were 'seen as all nice and fluffy' and that teachers' need to be sold the benefits – that kids will behave more, if they get involved'. When Sarah and Rhiannon left the room I asked Dewi how it was going and he told me that he hates it. He hates going to Field High as they all shout at the kids.

Fieldnotes, Field High, March 2011

Rhiannon claims that the current culture of Field High is not in harmony with the aims currently emphasised for the time bank. Implementation problems are due to the time bank appearing at odds with school culture. In order to get teachers involved Rhiannon urges that the school must be 'sold the benefits.' Here the benefits mentioned are behavioural change; pupils will behave better if they engage in the time bank. This implies that rather than trying to adapt the school culture to fit with the time bank, the key to getting Field High involved is promoting time banking as complementary to the school's culture. As outlined in Chapter Six, benefits for the school such as better behaviour were mentioned by a few stakeholders as a potential outcome of the time bank, however this was not seen as a main aim nor was it widely acknowledged. Thus it could be that in schools whose current cultures are less amenable to time banking, more emphasis needs to be placed on aims that they are already equated with.

Drawing on the work of Connor (2013) it could be argued that Rhiannon believes the current frame that *Together* are using to promote the time banks in Field High needs altering. Connor (2013), puts forth the suggestion that when new policies enter the public domain, a variety of different 'frames' can be used to make sense of the issues they seek to address. Frames are the vital 'weapons' that enables social entrepreneur to 'sell' their initiatives (Beland 2005, in Connor 2013). 'In its most literal sense framing refers to the boundary that we put around an image' (Connor 2013: 94). Adjusting a frame, even slightly, can alter the focus that is brought to the foreground and change one's understanding of the issue. Thus the challenge for those trying to promote a new initiative is utilising the appropriate frame for the particular audience they are trying to engage. The very essence of framing is

to present 'new information in terms that people are already familiar with and understand' (Connor 2013: 93). A frame that is more aligned with the school's existing frames – such as promoting better behaviour – might therefore generate more support.

However, with this said, it could be argued that changing the frame could potentially be problematic as the core principles of co-production are no longer the driving force behind the time banks implementation. Although Gregory (2012b) found that even when time banks are utilised to promote alternative goals, co-production can still develop, he has also warned that the more tokenistic the use of time banking to promote behavioural change, the more likely it is that opportunities to develop co-production will diminish (Gregory 2012a; see also Naughton-Doe 2012). Moreover if the initiative is adopted but change is not sought, it runs the risk of becoming subsumed into existing practice. This could in turn dilute the original goal expectation and consequently diminish the chances of achieving the initially proposed outcomes (Evans 1996). Connor (2013: 93) makes a similar suggestion that when an alternative frame is used because the original frame fails, a 'disjunction' can materialise 'between the facts and frames.' If this happens, he warns that the facts are more likely to be revised or rejected than the frame. The time bank's original aims are more likely to be ignored⁶⁸.

7.4 Organisational Structure and its Communication Channels

In the remarks above it was suggested that teachers need to be sold the benefits of time banking. However, rather than being framed inappropriately, or in a way that is at odds with school cultures, teachers' lack of support maybe due to a general lack of awareness. It was suggested that

⁶⁸ Unfortunately due to the lack of successful integration and slow processes of implementing at Field High during the field work, a commentary cannot be given on the types of relationship developed in the time bank. However, attention will be given to the relationships developed in the Bryn Secondary time bank which will be discussed in Chapter Eight and Nine.

inappropriate communication channels may have limited teacher knowledge of the time bank:

'...there's all these different levels you've got to try and find your way in...'
(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'I think it's not a resistance to the project but it's a resistance to not being told. So when they actually have some time to sit down and find out about it I've never really had anybody who doesn't know why we bother doing that they're all like that's a great idea. But there's this I am an outsider that comes in at quite a senior level and says no we've been told we can do this and it's *their* school it's *their* environment it's *their* job and they don't like to be told. Which is fine, but I've got to find a way of getting the information to them which is maybe, I don't do it in a confrontational way and we sometimes do things because we had the OK from the head so we'll continue in the school to do something then you'll have a couple of heads of years up in arms cos you're taking a student out of lessons, yey but the headteacher said we could...that breakdown in communication isn't ours, but we suffer as a part of it'
(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

Rather than being resistant to the principle of time banking, the coordinator's remarks suggest that it is the structure of the school that makes communications problematic and is consequently a barrier to teacher's receptiveness. Her proposal that there are many 'different levels' that they have to navigate suggests the school has a distinctive hierarchical structure. As Hoy and Sweetland (2001: 296) note '...schools are bureaucracies — they are structures with [a] hierarchy of authority.' Members of staff who are not in a position of authority find it difficult to communicate the message to others. Correspondingly, teachers can be quite hostile to being told 'what to do' if it has come from an 'outsider' who they believe has no legitimacy to authority:

When I went and saw Rhiannon today she was talking about the difficulties of getting teachers on board. She said she had the wrong assumptions about teachers when she started ...she went in to the school with the assumption that the headteacher has told all the staff. However, that wasn't the case. When Rhiannon told the facilitators to tell the teachers you can do this, she said the facilitators didn't feel comfortable – schools are very hierarchical.

Fieldnotes, meeting with Rhiannon, May 2012

In hierarchical systems people receive commands from higher up in the chain of command. As the school is hierarchical, teachers need to be informed about the time bank by a superior. The headteacher holds the ultimate claim to authority and as such their role and impact was seen as vital:

'I think a few people that all have to be involved; one of the biggies is the head. We've done projects in the past in lots of community settings and organisations where there is support from the chief exec. But they're not fully engaged in it and that's been fine and you can fully work with project staff and create fantastic projects. In a school setting I don't think that is doable I think you have to have the head or the deputy head if it's been devolved really really involved and they have to lead the vision of it' (Claire – *Together* CEO)

'I think you do really need your head of the school to really get it, we have this new executive head now, this new chap and he just really gets it...it's all very well the headteacher saying yes I want it to be in my school I'll support it I'll give some hours, but you need that complete belief' (Rich – Communities First employee).

Both the CEO of *Together* and a Communities First employee see the headteacher's role as imperative to the success of the time bank. This resonates with Boyle et al's (2006: xii) suggestion that successful implementation of co-production can mainly be attributed to the engagement of managers who can see the benefit. In this case, the findings presented here stress the importance of the headteacher's involvement. Unlike other time banking and co-production projects, only when the headteacher is wholeheartedly on board can co-production be achieved.

However, while the headteacher's enthusiasm was clearly important, this does not automatically result in successful implementation or integration. Drawing on Rogers' (1995) typology of innovation decision-making, provides a useful analytical tool for understanding the issues noted in the Bryn Secondary time bank initiative. Rogers distinguishes between 'innovation decision-making' and 'innovation implementation'. Innovation decision-making is the process that leads to adoption; it comes before implementation and does not necessarily involve all those required in at the implementation

stage. Rogers differentiates between three different forms of innovation decision-making; *optional innovation-decisions*, *collective innovation-decisions*, and *authority innovation-decisions*. While the first two involve all of those who work in the organisation – either making the decision individually (and regardless of others’ preferences) or as a collective – the latter places decision-making in the hands of a select few; those ‘who possess power, status, or technical expertise’ in the organisation. Here, the decision to adopt the time bank reflected ‘authority innovation decision’ making. This form of decision-making is one of the most common in organisations and tends to lead to quicker adoption rates (Rogers 1995).

Although it could be seen as advantageous – speeding up the process which leads to implementation – in reality, Rogers (1995: 29) states that ‘...authoritarian decision-making may circumvent during their implementation.’ Once a decision to adopt a new initiative has been made by the organisation, implementation does not always follow directly. Having the approval of the headteacher does not necessarily result in staff engagement. Once initiatives have been adopted, Ball et al (2011) suggest that headteachers and their senior leadership team play a key part in the translation of policy and the direction it will take. Discussing the different positions actors exercise in their response to new policies, the headteacher’s role is that of narrator. The headteacher must create a positive institutional narrative that supports the implementation of the new initiative. Their role is to put forth a vision of improvement to ‘hold things together’ or ‘move things on’ (Ball et al 2011: 627). However, in the case examined this does not appear to have happened:

‘Now it’s been interesting because when I was appointed...I was given points of contact that no longer work there...but they were both the principles or headteachers so obviously I continued onto the next one and what I’ve discovered is that the headteacher agrees and says that yes, but that doesn’t filter down. And then heads of years or heads of faculties – who as well are classed as senior management but aren’t quite as high up – will sometimes have a little bit of a hissy fit and say

well no, I said no. And the fact that I go to them and say, 'but the headteacher's said yes,' doesn't do anything to foster good relationships' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

The coordinator of the time bank sees communication as a barrier to the time bank's implementation. Examining the existing policy studies literature, which took a top-down approach to studying policy, Barrett (2004: 252) found that one of the factors associated with problematic implementation has been attributed to a 'problem of communication and co-ordination between the "links in the chain"'. It was assumed by *Together* that the headteacher would have passed on information to the staff. However, this was not the case. Information was not being filtered down from the headteachers to the senior management. Whilst support from the headteachers exists it is not translated. The headteachers have not developed an institutional narrative for the school to engage with the time bank (Ball et al 2011); they have not articulated a vision. They were not effective narrators.

The constant changes in the senior leadership might account for confusion over this role. Indeed as the fieldnotes above show, when realising the breakdown in communication, Rhiannon suggested to the facilitators that they should take on this responsibility. However, they expressed discomfort in adopting this position. They are aware that this is not their role and they did not hold the authority required to fulfil it. Thus, the hierarchical organisational structure of the school and the problems with communication are interlinked. As Brodtkin (1990, in Schofield 2001: 252) claims '...all policies need channels or structures through which to be delivered into action.' Due to the hierarchical structure, it is suggested that communication needs to be top-down:

'The senior management team [has to be on board] within the school. If the senior staff team are on board and it is firmly embedded within the schools improvement plan then it becomes sustainable because the school has accepted it as part of their plan that's how it's going to work. If it's just a little pocket of people trying to make it work independently trying to make it work in a school system, then it's going to fail. So it has

to be fed down from the top really and the staff have to...be on board...'
(Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary)

The data suggest that the headteacher needs to be committed to communicating the aims of the time bank. As highlighted by the facilitator in Bryn Secondary, without senior members on board the time bank will be non-essential, existing, at best, only on the periphery.

Following one visit to Field High, it became apparent that the problems faced in this regard were typical of the hierarchical institutions in general rather than idiosyncratic to the *school* organisational structure. In a meeting at Field High with one of the *Together* employees whose role was to implement a time bank in a prison, she explained similar challenges:

Sarah, was explaining to me how she is implementing time banking in a prison which is similar to a school in its bureaucratic nature. She explained how it was difficult at first, but she has a senior manager now 'that totally gets it.' He turns up to meetings when someone is being difficult. She said you need that, you can't not have that.

Fieldnotes, Field High, March 2011

In organisations based on clear hierarchical structures, it is urged that time bank facilitators need a dedicated point of contact who is a senior member of staff. Support for the project is needed from someone who holds authority. This is similar to the findings of Boyle and Smith (2005) who suggest that facilitators need to have key contacts in the school to support them. If adequate support is not in place, Boyle and Smith (2005: 29) proclaim that facilitators are effectively being left to 'to sink or swim'.

7.5 Roles and Relationships

Focusing on the role of service providers in institutions trying to embody co-productive principles, as it has already been mentioned above, Boyle et al (2006: xii) assert that certain actors need to be involved. It has already been argued that the headteacher needs to be on board and so do other senior

members of staff. However, what is also evident here is that there needs to be a dedicated coordinator of the time bank:

'It has to have someone who's coordinating it otherwise it won't work so yes it has to have a member of staff who's you know going to be the coordinator for it' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

'It will never run without us, oh, it'll run without us as people, but it will never run without a person who's taking some time to coordinate it' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

It is clear that both the coordinator and the Bryn Secondary facilitator – the two staff members with dedicated time banking roles – believed these roles were essential for the time bank to operate. Whilst this is largely in keeping with the advice offered from existing research (Boyle and Smith 2005; Gregory 2012b) the position of these members of staff and their employment status is not.

Both the Field High facilitator – Dewi – and the Bryn Secondary facilitator – Helen – were employed by *Together* on a part time basis, contracted for one day a week only. This goes against the recommendations made by Boyle and Smith (2005) that those employed to facilitate time banking should be full-time, or, at the very least, employed three days a week. Boyle and Smith found that those employed below this threshold recalled difficulties moving the time bank beyond the periphery of the institution. The lack of sufficient time allocated to the facilitators was noted by a couple of the stakeholders as problematic:

'Just from a practical point of view the actual design of the project, it only gave one day a week for a school member of staff which umm probably wasn't the most thought-out way of doing it. I think you need a far more investment' (Rich – Communities First employee)

In discussion with Rhiannon she was explaining some of the difficulties she faced. She said that the support workers [the facilitators] only work 7 hours a week, which is a problem. They really need to work more. This is even harder with Dewi who is not at the school so he can't do more than that. Although they are paid one day a week it really requires more.

It was recognised by stakeholders who were both external (Rich) and internal (Rhiannon) to the time bank, that one day a week was not enough time to administer the time banks. Moreover, Rhiannon also claims that this was even more problematic if the facilitator is not an existing member of staff. It is clear that the facilitator of the Field High time bank – Dewi – faced more difficulties than the facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank. While this in part could be attributed to the cultural differences between the schools – as highlighted above – it can also be ascribed to Dewi’s positioning (Boyle and Smith 2005). Unlike Helen, Dewi was not an existing member of staff in the school. While Helen was based in the school at least two other days a week and had been sometime before she started her time banking role, Dewi went to the school for this purpose only. Thus Dewi lacked the existing connections with other members of staff that Helen had already established. Again, findings here mirror those of Boyle and Smith (2005) who found that those who already worked in the school found the role much easier due to established connections and access pupils.

In spite of the Field High facilitator’s difficulties, however, he was credited for his commitment and determination in the role:

‘but what Dewi has done because he’s tenacious and won’t allow anything to fail he’s worked really hard to pull certain members of staff into the programme...it is more embedded there than it was a year ago, hugely, but it’s not, it hasn’t got the same feeling...a lot of that’s got to do with the fact that Dewi’s not based there...we haven’t got a wall we can put things on, there’s no base for it, there’s no one person who’s just it...’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

In keeping with previous findings it is suggested that the personal characteristics of the facilitator of the time bank is key to its triumph. A good facilitator needs not only to be able to grasp the concept of time banking, but also fully embrace it and be able to communicate it. ‘Their personality...[and] drive...really is the most important deciding factor between success and

failure' (Boyle and Smith 2005: 26). However, contrary to this claim, although the personal attributes of the facilitator are important to the time bank's success, it is evident here that these will not suffice. Despite the Field High facilitator's persistence, implementing this time bank was a far more taxing task than implementing the Bryn Secondary time bank. The Field High time bank had far less presence in the school. It was much harder to embed. Thus, as it has been argued throughout this chapter, there were combinations of factors, roles and relationships that both promoted and inhibited the implementation and integration of the time banks.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the birth of a new initiative and followed the process of its implementation and integration into the school culture over a 21-month period. Of course, giving birth is never easy. This has been evidenced throughout. This chapter has shed light on the complex process of implementing and integrating time banks as well as drawing attention to the multiple on-going challenges organisations must overcome when putting new initiatives into practice.

Reflecting much of the literature discussing difficulties of co-producing (Boyle, ND; James 2005; Boyle et al 2006; Dunston 2009) and wider academic debates about organisational change (Huberman 1973; Lipsky 1980; Gitlin and Mangonis 1995; Evans 1996; Schofield 2001), this chapter highlighted a number of reasons why implementation and the growth of the time bank has been 'slower than expected' and why teachers were less receptive than initially anticipated by *Together* and far less so in Field High than Bryn Secondary. The three main themes identified were:

1. Teachers were resistant to working more hours
2. Time banking requires a cultural change

3. The hierarchical organisational structure of the school can distort communication

The first of these themes suggested that temporal constraints restrict teachers' involvement. Whilst supporting the existing debates in the co-production literature that claim staff may resist working more flexible hours (Boyle ND) this also raised additional questions surrounding the role of teachers' discretion. Should teachers' discretion be limited; is non-reactiveness self-interested; or is discretion necessary, enabling teachers to balance commitments?

The discussion then turned to a second influencing factor. Again echoing the literature, it was stressed that a main challenge of implementing time banking was the cultural change it often requires. It was claimed that co-production profoundly alters existing roles and relations between service users and providers. While this was noted as a general challenge of time banking, it was also explicitly mentioned as a difficulty for the schools. Moreover it was also proposed that the possible difference between teacher engagements in the two schools could be attributed in part to their different prevailing cultures.

Alongside the school culture, it was also noted school's organisational structure challenged implementation. While Weber (1947, in Hoy and Sweetland 2001: 296) proposed that bureaucracies are capable of attaining the highest degree of administrative efficiency, the analysis presented here suggests that peripheral initiatives can get marginalised in the school's bureaucratic operation. Consequently, rather than speeding up the process of implementation, the organisational structure of the school obstructed and distorted communication (Blau and Scott 1962, in Hoy and Sweetland 2001: 296). Because of the structure of the school it was suggested that teachers need top-down direction. If teachers are given direction from those who are not understood to hold legitimate authority this will result in resistance.

However, school time banks are not doomed to failure. It was proposed that if the headteacher is committed to the time bank and information is fed down the chain of command, teachers are far more likely to get involved.

In spite of all the challenges, as depicted at the outset of this chapter, there were a number of different 'time-in' and 'time-out' activities operating in Bryn Secondary. Thus it would be incorrect to claim that implementation was unsuccessful. The facilitators' roles have been credited here. Despite the fairly limited involvement from the school staff, there were a number of young people participating in the time bank. However, the integration of the time bank into the school and wider community more broadly was severely limited and almost non-existent, the implications of which will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER EIGHT: ACCESS TO THE TIME BANK: SOCIAL INCLUSION OR SOCIAL CONTROL?

8.1 Introduction

Who is enabled to participate and who is excluded is an important (Cornwall 2008) but often neglected question (Sinclair 2004; Hinton 2008). Whilst the previous chapter examined the implementation and integration of a time bank in two school settings – focusing on the staff and the organisational structure of the schools – the central concern of this chapter is young people’s involvement in the Bryn Secondary time bank. Using data generated with the young people, from participant observation and interviews with the stakeholders the analysis presented here explores, the ‘who, how and why’ of time banking participation.

The chapter starts by, examining *who* participated in the Bryn Secondary time bank and the means by which these young people became involved (8.2). Following this, attention turns to explore the motivations for involvement-*why* young people wanted to get involved (8.3) before subsequently addressing the issue of why other young people may ‘choose’ not to be involved (8.4). Finally, the *how* of time banking participation is examined (8.5). By focusing on the processes adopted to promote or inhibit inclusion, a number of important questions are raised. These shed some light on the restricted, targeted and somewhat exclusionary practices of the time bank and its potential to exert a form of social control.

8.2 Who?

A positive cited attribute of time banking is its ability to engage with a variety of different people, extending beyond the ‘usual suspects’ (WAG 2008: 12). It has also been stated that time banking promotes social inclusion (Seyfang

and Smith 2002; Seyfang 2004a, 2004b) involving ‘...some of the hardest to reach sections of the population’ (Boyle ND: 10). Exploring who participated, and the processes in which they became involved enables a greater appreciation of whether the time bank extends beyond the usual suspect.

As of March 2012, there were between 110-175 reported registered members of the Bryn Secondary time bank. Collectively, these members had given 1,156 hours. These figures were supplied by the facilitator of the Bryn Secondary time bank. After corresponding with the facilitator of the time bank I was given a statement that stated there were 175 members of the time bank. However, the membership list sent at the same time only documented 111 members. While the majority of these came from pupils these figures also included parents (106 and 5 respectively). At first glance, it appears the time bank has a large membership that has given a number of hours. However, on further scrutiny it was apparent that these figures were misleading. It is unclear whether these ‘members’ had actually taken part in any activities or whether they had just signed up to become members on the suggestion of teachers/those who run certain activities and clubs pupils attended. Additionally, I also noticed pupils I had observed participating in the time bank missing from the membership list. Moreover, how often each member participated in the time bank, or who participated in which activities, was not recorded:

‘We don’t monitor that. So once they are a member they are a member and they can do anything. Within the schools I’m sure if you spoke to someone and said do you have the same face turn up at everything there’s probably one or two...but that isn’t important to us. You can do as much or as little as they want it’s their time and it’s their decision to give it or not. And the whole thing of time banking is that people do things that they’re prepared to do...there’s never any pressure. And some people may just like one thing, it might just be one thing they like doing...but they are not interested in anything else they’ve got their credit and that’s enough for them’ (Rhiannon - Time bank coordinator)

The time bank coordinator – Rhiannon – considered it unnecessary to monitor the amount of hours and activities each young person participated

in. This was an active decision. The coordinator viewed time banking participation as flexible and autonomous. Young people had the power to decide how much time they wanted to give.

While further attention will be given to critically examining the notion of autonomous participation below, what is apparent in Rhiannon's quotation is that the number of hours students gave potentially varied, thus some members gave their time to one off 'time-in' activities or events and others gave their time regularly to a number of 'time-in' activities a week.

Although Rhiannon states that it was not necessary to record the number of activities individuals participated in, it can be useful. An issue with not officially recording these figures is that it proves difficult to reflect on how far-reaching the time bank actually is, with participation potentially appearing conflated. This is evident when assessing the figures recorded for attendance for 'time-in' activities and number of hours contributed. Between April 2011-March 2012, 392 people participated in activities (29 of these were parents). These numbers do not represent single persons, rather the figure represents the total number of people who took part in every activity and thus a number of people have been recoded multiple times. For example, from further scrutiny of the number it is apparent that one parent was recoded on at least nine different instances and contributed to at least 60 of the 1,156 hours given. From observing these activities, there appeared to be a relatively small active membership base. Most activities had no more than 10 people participating in them and the same faces (a number of the young people who took part in the participatory research) appeared at most of the activities. This was also reflected in the comments from the young people themselves, with a number of whom stating that they took part in several 'time-in' activities:

'I get my time credits by going to clubs like Eco, time schools [Street Team] and the gardening. I also got some by doing assemblies' (Keri, Year 8)

'Gardening, Street Team, Save the Children' (Bernard, Year 8)

'Gardening, time banking club [Street Team], Eco Club, Save the Children, Journalism' (Lauren, Year 8)

'In time banking we do loads of clubs like Gardening Club, Journalism Club, Street Club and Eco Club (Chocolate Muffin, Year 8)

'I know we did a garden party which I got, earned time credits...Christmas party...I earn time credits for when I...DJ at the discos, I work with a professional group' (Dave, Year 10)

As mentioned in Chapter Five, these young people all participated in the Street Team, a club designed to promote time banking. They could be considered as some of the most active members and as such their high levels of participation were not necessarily representative of all the time banking members. It was generally recognised by a number of stakeholders that these same pupils were those who were already, or were likely to be, involved in other extra-curricular activities:

'There are definitely certain students but I think in anything the work that goes on in schools there's always a certain student that will get involved in something. What we are trying to do with time bank is not make it always those 5-10 young people and we are engaging others but it is more difficult without a doubt' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

'I think with any project work you see the same number of young, same type of young people doing stuff all the time...you get to know all the time bank kids because they're the ones that are doing the gardening club they do the sort of discos, they do...Young reporters group and they'll probably be the ones on the school council and the other ones probably just go "that's gay, time credits." You're already probably dealing with the ones that are reasonably sort of well-motivated' (Bran – Communities First employee).

'You know it's always going to be like that in a school you are going to have those who are the helpful pupils' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

8.2.1 *The usual suspects?*

It is clear that the time bank does attract the ‘usual suspects,’ pupils who normally volunteer or participate in activities. Despite the coordinator’s assertion that they are ‘trying to not always make it these 5-10 young people’ these young people were targeted from the outset. One of the reasons there was a particularly active group of young people involved in the time bank was that the time bank gained its membership by giving credits to existing activities young people were already doing:

‘I think what we did in the initial stages is kind of scope up the people who were involved, who wanted to be involved in giving time to the school, in the same way that the adult community that we come across there were those that were already engaged in volunteering within the school’ (Claire - CEO of *Together*).

This is further supported by the young people themselves. Most of the young people whose voices are represented in the research – the Street Team members – were already participating in activities in the school before the activities became time credited:

‘We were all – me and a couple of my friends – were in the school council and they actually made us join up for it [time banking] then, so that’s how I started’ (Victoria, time banking member, Year 10).

‘We just go to the clubs we like and then we found out they give out time credits.’ (Chocolate Muffin, time banking member, Year 8)

For these young people their involvement in the time bank was a result of their involvement in existing activities before the time bank was implemented – such as Eco Club or the school council. Moreover their membership has led to further involvement in new time banking activities such as the Street Team. In this case the time bank can be seen to have increased participation.

It is apparent that the time bank has relied on gaining membership from a particular group of young people – those who are already active in the school. Thus participation was targeted. Like other forms of participation,

implicit choices are in operation to decide who should be enabled to participate. As stated by Cornwall (2008: 277) it is impossible to involve everyone, so choices of who to select are made; these decisions tend to be 'inherent in the choice of methodology'.

In recent years demographic forms of participation have been the most common choice (Matthews 2001). However, these structures are often criticised as inappropriate (Tidal and Davis 2004, in Thomas 2007) and unrepresentative (Matthews 2001; MacPherson 2008; Percy-Smith 2010). Apart from a few activities such as the school council, membership was not based on democratic forms of participation. Young people were not elected on the behalf of others. Instead, the involvement of certain young people – the usual suspects – could be regarded as pragmatic (Cornwall 2008). These pupils were easy to target – through existing activities – allowing for instantaneous membership of the time bank and development of new time banking activities. While time banks have been credited for being inclusive mechanisms for participation (Seyfang and Smith 2002; Seyfang 2004a, 2004b), attributed in part to their ability to attract members that conventional forms (such as committees) cannot (WAG 2008), in this case these claims are not supported. The targeted nature of selection raises questions about the time bank's accessibility and its inclusivity. As noted by Cornwall (2008) not all forms of participation are inherently inclusive,

Although the term itself evokes a warm ring of inclusion, 'participatory' processes can serve to deepen the exclusion of particular groups unless explicit efforts are made to include them (see, for example, Guijt and Kaul Shah 1998 in Cornwall 2008: 277).

As will be explored in more detail below (8.5), targeting certain young people can both disempower others as well as those who it seeks to explicitly empower.

8.2.2 Age difference

In addition to gaining membership for a particular group of young people, it also became evident that the time bank engaged better with certain year groups in the school. Although the time bank was 'open' to all young pupils regardless of age, in reality this was not the case. Particular age groups were represented to a greater extent than others:

'So it is a lot of year 7 getting involved...definitely there is some year 8s and year 9s...it is a bit more difficult to engage with the older students.'
(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'Year 7s and 8s solely. The group of year 8s are the same as last year...'
(Teacher – Bryn Secondary)

Of the 13 participants involved in the participatory research, nine were in year 8 (most of whom became members of the time bank in their first year of school – year 7), three were in year 10 and one was in year 7.

As stated by the coordinator, there appeared to be challenges with trying to get older pupils involved in the time bank. The adverse effect of age on participation was also evident in a discussion with one of the parents of an active time banking member. When discussing why her eldest son was not involved she said that 'he's just too old now, he says "*I can't do that*" and that's it' (Parent of a time banking member). In support of existing research on youth participation it seemed difficult to engage with a diverse range of young people (see for example Percy-Smith 2010). In this instance there seems to be a perception of being 'too old' to participate and that time banking was reserved for young pupils. In order to explore this in more detail, the next two sections will discuss the motivations for participation and perceptions of non-involvement.

8.3 Young People's Motives for Participation

In Chapter Three it was suggested that there have been many rationales for encouraging youth participation; these have been expressed in political,

social and legal terms (Sinclair 2004). The Children and Young Peoples' Unit (2001) outline numerous reasons for youth participation including improvement to services, personal and social development, social inclusion and creating citizenship (in Kirby et al 2003). However, despite these justifications, Kirby and Bryson (2002) state that there has been limited empirical investigation into why young people themselves choose to participate. Citing Borland et al (2001) they argue that rather than being a youth-led agenda, most of the drive towards greater participation comes from adults.

Exploring the motivations for participation was important to further develop an understanding of participation in the time bank. Motivations for participation centred on three main themes: relational aspects of participation and collectivism, time credits as incentivisation, and economic and instrumental benefits. As will be shown throughout the discussion, while there are some parallels with previous research into adult participation in time banking (Seyfang 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006), there are important differences specific to the context of youth participation.

8.3.1 Relational

In the quotations below the coordinator offers suggestions as to why certain year groups are more involved in the time bank than others:

'It's more obvious that it's the year 7s as they're still really eager. They've come from an environment in a primary school where it's quite nice and they get to play...I think they just like being told come here on this day and you can do this cos it gives them that little bit of structure...they want to find something else to do that keeps them busy...' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'Yeah...in the school environment it's difficult [to co-produce]. They are giving up their lunchtime, but we know by the kids that come to the Street Team that it's safer for them to be with us than it is than they feel out in the playground or wherever...so yes they're coming voluntarily but that's slightly different, they're come for a different reason, *they're coming to be part of a family.*' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

Younger pupils – year 7s (now year 8s), those who make up the majority of time bank participants) – are most likely to be engaged because they have spare time and like to be directed. They find the transition to secondary school difficult and welcome the structure that time banking can bring. Rhiannon also suggests time banking is a form of protection for these young people, a sentiment echoed by Keri:

‘The things I like about time banking is that it’s a safe and fun environment to go for kids...people were bullied and they came here to get away’ (Keri, Year 8)

While several authors suggest that conceptualisations of young people are too narrowly conceived – young people are either viewed as at risk and in need of protection or risky and in need of punishment or surveillance (Roche 1999) – the above quotes show some support for these conceptions. Keri recognised the need to be ‘safe’ and welcome the time bank’s assistance in this.

Further reasons identified for involvement in the time bank, including the alleviation of boredom, were also mentioned by two of the year 8 pupils. In the quotation below they explained how the primary reason for getting involved – boredom – was intensified due to a lack of social networks:

‘I started because I was bored and because I didn’t have anything to do...And we [Lol and Keri] were so shy and we were on our own so we didn’t know where to go at lunch times so we come here’ (Lol, Year 8).

‘...because it’s something to do and it’s just fun’ (Victoria, Year 10).

‘I can meet new people...And I really like just getting included into most stuff’ (Bernard, Year 8).

All of the remarks above point to important relational aspects of time banking involvement. For these young people the time bank provided a means of socialisation. The need to create and/or extend social networks was particularly pertinent for these young pupils as they transitioned into a new school (Pratt and George 2005, in Ridge 2008: 28)

The importance of the relational aspect of volunteering has been argued in previous research (Clotelter 1985; Schiff 1990 in Prouteau and Wolff 2008). In particular Davis Smith (1998) found that 'meeting people and making friends' was a central role of volunteering as recorded in the 1997 National Survey of Volunteering. However, Prouteau and Wolff (2008) recognise that it is often overlooked. When relational aspects are identified, they tend to be viewed by economists as chiefly instrumental. Volunteering helps create social networks leading to the development of social capital. However, they dispute the truth in this assertion. They argue '...it implicitly suggest[s] that interest in relationships...as gratification per se, may be the motive for volunteer work' (Wilson and Musick 1998, in Prouteau and Wolff 2008: 317).

Young people's motivations therefore include important social drivers. These motivations appear to align with those found in previous evaluations of time banking. Seyfang (2002) identifies involvement in the community and meeting new people as two reasons why adults participated in time banking. Thus it would appear that young people's motivations are not that dissimilar to adults. However, Seyfang also identifies altruistic impulses, personal development and incentives as other motivations that are largely missing from young people's accounts.

8.3.2 Economic/Instrumental

Incentivisation

In contrast to the social and relational aspects outlined so far, instrumental and economic motivations are considered. The first of these is incentivisation. While it has been shown that young people and adults have similar motives to participate in time banking in respect of relational aspects, there are differences regarding incentives to participate. While Seyfang (2006) found that 17% of adults stated that their involvement in the time bank was based

on earning time credits, this was not reflected here. Most⁶⁹ of the young people interviewed said that they would participate in the activities even if they did not earn time credits. The majority were already involved in activities before time credits were introduced and saw them as ‘an added bonus’ rather than the motivating factor:

‘Obviously with garden party and stuff like that I would still do them but I think it, when the pupils actually do the garden party I think it’s a bit more of a push then, that we know that we are earning time credits and things’ (Dave, Year 10).

‘I’d do it anyway, but it’s good to know you are working toward something’ (Billy Bob, Year 10).

‘I just like the clubs and the time credits...they are just bonuses’ (Chocolate Muffin, Year 8).

This challenges the accounts made by adults in previous research (Gregory 2012a: 230) that suggest children and young people get involved in time banking because they want to ‘earn time credits for their intrinsic “purchasing power”’. While time credits were generally something that the young people in this research welcomed, they were not the primary reason for their involvement. The view that youth participation is motivated purely by personal gain was challenged by one of the stakeholders (Bran) who believed it to be an ill-founded conceptualisation of young people:

‘...people think young people work because young people only do something if they think there’s something in it for them and that’s not how young people work, that’s not how some young people work. Young people are capable of great acts of selflessness purely because they feel it’s the right thing to do’ (Bran – Communities First).

The extracts above from young people support Bran’s assertion that they are not just motivated by self-interest. Young people clearly state that time credits are not the primary motivating factor. Young people do not purely participate for personal gain – for time credits.

⁶⁹ Only one participant (Lol, Female, Year 8) stated that she would not do a particular ‘time-in’ activity without time credits, but was happy doing others.

Age and employment opportunities

The second aspect of economic/instrumental motivations to consider draws on economic models of volunteering. Schiff's 'investment model' (1990, in Prouteau and Wolff 2008) proposes that enhancing human capital via voluntary activity is a means, amongst other things, for improving employability. This perspective also permits us to explain the apparent re-involvement of older students in time banking when such concerns increase in importance:

'They get to sort of 16-17 and they come back to school to do their Welsh Bacc or their A-levels or whatever, and people start talking to them about the future and college courses and university and jobs and you know, doing things voluntarily and all of a sudden it starts to make a bit more sense to them again...' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

According to Rhiannon, older pupils' participation is an economic decision, rooted in instrumental reasoning. Older pupils see time banking as a means to an end, aiding their future employability.

Again, the links between time banking and employability are not new (Seyfang 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Seyfang and Smith 2002). Not only has previous research found that the motives of time bank participants have included economic citizenship (Seyfang 2006), there are also instances of time banks⁷⁰ uniting with public services in efforts to assist participants into training and employment. In some cases, involvement in time banking has resulted in participants gaining employment in the community organisations they had given time to through the time bank (Seyfang 2003). Although there was no evidence of these young people gaining direct employment from their involvement in the time bank, older pupils were perceived to recognise the potential benefits in this regard.

Youth involvement in the time bank thus appears to be centred on two main rationales differentiated by age. For younger pupils, (Year 7s and 8s) it is the

⁷⁰ The example given here is a P2P time bank.

relational aspect of time banking that appeals; younger members join primarily to extend their social networks. For older students (those in non-compulsory education), involvement is instrumental; time banking is viewed as a mechanism to enhance future career prospects. However, given the higher number of younger pupils actively involved in the time bank, it would appear that the social dimension of time banking has greater lure. This is, perhaps, unsurprising given Pratt and George's (2005, in Ridge 2008) assertion that young people perceive creating school friendships as imperative and that those entering a transition period between schools see these as even more vital.

8.4 Perceptions of Non-involvement

It is often believed that if the right methodologies are in place, everyone will want to participate. However, this fails to address why some people may not get involved (Cornwall 2008). It has become clear that not all young people in the school took part in time banking, far from it; it was a 'minority pastime'. This was recognised by both the coordinator and the facilitator:

'Within the school, that's always going to be the case. Not everyone wants to volunteer. Not everyone even sees any significance in it. Not everyone wants to help other people...' (Helen – facilitator, Bryn Secondary)

According to Cornwall (2008) there may be a number of reasons to self-exclude. The literature tends to equate self-exclusion with low levels of confidence (James 1995), marginality (ethnic minorities, those with disabilities and people in poverty) and those who have had previous negative experiences of participation. However, the findings here bring new insight into why young people choose not to participate. In contrast with current beliefs, which suggest that participation activities tend to favour the privileged (Vandenbroeck and Bouverne-De Bie 2006), the following discussion highlights how participation is not always reserved for the confident and wealthy. Young people and stakeholders (a parent, school staff

and time banking staff) perceived non-participation to be a result of the social undesirability of time banking, age and interplay between economic and social capital.

8.4.1 'Boring and uncool'

Following discussions with the young people about their perceptions of other pupils' non-involvement there was a general consensus that pupils *had* been informed about the time bank. Non-involvement was therefore attributed not to lack of knowledge, rather to a lack of attention on the behalf of pupils – they were told but did not listen. This lack of attention was attributed to a negative perception of time banking; others viewed time banking as boring. The following discussion between Smiley, Kylie, Chocolate Muffin, and Blue illustrates this:

Smiley: 'People don't know about time banking.'

Kylie: 'Yeah they do cos we told them over and over again.'

Chocolate Muffin: 'I know why they don't know, because they say in assembly it's boring.'

Kylie: 'I think people don't come to time banking because they think it's boring and they don't know what you can do with a time credit because they don't listen.'

Chocolate Muffin: 'Yeah it's true.'

(Focus group 2012)

While perceptions of participation as socially undesirable are largely missing from the literature on youth participation and co-production, it has been recognised in empirical studies on volunteering and out of school activities. A study of the decline of volunteering in the UK (Davis Smith 1999) and research in the United States into urban ethnic minority involvement in youth projects (Perkins et al 2007) both reported that non-involvement was due to it being perceived as 'boring' or 'uncool'. This same attitude was observed within the school, where negative perceptions of time banking appeared to be the dominant explanation for why some young people self-excluded.

Viewing time banking as 'boring' or 'uncool' was a theme that emerged across interviews with both the young people involved in time banking and a number of the adults (the coordinator, a parent and a Communities First employee):

'...because they don't want to do it in their break because they think they are cool and that...they think it's boring' (Jessie, Year 8).

'Because they think it's geekish, to go to the garden. It is not cool for popular people. But I don't really care about popular people, I don't really care about what they like, I like going to the garden, at least I am getting better opportunities than them' (Lol, Year 8)

'Yeah, you wouldn't get the popular ones doing it...they don't want to be seen doing it...she [her daughter] doesn't care what people think' (Parent of a time banking member)

It was suggested that due to the social undesirability of time banking, some young people would not want to get involved for fear of damaging their social image. Cotterell (2007: 153) suggests at the societal level student relations are paramount and adolescents strive for attention, acceptance and approval from their peers. In the school, these concerns also appeared to be tied closely to age.

Age and identity

As outlined above, motivation for participation appeared to be related to age. It has been suggested that, for young pupils, participation is based on the relational appeal of time banking, heightened by the transitional period in their lives (a move from primary school to secondary school). In the context of perceptions of non-involvement, age appears once again bringing with it ideas of social desirability and young people's ambivalent social status.

The coordinator notes that young people around 14 years old (year 9 or 10) are the most difficult to engage. These young people see time banking as uncool and superfluous:

'Year 10...it's the age, they don't need anything they don't need help they can do it themselves, which is fine...Some of those are a little bit

more difficult to engage...You know what it's like when you're 14 you don't want to do something that isn't cool, but if you have been doing it since year 7 and realise the benefit of it then you'll continue to do it throughout...' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'Year 9's the age where lots of them have no real purpose in life, they're no longer children, they're definitely not adult, well some of them are actually very childlike and some of them are very adult like, it's a pretty difficult time...' (Executive Headteacher)

Both the Executive Headteacher and the coordinator suggest it is difficult to engage certain age groups because time banking has less appeal. On the one hand, year 9s and 10s are no longer considered children who, according to Rhiannon, like time banking for security and direction. However, on the other hand, they are not yet adults, or at an age where they are making decisions about their future. Pupils are not yet of the age where the economic/instrumental model for participating will have much currency. It appears to be an ambivalent time for young people; they are not yet given full citizenship status, rather they are conceptualised as 'citizens in the making' (Marshall 1950). In addition, while they are striving for access to social networks, those networks associated with time banking are evidently not considered an option – as the remarks of students above testify to. Their priorities appear to centre strongly on social desirability and acceptance. Should time banking be seen as uncool and, hence, a barrier to social acceptance, this will be a powerful disincentive for participation.

8.4.2 Social and economic capital

Previous studies highlighted above suggest that an additional reason for non-involvement in volunteering (Davis Smith 1999) or out of school activities (Perkins et al 2007) could be attributed to money, i.e. volunteering is seen as expensive. In contrast one of the young people in this research stated that *having* money might be a factor affecting young people's lack of participation in time banking:

'Because some people think they are rich and they don't need it' (Lauren, Year 8).

This perspective suggests that other students effectively monetise time banking participation. According to Lauren, other students equate involvement with 'need'. Despite the contention of this in the focus groups – some participants stated this must mean they are poor while others disagreed on the premise that everyone in the school is 'poor' – school and time banking staff support Lauren's suggestion that having money is a demotivating factor. Both the Executive Headteacher and coordinator also associated time banking participation with financial need:

'There are certain students who just don't want to be part of it...and they will be the ones who come to school...and have friends and probably go dancing or they pay to go to a dance club or on a Saturday they go off with their friends shopping. They've got activities in their life because they've got money some of them.' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

'I am aware of schools where, I've worked with schools in the past where you wouldn't have needed to find a reward...kids were going home to pocket money done through direct debit. There were kids who had £2 a week put onto their Apple account so that they could download from iTunes to up the rate of £2 a week. The pocket money transactions of the middle class means the time credits probably has a limited value, we could really do with it in areas of deprivation it's far, far more difficult whereas if a kid ends up with £2 in their hands in the evening, the choice is 'Do I get my supper from the chip shop or kebab shop or do I spend it on the cinema on the weekend?' the cinema hardly ever wins and I think time credits is what allows that access to the cinema whilst they can carry on with...other difficulties in life don't go.' (Executive Headteacher)

Like Lauren, the coordinator claims that those with money are less likely to participate. As time credits allow access to activities out of reach for many young people, both the Executive Headteacher and the coordinator make the assumption that those who can afford these activities have no need for time credits. Thus the supposition that having money means people are less likely to become involved in time banking – or time banking is redundant in areas of economic capital – counters the argument suggested above that young people are not primarily motivated by time credits.

While this could be said to undermine the importance placed on the relational aspects of time banking – which young people say is a primary motive for involvement – Rhiannon does make reference to this; her remarks highlight the interplay between social and cultural capital. She claims that non-involvement is not only due to young people already having access to activities, but also that they are able to partake in them *with* friends. Thus it may not be that young people are motivated purely by instrumental gain, but that time credits enables the development of friendship networks.

This is supported by Ridge's (2008) claim that those who live in poverty may have difficulty accessing social networks. If young people cannot afford out of school activities they may have limited opportunity to socialise:

Restricted access to shared social and leisure opportunities, coupled with limited access to affordable and suitable transport and weekend capacity for reciprocity can all affect children's capacity to meet up with friends and widen social networks. Poor children can experience considerable difficulties in maintaining their friendships, especially outside school (Pratt and George 2005, in Ridge 2008: 28).

For those young people who lack economic capital, gaining time credits might enable them access to activities that can strengthen social networks. On the other hand, those who already have sufficient access to activities enabling them to maintain friendships may see less need for time banking. Therefore, there is an element of truth in Lauren's assertion that some people may not participate because 'they are rich and they don't need it'. However, rather than being purely about economic gain it is argued here that the appeal of time credits is their ability to assist in the development and maintenance of social networks.

8.5 Targeted Access and Exclusionary Practices

Whilst attention has already been given to the reason why some people may choose not to participate in the time bank, it is also argued that the young people who were involved, along with some of the time banking staff,

enacted practices that excluded certain young people. It became evident that, through the formation of dense social bonds (Granovetter 1983; Crow 2004) and the process of identifying certain young people as risky, the time banking created an inhospitable environment for the inclusion of others.

8.5.1 Networks of exclusion

When discussing the reasons why others might not be involved in time banking, it became apparent that not all existing members wanted the time bank to be inclusive. The extract below is taken from a discussion between Lol, Chocolate Muffin, Ami, Smiley, and Keri about whether or not other pupils should be allowed to join the time bank:

Lol: 'But I don't want others to come, I like my own little group.'

Chocolate Muffin: 'But there might be more clubs, better clubs if more people come.'

Lol: 'Yeah but that will take all the things away from us.'

Chocolate Muffin: 'Yeah like the trips.'

Ami: 'I think it should be open to everyone.'

Smiley: 'I think it should be open to everybody but I think some people think it's uncool.'

Keri: 'When some person came bringing letters about the new trips coming round people were like 'I wanna go on that I want to go on that''

Lol: 'And they haven't even done any work to get it.'

Smiley: 'People don't feel comfortable around people who think they are cool and everything, because they just mess around and they don't do anything.'

(Focus group, July 2012)

There is clearly some disagreement between existing members as to whether or not other pupils should be allowed to join the time bank. Despite Ami saying time banking should be open to everyone and Smiley and Chocolate Muffin at times agreeing, Lol was quite adamant that she did not want others to participate. New members were perceived as a threat, taking up spaces on

activities and potentially changing the group dynamics. The exclusionary attitudes of some of the young people involved in the time bank were also noticed by the coordinator:

Rhiannon: The other problem we've discovered is the Journalism Club...the females that are going to that are quite cliquey...This is an issue and I think we've discovered that's why we've had this limited pool of people coming on things because they're quite you know "We don't want other people"

R: Do you know why they don't want other people...?

Rhiannon: I think they got, unfortunately I think it's because they're not seen as the cool kids and they quite like that this makes them distinct in their own group and they don't want the cool kids to get involved because then it takes it away from them and I get that but what we need to do is make it more inclusive, that it isn't...that the cool kids don't think it's geeky and that the ones who are doing it don't use it as a safety blanket and the reason to be inside all the time and I think if we'd figured this out earlier it explains it a lot why they didn't want to put their orange t-shirts on and go outside to talk to people because they feel that they can't talk to people...

(Rhiannon, Time bank coordinator)

While Kirby and Bryson (2002) note that it is important that young people in groups develop relationships as it can enable them to 'work together', they also state that this can produce a barrier for other young people's membership. For instance, youth forums have been criticised for creating 'cliques' amongst their members which dissuaded others to join (Fitzpatrick et al 1998, in Kirby and Bryson 2002) and research into youth councils has found that when new members try to get involved they bore the identity of 'outsiders' (Matthews 2001).

This is evident here; certain young people were defined as being 'cliquey' which led to exclusionary practices. This practice could have been a consequence of their particular status. The young people involved in the time bank do not perceive themselves as popular and may be described as having difficulties accessing social networks. The time bank appears to have enabled these young people access to social networks. However, rather than being

entirely positive (as Cahn suggests) it is recognised that the formation of particular types of social networks can result in the exclusion of others (Granovetter 1983; Crow 2004). Drawing on Granovetter's (1983) distinction between strong or dense ties (similar persons, close knit groups such as friends and families) and weak ties⁷¹ (dissimilar persons, loose networks of acquaintances), it appears that the time bank created the former. Whilst a number of the young people might express their social networks as being positive, the production of dense ties is often positioned as problematic, leading to exclusionary practices (Granovetter 1983). As suggested by Crow (2004) not all social networks are intrinsically advantageous:

Social networks are not inherently positive in their effects. This has long been recognized in relation to capacity of social networks to deny non-members access to the material and other resources monopolized by members...High density social networks can be used to exclude others (Crow 2004).

The formation of dense social networks amongst time banking members may have led to the exclusion of others. Young people's participation and formation of dense ties enabled them to exert power over others. What is more (and, arguably, this is just as problematic) is that the formation of dense networks may also disadvantage the existing time banking members. Using a similar distinction to that above, Putnam (2000) differentiates between different forms of social capital: bonding (socialising with similar people) and bridging (socialising with people who are different). Using Putnam's (2000) distinction between these two forms of social capital, Morrow (2001: 53) argues that both are essential for young people:

At the individual level, young people need...bonding social capital for their social support and emotional well-being in the here and now; and bridging for the future, to enable them to escape from disadvantage.

Bonding social capital can have adverse effects; it does not automatically lead to social cohesion (Morrow 2001; Crow 2004). If young people create dense

⁷¹ The "strength" of an interpersonal tie is a linear combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (or mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize each tie.

bonds, which exclude others, bonding social capital can limit the ability to bridge social capital. While Rhiannon acknowledges that the time bank needs to be more inclusive, the challenge will be to find ways for young people to access 'social networks that will empower them without undermining the supportive character of those networks they seek to join or of the networks which they are already members' (Crow 2004: 7). As these particular people are often 'disempowered' they use time banking as a way of empowering themselves.

8.5.2 Young people as 'risky'

Whilst the exclusionary practices of young people involved in the time bank have already been illustrated, there were also instances in which staff restricted the access of potential new members to the time bank. This was witnessed on one particular occasion – the first Street Team meeting of the new academic year:

I turned up for the first Street Team meeting of the new year. Eight pupils turned up. Five pupils were from year 8 – 4 girls and one boy – all of which I recognized; I had seen them a lot either through participating in other 'time-in' activities or from the weekend trip away. One pupil was from year 10; a girl who came with Bernard (year 8). She said she thought she was already a member of the time bank as she had done the museum project. The other two (a boy and a girl) were both year 7. The boy had been suggested by Barbara and Helen seemed fine for him to participate – he seemed keen. Helen seemed less enthusiastic however, the girl, who came with one of the active year 8s. Helen asked her who she was, she said to her 'you are here for a time bank street meeting but you don't know what time banking is?' She then asked her if she was 'someone who's good?' The girl nodded. Helen asked her if she 'will mess around?' Pointing to her hand she asked 'what that's?' The girl said it was from class. Helen asked 'were you bored, were you messing about? Should I ask if you are actually good?' The girl said she was good. After this Helen explained to the group that they had to commit for the year and they were there to promote time banking. She said no new people could join and no one could stop unless they really wanted to, in which case they should tell her...When they left Helen got out a register and put everyone's names down apart from the year 7 girl'. She then said to me 'I'm not sure about the new one' – referring to her.

Fieldnotes, Street Team, September 2011

There is a clear disparity between Helen's reactions to the new members who attended the Street Team meeting. While Helen's response to the 'unknown' year 7 girl was quite antagonistic, she does not show the same hostility to the year 7 boy recommended by Barbara. Helen's approach illustrates a lack of trust towards the year 7 girl, consequently resulting in her exclusion from this particular time banking activity. While there was no explicit selection process as is the case in democratic participation practices (Barnes et al 2003, in MacPherson 2008) such as school councils (Matthews 2001), participation was restricted. It is clear that there is some form of covert selection process at play. In this instance selection appears to be based on trustworthiness and exclusion on perceptions of 'risk'. Cockburn (2005: 110) argues that:

One of the main difficulties in addressing children's relationship to participation is a problem attached to children in most aspects of life in British society. That is, the labels that are attached to children by adults.

For Helen, youth is perceived, first and foremost 'as a time of trouble' (Griffin 1997, in Roche 1999: 477). Unless known to her, young people are viewed with suspicion. The dominant discourse of young people as a risk seems to disregard their participatory capabilities. Consequently, the criticism often levelled at democratic participation – that the selection process 'can lead to elitism in relation to who is able to get involved, with exclusion or marginalisation of those who do not fit the values or social networks of the group' (McPherson 2008: 363) – is also relevant here. Another example of this hidden form of selection is also illustrated in the discussion with the coordinator:

'They did give us a senior head of year as our teacher [in Field High], she's really helped but what we've learnt is that teaching staff...they have favourites, they only advertise in their own room so if somebody isn't taught in their room they [pupils] don't see the posters...'
(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

The exclusionary aspects of the time bank, enacted by staff and young people, are problematic. If the time bank's goal is to promote co-production

(Cahn 2000a) then the time bank needs to be inclusive. Due to the principles of equality central to co-production, Boyle and Harris (2009: 17) argue that everybody must be given opportunities to participate:

Co-production has to have *equality* at its heart. It can only be true to its principles if it is backed by measures to make sure that everyone has the capacity to participate on equal terms. This is partly because it fosters equal partnership between 'providers' and 'users' of services, and affords equal value to different kinds of knowledge and skills, acknowledging that everyone has something of value to contribute. It is also because, in order to be effective, it must enable everyone to participate...

8.5.3 *Autonomous participation?*

In addition to potentially excluding others from participating, targeted access also raises questions about individual agency. Have young people been able to exercise choices as to whether they become involved in activities? Do young people participate because they want to participate or because they feel obliged to participate? Are those involved truly empowered or further subordinated by adults?

In the first quotation of the chapter the coordinator affirms that it is the pupil's decision whether they choose to participate and how much time they give. Whilst none of the young people made reference to forced participation, the observation of the Street Team meeting questioned members' agency. The picture of participation, painted by Helen, to those who attended the Street Team meeting, could be likened to a contract. Participants were obligated to 'commit for the year' and were required to inform Helen if they wished their participation to end.

Thus the *contra* discourse from the coordinator, who suggests that 'the whole thing of time banking is that people do things that they're prepared to do...there's never any pressure' was not (always) realised in practice. For the Street Team, certain conditions were placed on their participation. One of the

Communities First employees (Rich) saw this as a particular concern and he attributed this to the authoritarian nature of the school:

'I think in the school environment...you've got a very authoritarian kind of do what I say please and children and young people key learning ethos to the establishment. Within a community you've got diverse strands of this, that and whatever, some people are really engaged some people don't give a stuff, so I think it's quite different, I know in the school you can say some kinds don't give a stuff...in a school you've got more of a stick you can probably get your hands on a student, in a community perhaps you set it up differently because it is up to people if they get involved or not, I don't know how much, extra-curricular activities how much is that the decision of the child to kind of attend that or are they roped into it because they are good examples. The director of communities did this visit with lots of planning prep...and we ended up in Bryn Secondary and we went into the school and students had put on a lovely lunch with soup and laid it all out and stuff and completely wowed the socks of the Assembly staff. Music playing and everything and we gave time credits to pay for their hour they put in and you get lovely picture and stuff...but the reality is those kids have been told you are doing this, so it's that whole I'm only involved in something because I want to, or I'm told to' (Rich – Communities First).

Contrasting the school and the community, Rich suggests that pupils in the school are more likely to feel obliged to participate. The power relations operating in a school differ to out-of-school settings such as the community, where participation is more likely to be voluntary. While Rich does not go so far as to claim that young people had no agency, there is an indication that the school restricts this. The structural conditions and power dynamics can be seen to dilute agency. This is further supported by the Field High facilitator's assertion that the new teacher enrolled to help administer time banking might enforce participation:

'Now this teacher's on board she might tell them they have to, yeah...'(Dewi – Facilitator, Field High)

Drawing on multiple evaluations of participatory work Kirby and Bryson (2002) note that voluntary involvement is often hailed as the *sine qua non* of participatory practice. Young people should not be forced to participate, rather they must have free will to engage in, or withdraw from, participation

as and when they wish. Voluntary involvement is something young people themselves emphasise as vital (France 2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002).

Dewi's quotation – which highlights the potential to enforce participation – alongside the discourse presented above of a contractual form of participation contravenes this golden rule. Moreover they also appear to contradict one of the key merits of time banking – its flexibility (Gregory 2012a). The flexibility to participate in time banking has been noted by Gregory (2012a) as a specific advantage over conventional forms of volunteering. He states that

Within traditional volunteering an individual is opting to do a particular task. If they feel unable to do this then volunteering ends. In time banking, individuals can change their participation...and not feel guilty...this flexibility ensures that time banking...develop[s] feelings of worth, appreciation and social purpose (2012a: 167).

With the above in mind, the demonstrated rigidity of the time bank (at least in the above instance) could be 'damaging' (Gregory 2012a). Not only could it affect the well being of participants (by placing too much pressure on them), it contradicts Rhiannon's belief that people should be able to choose how much they would like to participate, potentially undermining the central premise of time banking – to value people and what they are *willing* to contribute (Cahn 2000a). Moreover, as Gregory (2012a: 209) has noted, the flexibility of participation is fundamental if time banking is to 'avoid the nudge-style behavioural economics approach...which seeks compliance of service users rather than empowerment.' Examples of this type of approach were observed in a few cases whereby time banking could be viewed as a form of control to produce desired behaviour or as a way of creating 'socially responsible' citizens.

Time banking as a form of control?

In a small number of cases there was indication of time credits being used as a form of control. In these instances young people were either threatened

that if they did not behave they would not receive time credits for their involvement, or had not been able to go on trips because of 'bad' behaviour:

Everyone was told to come back round the table and get their vouchers. The gardening said that they would get them this time but threat they were messing around and if they messed around next time they wouldn't get a time credit.

Fieldnotes, Gardening Club, January 2011

In *Eco Club*, Mr Crew was facilitating the group today, rather than the other teacher, Mr Crew did a register, he then started by saying, I have a complaint to make. 'No one's doing anything for these time credits... Later on Mr Crew turned to me and said loudly 'do they deserve time credits? I didn't answer, I just smiled (slightly uncomfortably).

Fieldnotes, Eco Club, March 2011

In the car with Rhiannon on the way to the adventure weekend away I asked if Craig (a pupil from Bryn Secondary) was coming. Rhiannon said there was a big problem with Craig. She said when she asked if he had his consent form he was told he couldn't go by 'management' because of behaviour. Rhiannon was annoyed. She said it hadn't even come from the headteacher but a head of year. The headteacher was ok with Craig going and he is the authority. She then said that 'it actually wasn't even up to them anyway; he earned time credits, so it is not up to them!'

Fieldnotes, North Wales trip, March 2011

As mentioned in previous chapters (Three and Six) Naughton-Doe (2011) has suggested that in some instances P2A time banking could be viewed as a form of behaviour modification, where time credits – like tokens – are used to reward desirable behaviour. The above examples indicated that time credits have been used in a similar way. However, rather than positive reinforcements – rewarding 'good behaviour' – the above instances suggest a form of negative reinforcement to stop undesirable behaviour. Whilst slightly different to the approach outlined by Naughton-Doe (2001: 76), her warning is still just as applicable. She states that if used in this manner time banking 'could be utilised to create self-disciplining subjects.' This is a far cry from Cahn's (2000a) underlying principles of time banking that include valuing people as assets, redefining work and reciprocity.

8.6 Conclusion

The chapter has explored young people's access to the Bryn Secondary time bank. In examining who was enabled to participate it has clearly been demonstrated that there is a particular active group of young people involved. This group was mostly made up of young pupils, who could be considered the 'usual suspects.' Whilst these pupils had been targeted through involvement in existing activities, members of staff – specifically the coordinator – did recognise the need to engage people beyond this group. However, as yet this has not been the case.

A number of reasons have been presented to explain why only a small number of young people were involved. For those who did participate, it was suggested that they were motivated by the time bank's relational aspect. They had difficulty accessing social networks and time banking enabled them to make friends and be part of a collective. According to these time banking members, other young people did not partake in time banking because they saw it as 'socially undesirable; time banking was perceived as boring and 'uncool.' Thus, the findings brought new insight into who did and did not participate; in contrast with other representational forms of participation, involvement in the time bank was not just reserved for the confident and wealthy. However, whilst this may be seen as positive attribute of time banking, suggesting a social inclusionary aspect to the time bank there was some evidence of exclusionary practices. It has been questioned whether the limited involvement of others may be due in part to the small number of existing members along with a small number of existing time banking staff enacting exclusionary practices. For instance, the facilitator's tendency to label unknown young people as 'a risk' (Roche 1999) may have restricted new members' participation. The formation of dense social bonds (Granovetter 1983; Crow 2004), due in part to the limited number of young people involved in the time bank, could have led to further exclusion of others.

CHAPTER NINE: 'TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE'?

YOUNG PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES OF PARTICIPATION AND CO-PRODUCTION

9.1 Introduction

There has been growing interest from the public and voluntary sector in co-production over recent years. Specifically it has attracted attention as an active participation and engagement tool; a mechanism for embedding participatory approaches into service delivery (Boyle ND; NEF 2008a; Boyle and Harris 2009). As this thesis has outlined, co-production and time banking have often been seen as in some senses synonymous:

Co-production and time banking go hand-in-hand...Co-production is...a new way of delivering services...The participant, who is a joint owner or partner of the process, is valued, trusted, invested in and empowered to co-deliver, 'co-produce', the service (Timebanking UK 2012).

In Chapter Six a number of aims were presented for developing a time bank. One of these was the facilitation of co-production. Time banking was viewed as a new way of delivering services where young people could become more actively involved in the school life and 'help produce a public service together' (Claire – *Together* CEO). Drawing on the views and experiences of young people involved, participant observation and interviews with stakeholders, this chapter seeks to explore whether participation in the Bryn Secondary time bank has facilitated co-production.

Other aims identified in Chapter Six were community benefits such as better relationships and stronger social networks and individual benefits including empowerment, confidence and new opportunities and experiences. This chapter explores whether young people who participated in the time bank

reported experiencing these outcomes and to what extent these can be considered a product of co-production.

The previous analytical chapters have explored the aims and implementation of the time bank and the process by which young people became involved (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight). Continuing in this vein, this chapter focuses on young people's experience of participation in the Bryn Secondary time bank. The analysis addresses a number of central research questions. First, are there any positive benefits for young people who participated in the time bank? Specifically, can participation in youth time banks extend young people's entitlements? Second, what is participation within the context of the Bryn Secondary time bank? And finally, can youth time banks achieve co-production?

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first part explores young people's experiences of their involvement in the time bank. As will be shown, the positive experiences mentioned are largely in line with the individual aims and outcomes suggested in Chapter Six. These included developing social networks (9.2.1), accessing new opportunities, specifically those not otherwise affordable (9.2.2), and an increase in confidence, having a voice and feeling valued (9.2.3). After discussing each of these, the analysis draws comparisons between these tangible benefits and the Welsh Government's policy document *Extending Entitlements* (9.2.4). Once again, this highlights the possibility that time banking could be used as a tool to help achieve the Welsh Government's objectives regarding young people.

The next section of the chapter examines the scope and degree of participation and assesses whether the time bank has facilitated co-production (9.3). A number of analytical frameworks introduced in Chapter Three are utilised to examine participation (9.3.1), non-participation (9.3.2) and the development of co-productive practices (8.3.3). These included Hart's (1992) ladder of participation, Bovaird's (2007) typology of co-

production and Cornwall's (2008) concept of created and invited spaces. However, as will be shown, these models alone are limited. As such a new model is produced to diagrammatically present the subtle differences between co-production and participation observed within the case.

9.2 Young People's Experience of Participation

This section explores young people's experiences of their involvement in the time bank. Specifically it focuses on whether young people reported any positive benefits as a result of their involvement and whether the 'soft aims' identified by stakeholders in Chapter Six transitioned into real tangible benefits for young people. Although a focus on individual outcomes has been criticised by Kirby and Bryson (2002), who believe that evaluators wrongly give these precedence over other outcomes (such as wider community benefits), they did recognise the significance of these outcomes, arguing that 'it is important to ensure that these processes are at the very least positive experiences for participants' (Kirby and Bryson 2002: 24). This section shows that young people did view their participations positively. Most of the young people who took part in the research believed that through time banking they had; built their confidence, become happier, gained new skills, accessed new opportunities and/or made new friends. Moreover it also highlights a number of similarities between the benefits noted by young people and the entitlements outlined in the Welsh Government's (2002) *Extending Entitlements* documentation. Consequently, this chapter will consider whether the time banking could be used as a tool to help achieve the Welsh Government's objectives regarding young people.

9.2.1 Social networks

The previous chapter highlighted that young people emphasised the relational aspects of time banking as a motive to participate. Not surprisingly, young people also saw this as a key benefit for their involvement. For instance, Bernard's claim 'I've got a lot happier because I've been making

friends more often' was a sentiment found in a number of participants' responses:

'I've made new friends and it's a happy place to go' (Keri, Year 8)

'I think, since I've done time banking, I think it has made me a lot more confident around people and make new friends and get along with more people' (Smiley, Year 8)

Young people enjoyed participating in the time bank, welcoming the opportunity it provided to make new friends. Through participation young people were able to develop social networks; a key principle underpinning time banking as suggested by Cahn (2000a). However, unlike other research (Seyfang 2004b; James 2005) which suggests time banks facilitated the *bridging of social capital* as they 'cross social divides' (Seyfang 2001: 12), here the type of friendships young people made mostly reflected *bonding social capital* (Putnam 2000; Cattell 2001), as young people mainly made new friendships with their peers.

Concerns over the creation of these types of networks have already been outlined in previous chapters (Chapter Two, Six and Eight). In Chapter Eight it was noted that the development of dense social networks between time banking members has potentially lead to the exclusion of non-members. Moreover, it was also suggested that if the time bank only supports bonding social capital, this could inadvertently stifle young people's ability to form bridging social capital. If young people only form close knit friendship groups, excluding others from participating, they run the risk of becoming socially isolated from other situations (Morrow 2001).

However, with this said, it was also recognised that bonding social capital is not entirely negative. Fostering close friendships with peers can provide young people with strong social support networks and help them develop a sense of emotional well being (Morrow 2001). This is reflected in the quotation by Keri who stated that time banking 'is really good because there

are good people who understand you.’ It is also visible, to some extent, in the statements above where young people note how creating new friends has made them happier. For those who are perceived having difficulty accessing strong social networks, the facilitation of bonding social capital is particularly useful. Young people recognised that:

Keri: It’s helped Victoria as well because she and Lauren got bullied and it makes her happier.

Lol: and you know why it’s a good place, because if you are really sad or you are lonely you can come here and we will make friends with you.

Keri: Just like John he had people who didn’t like him...and now he is friends with Bernard, Lauren and Victoria.

(Keri and Lol, Year 8)

‘If you get bullied it [time banking] helps you to enjoy school, cos you can go to clubs and things like that through time banking and then you can make friends on trips and stuff’ (Jessy, Year 8).

The quotations above show in theory and practice time banking participation helps develop social inclusion and reflects Cahn’s (2000a) suggestion that in a school setting fostering friendships amongst young people can improve relationships and reduce or help overcome bullying.

While it has been suggested thus far that the formation of social networks in the time bank mostly reflected dense social ties, facilitating bonding social capital (Putnam 2000), there was some evidence of loose tie formation and the potential to create bridging social capital. For instance, one member stated how the time bank had enabled him to develop friendships with people from different localities:

‘When we went to the adventure weekend...we made friends from different schools which was good. And Sweden...we developed friendship across the water’ (Dave, Year 10).

In Chapter Six it was suggested that an aim of the time bank was to facilitate the bridging of social capital. However, whereas Dave’s quote highlights the potential development of spatially dispersed peer networks (including

international friendships), the aim stressed by stakeholders (*Together* and Communities First employees) was to bridge social divides in the community, forging social networks and bringing different generations together. This was evidenced in an assertion made by Rich – a Communities First employee who believed the time bank ‘would provide far more network and community togetherness, [the]... glue’.

While Rich did not see this happening at the time of the interview, claiming it was ‘long term thinking,’ a year after the interview with Rich, a number of the young people had taken part in some intergenerational activities in the community:

Lauren: yeah remember Save the Children. We had to get a community with children and people. It was Parents and Children Get Together it went really well.

Bernard: yeah PCGT

Blue: yeah we allowed people in the community to come in and have food, we had manicures, pedicures, games, pottery, arts and crafts. And it was all for the community and it went really well.

(Focus group, 2012)

As outlined in Chapter Six, the significance of these types of activities was emphasised by a number of stakeholders (Claire the CEO of *Together*, Rhiannon the time bank co-ordinator, and Helen, the Bryn Secondary time bank facilitator) who believed that intergenerational activities could lead to a general improvement in community relations. For instance, key aims of the time bank were:

‘Improving relationships, breaking down the barriers between the generations...you can change the ethos of understanding between the generations, make the elderly more tolerant towards young people (Helen – facilitator, Bryn Secondary)

‘...increasing the perception that young people getting involved in this project were doing something positive for the community. So that sense of breaking down some of those intergenerational barriers and people looking at young people as a negative force in the community and seeing that these young people are doing something really positive

either in their school or within their community' (Claire – *Together* CEO).

More specifically, as highlighted in the quotations, these stakeholders emphasised the role that time banks could play in diminishing negative perceptions of young people held by many community members.

Young people also acknowledged these negative pre-conceptions. As indicated below, some of the young people who took part in the research believed that adults held stereotypical images of young people as 'troublesome' or felt that they were misunderstood by adults:

Chocolate Muffin: they [adults] think young people are naughty

Blue: it depends who they are, what they wear, what they like and how old they are. Say all of us wore our hoods up then the adults might think they might cause trouble. If we are wearing hoodies, but down, they might be more in the middle. If they are aged to like, 11-18 then they don't trust you.

Lauren: yeah and I think some adults don't understand you sometimes when you speak, they just don't understand you.

(Focus Group, July 2012)

Like the stakeholders above, some of the young people also held the view that adults' opinions of young people might alter through their involvement in time banking. For instance Smiley, Blue and Bernard all agreed with this suggestion: 'yeah' (Blue), 'yeah' (Smiley), 'definitely' (Bernard). While this provides some validation to adults' suggestions and demonstrates some synergy between young people's and stakeholders' views, it is only offered at the level of abstraction. It cannot be taken as evidence that the time bank has challenged dominant perceptions of young people or will lead to improved community relations. However, this should not undermine the link young people make between time banking and community cohesion. As demonstrated below, one of the young members – Blue – believed the time bank helped facilitate community togetherness, while Lauren suggested being part of a community was the essence of time banking:

'...it brings the community together' (Blue, Year 8)

'Time banking club is about being part of the community and I like being part of the community' (Lauren, Year 8).

Thus young people clearly welcomed the relational aspect of time banking. Not only did they enjoy strengthening social networks with their peers and bonding social capital, they also embraced the (albeit limited) opportunity to bridge social capital and create loose networks across the community.

9.2.2 Time credits, trips and new opportunities

In addition to building social capital young people appear to have been able to do more things and access new opportunities through the time bank. Taking part in 'life changing experiences' and 'trips, activities and adventures' were collectively ranked alongside 'making new friends' as the most beneficial aspect of time banking:

R: What do you think is the most important?

Lol: going on life changing experiences

Group: yeah

Lauren: new opportunities...trips

(Focus group, July 2012)

While the previous chapter highlighted that time credits were viewed as an 'added bonus' rather than a primary motivation for participation, it was clear that time credits were key to young people's enjoyment of time banking. The life changing opportunities, which young people spoke so fondly of, were experienced primarily through 'time-out' trips and activities, accessed using time credits:

Lol: you can spend that [time credit] on loads of trips, like life changing experiences.

Keri: yeah we went white water rafting, it was amazing.

(Lol and Keri, Year 8)

'I enjoy going to time banking trips such as Kingswood...It was so much fun, I met new people and there were a lot of activities to do. For me it was an amazing experience and I'm glad I went' (Smiley, Year 8).

Time credits were an important element to young people's enjoyment of time banking. It was evident that those who were using their credits welcomed the opportunity to take part in a number of different activities their credits could be used on:

'In time banking I use my credits to go to the leisure centre [swimming] and I have also gone to Jump with my step dad and my real dad. I've been on many, many trips such as Kingswood, London twice, and Spruce Up Your Sports. I loved going to Jump it's so cool. Kingswood was amazing, the best' (Keri, year 8)

'I've used mine on the adventure weekend that we went to...It was good. I really enjoyed it...' (Dave, Year 8)

So swimming all the time... When it's not free swimming I use the time credits, cos I use them with my cousin (time bank member), we both go swimming like...I love Jump as well...I went with my little cousin she's coming up to one; I'm going to take her for her birthday party as well, for her birthday present like' (Victoria Year 10).

The findings presented here are akin to those reported in previous participatory research (e.g. Kirby and Bryson 2002). Synthesising the evaluation literature they reported that young people were often very positive about their participation particularly in relation to trips and outings (Back et al 2000; France 2000; Kirby 2001; Kirby et al 2002; in Kirby and Bryson 2002).

However, not only did young people gain pleasure from the trips and outings that they were able to access through the time bank, for a number of young people the time bank had increased their access to certain opportunities and local facilities and enabled them access to trips and excursions. For instance, like Victoria and Keri, Bernard described how he used his time credits 'mostly to go swimming' – an activity he did not do regularly prior to time banking. Similarly, Dave described how he was given the opportunity to go to Sweden, a trip he believed would not have been possible without the time bank:

Dave: I went to Sweden as well didn't I, with time banking.

R: Do you think you'd be able to do something like that without time banking?'

Dave: No definitely not. It was really good. It was good that we didn't have to pay much, only for spending money which was ok.

(Dave, Year 10)

The above quotation highlights how new opportunities have been made possible due to time credits removing the monetary barriers often presented by trips and activities. This was a suggestion found in a number of the interviews with young people:

'Yey, it's actually quite helpful when you want to go somewhere and you haven't got money to go. Like swimming for instance is like £1.60 to go and you don't have enough money but you have the time credits so you can go' (Victoria, Year 10).

'Obviously if people can't afford maybe trips, like quad biking or things like that. We can't afford to go there, but time credits; if you've got enough time credits you can do it. So it is really good' (Dave, year 10)

'It is saving money' (Bernard, Year 8).

While there was some contention over the significance of saving money as a benefit – evident below in the disagreement over where to place this in the diamond ranking exercise – a number of the young people did see it as helpful:

Chocolate Muffin: you don't have to spend your pennies

Smiley: yeah

R: Do you think that's the next one then?

Chocolate Muffin: no ... coz everyone's got money

Kylie: I think that should go last

R: what do you think?

Bernard: I think it should go at the end

Blue: well if you think about it, not many people here,

Jessie: many people don't have money,

Blue: yeah

Jessie: but it gives them an opportunity to do something with time credits...

(Focus group, July 2012)

As mentioned above, using time credits rather than money allowed people to access opportunities. Moreover, as not all 'time-out' activities were limited to young people themselves and they could give their time credits to others, time credits enabled young people to spend time with their family:

Lol: if they don't go on holidays or anything

Blue: if people's families can't work and stuff

Chocolate Muffin: you can go with your family as well

Smiley: family trips, that's nice

Blue: bringing friends and family together

R: do you think that's one of the things you'll put on there [diamond ranking] as well, being able to spend time with family?

Lol: yeah

Jessie: yeah...it's nice to have a family trip and go somewhere you want

Lauren: that you don't have to pay for

(Focus group, July 2012)

In Chapter Four it was mentioned by the facilitator at Bryn Secondary that an aim of the time bank was to 'strengthen the family unit.' She proposed that the time bank would enable families to 'do nice family things...[and] bring family together' (Helen – facilitator, Bryn Secondary). While it was not the intention of this research to empirically measure whether the time bank has strengthened families, it was evident that young people also believed the time bank could 'bring family together.' Not only was this shown in Blue's suggestions above, but – to some extent – this could also be viewed in practice:

Parent: ‘I went to London with her and...my son as well....Yesterday – I’ve got six children – so we all went to Jump and we took her auntie as well and the two kids.

R: So were those entire thing she paid for with the time credits?

Parent: Yeah, I think it’s about £7 pounds to get in so it costs a lot with the kid...she’s very helpful, she loves to do all that and knowing she has earned something for all of the family as well, she is brilliant like that, she loves it.

(Parent of a time banking member)

However, rather than the claim made by Helen that ‘you can take your children to Jump or you can take them to the leisure’ which suggests that adults spend the time credits they have earned on their children, the quotation above demonstrates how young people use *their* credits to bring the family together.

The ability to spend more recreational time with families is something young people welcomed. Whereas the enjoyment of trips and leisure activities can be viewed as a more general benefit of participatory schemes, the facilitation of family cohesion – particularly through creating opportunities for young people to attend trips and activities with their families – could be considered unique to time banking.

9.2.3 Having a voice and feeling valued

In addition to building new social networks and accessing trips and activities time banking participation has offered these self-described socially excluded students the opportunity to build up their levels of confidence:

‘It has made me more confident’ (Bernard, Year 8)

‘Yeah like I’ve put here (point to a smiley face) this is me now because it’s made me more confident to speak out, if it was me before I would like be sitting here quiet, but I don’t mind being recorded...I really feel good about it (Victoria, Year 8)

‘I think, since I done time banking I think it has made me a lot more confident around people’ (Smiley, Year 8).

Again this is a widely mentioned benefit of youth participation (Kirby et al 2003; Lansdowne 2004; Sinclair 2004), with a number of studies reporting that participation enhanced young people's self-esteem and developed their confidence to talk to others (Hannam 2001; Kirby and Bryson 2002; Matthews 2001). For instance, in Matthews' (2001) study of school councils 60% of young people stated 'developing sense of self-worth' and in Hannam's (2001: 36) pilot study, which assessed the impact of student participation across 12 secondary schools, 97% of pupils stated feeling a sense of pride in their achievements which had led to greater confidence and 91% reported enhanced communications skills enabling them to 'express themselves more clearly.'

In Victoria's quotation above, an improved sense of confidence was linked to her newfound ability to speak out. Participants felt more confident because they had been empowered to have a voice and they were able to use this voice more because they had increased self-confidence. This was similarly shown in Keri's comment below:

'Time banking has helped me because it has made me more confident...and speak louder' (Keri, Year 8)

For these young time banking members, participation has also led to a sense of accomplishment, a greater awareness of their skills and made them feel more valued:

Lauren: making you feel important and making your skills better

Lol: that's a really good one [benefit of time banking]

Kylie: it's finding out what you are good at.

(Focus group, July 2012)

'[Time banking] makes me feel important and appreciated; it's good to have people telling you that, you feel good' (Lauren, Year 8)

'To know me and my friends have achieved something by doing gardening club (Smiley, Year 8)

Parallel to the findings presented from Hannam (2001: 8) it could also be presumed that ‘a “benign circle” or cycle was at work.’ While there is no obvious causal direction in the relationship between these factors, these do appear interrelated. As highlighted in the example of self-confidence and ‘having a voice’ these went both ways. All these factors helped sustain participation through an increased enjoyment of the process.

9.2.4 Extending entitlements

In Chapter Four it was suggested that time banking might be one initiative that helps extend young people’s entitlements (WAG 2002). In Chapter Six, the links were further highlighted; there were clear parallels with stakeholder assumed aims of time banking and the aims of the Welsh Government outlined in the policy document. For instance, it was suggested that the aim to enable young people to access new experiences (trips and activities) could potentially help achieve two of the ten entitlements: access to ‘recreational and social opportunities’, and ‘sporting, artistic, musical and outdoor experiences’. It was also suggested that by linking up to external partners such as leisure centres, young people could also have ‘easier accessibility to services and facilities’ – another entitlement outlined in the policy document. While these aims were purely speculative, the outcomes mentioned by young people above suggest that the time bank has gone some way to extending these entitlements. Specifically, five out of the ten entitlements were indicated (see Figure 4);

Figure 4: List of observed or mentioned entitlements

Explicitly mentioned or observed:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Responsive, and accessible services and facilities;• Recreational and social opportunities in a safe and accessible environment• Sporting, artistic, musical and outdoor experiences ... including both national and international contexts;• Opportunities to participate in volunteering and active citizenship;• The right to be consulted, to participate in decision-making, and to be heard, on all matters which concern them or have an impact on their lives.

Young people stated that participation in the time bank had led to ‘life changing experience’ and opportunities to attend trips and leisure activities. They mentioned access to outdoor and sporting activities (e.g. white-water rafting and adventure weekend trips away), national and international excursions (trips to London, North Wales and Sweden) and greater access to certain facilities (the local leisure centre). Thus young people’s participation in time banking reflects the first three entitlements outlined in Figure 4. As young people suggested that a number of these trips and activities would not have been possible without the time bank, it supports the notion that the time bank can extend these entitlements.

From assessing the scope of young people’s participation it was also evident that the time bank had also gone some way to reaching the latter two; young people had been given ‘opportunities to volunteer’, ‘participate in decision-making and be heard’. However, while some young people did mention that time banking had given them a voice, the findings do suggest there is still some way to go before it can be claimed that young people were consulted on ‘all matters concerning them or have an impact on their lives.’ For

instance, it has been shown that there is still some hesitation to trust young people’s decision-making capacity, with young people rarely being consulted on how they would like to use their time credits.

As signposted, there were some entitlements that the time bank did not explicitly extend (or at least were not witnessed in the duration of the research). Mostly, these related to specialised advice and guidance or training and education (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: List of entitlements not observed or mentioned

Not mentioned or observed:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Education, training and work experience – tailored to their needs;• Basic skills which open doors to a full life and promote social inclusion;• Independent, specialist careers advice and guidance and student support and counselling services;• Personal support and advice – where and when needed and in appropriate formats – with clear ground rules on confidentiality;• Advice on health, housing benefits and other issues provided in accessible and welcoming settings;

However there was some indication that young people had ‘developed their skills’ (Lauren, Year 8) and were able to ‘find out what [they] were good at’ (Kylie, Year 8). Additionally, despite the time bank not offering specific guidance (in the way outlined in *Extending Entitlements*), the relationships young people developed with adults who facilitated the time bank could result in greater support. For instance, young people may find these adults more approachable and welcome an informal setting in which to seek advice.

The sense of achievement some young people felt, along with the sense of being valued also suggested that time banking has created an appropriate environment to meet these aims which the *Extending Entitlements*

documentation states is 'a positive focus on achievement overall and what young people have to contribute (WAG 2002: 10).

Accordingly, it is evident that the time bank is a potential vehicle for extending young people's entitlements. The positive experiences outlined by a number of the young people who participated in the time bank show that the time bank has been able to extend a number of these entitlements. And, while young people did not explicitly mention some of the entitlements, there was some indication of scope for these to be obtained. However, despite the positive association between the time banking and its ability to extend young people's entitlements, a degree of caution must be taken. Underpinning the policy is the ideology that these entitlements are universal. However, as highlighted in the previous chapter, not all young people had access to the time bank. Participation did not extend far beyond the 'usual suspects'. There was some evidence to suggest a certain group of young people had been targeted. Thus, one needs to be wary of placing too much emphasis on the time bank as a way of achieving this goal over other existing mechanisms. *Extending Entitlements* was not intended to be realised through one programme alone, rather it is a vision to be encapsulated by all those working with young people. It should underpin the way all organisations, projects and specific interventions operate.

9.3 Scope of Participation – Co-producing?

The previous section has shown that young people perceived there to be a number of positive benefits associated with partaking in time banking. By focusing on young people's experiences, it has shown that through time banking involvement a number of young people's entitlements have been extended.

This section now focuses on the extent to which the involvement of young people in the time bank can be considered as 'participatory'. In order to do

so, it examines the different degrees of participation in the time bank; exploring whether activities were adult-led, young person-led or joint ventures. By examining the level of input young people had into the design, planning and/or delivery of activities (as opposed to just decision-making), this discussion will also assess whether the time bank has facilitated co-production and to what extent the reported benefits are a product of this.

Levels of active engagement in participatory activities vary (Kirby et al 2003). A number of different typologies of participation have emerged in recent years, in order to help distinguish between these. Hart's (1992) 'ladder of participation' (introduced in Chapter Two) provided a useful framework to assess the different degrees of young people's participation (or non-participation) in the time bank. While Hart's ladder has been criticised as some scholars suggest that the higher rungs on the ladder could be incorrectly interpreted – i.e. representing the most desirable form of participation (Treseder 1997; Hinton 2008) – as Hart (1992: 11) himself acknowledges, the model should not, and thus will not, be used as a 'simple measuring stick.' As such the ladder will be used as an analytical tool to help distinguish between different types of involvement and participation in the time bank.

While Treseder's (1997) model could have been utilised here as it removes the hierarchical element in replacement for a wheel (thus avoiding the criticism levelled at Hart), the omission of the 'non-participatory' rungs deemed it less suitable. Manipulation, decoration and tokenism (the non-participatory rungs) were useful analytical categories as they helped distinguish between 'participation' and 'involvement' in the time bank.

Hart's (1992) ladder of participation distinguishes between eight rungs, which describe the relationship between adults and young people in the process of participation. The ladder ascends from the 'non-participation' (manipulation, decoration and tokenism) to varying degrees of participation (assigned but

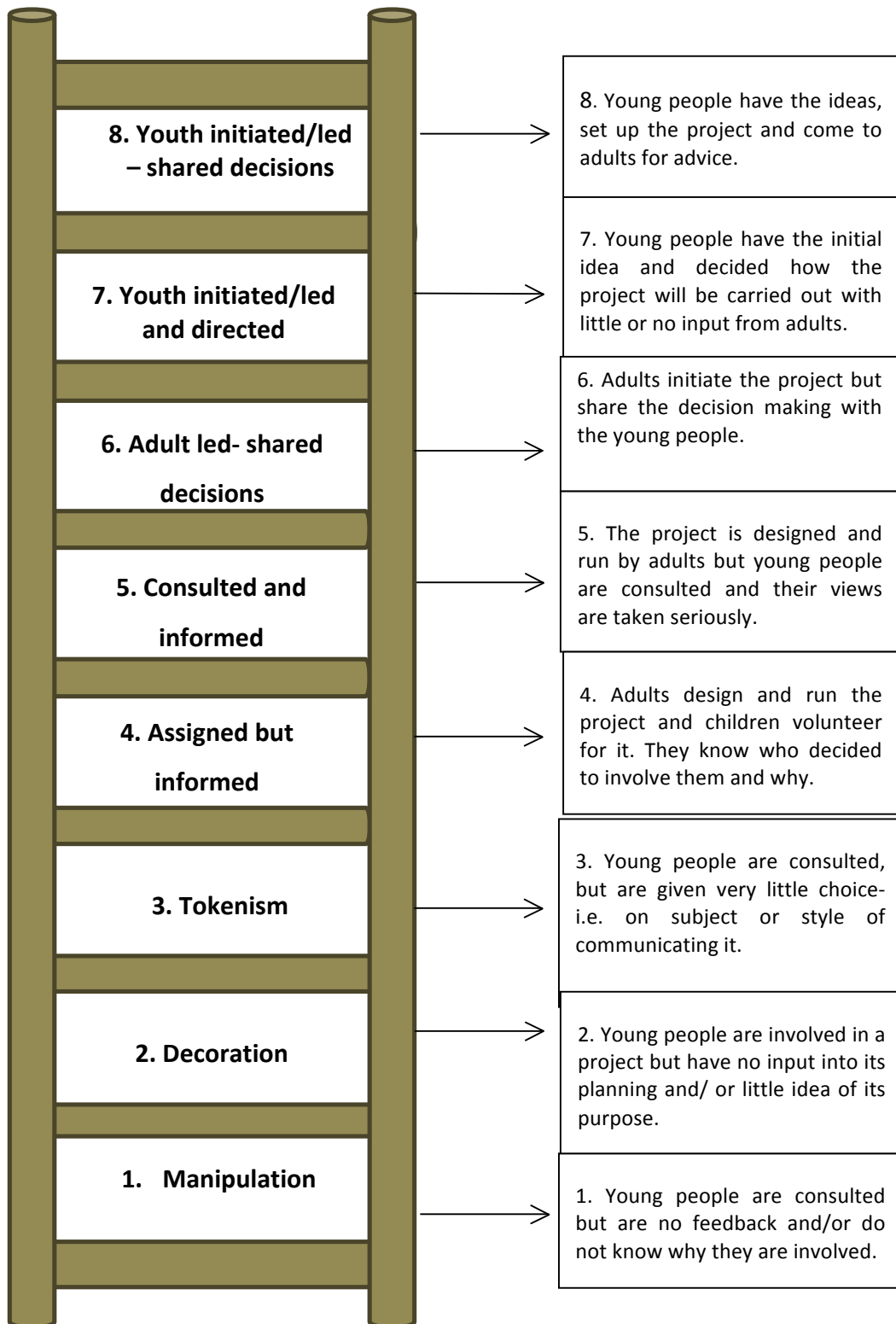
informed; consulted and informed; adult initiated shared decisions with young people; young people initiated and directed; young people initiated shared decisions with adults).

9.3.1 Adult-led activities

It was clear from observing 'time-in' activities that these varied in degree of participation. The most common form of participation was akin to rung 4 'assigned but informed,' with aspects of 'consulted and informed'; both of which are located in the centre of Hart's ladder. These levels of participation were witnessed in the Gardening Club, the museum project and events such as the garden party and catering events. For example, the Gardening Club was initiated by Helen and delivered by the gardener. The young people spent one lunch time a week in the school garden where the gardener set the agenda and gave guidance to the young people on what they could do to help. Young people volunteered their services and were given time credits for the time they contributed.

As the time bank evolved participation developed. There were a number of activities that could be considered similar to those on rung 6, 'adult initiated, shared decisions with young people.' These included the Journalism Club, the Street Team or the Eco Club. Here, although adults initiated the club, there was much more onus on young people to come up with ideas and help take responsibility for the group's activities. An example of this form of participation is offered below.

Figure 6: Hart's Ladder of Participation (annotated)



Chocolate Muffin: In Journalism Club we...are making stuff like the next month's issue [local newspaper] me and Smiley have done an interview with the band...so we are going to put that in, and we have done a review on warhorse.

R: And was that your idea or were you given the tasks?

Chocolate Muffin: We give our ideas and they just say we have to write stuff.

(Chocolate Muffin, Year 8)

While the latter part of Chocolate Muffin's quote suggests that adults have the final decision on the content of the magazine, it is clear that the young people do have input into the decision regarding the design and delivery, more so than that found in other activities such as the Gardening Club.

Participation that could be considered 'adult initiated and shared decision with young people' appeared to develop as the time bank evolved. This was evident in the case of the Eco Club and the Street Team. When Eco Club was first initiated the teacher facilitating the club planned and directed activities. As time went on, however, the members were given more input into decision-making and greater responsibility for its delivery:

In a discussion with the teacher running the Eco Club, she told me that they have been telling the pupils too much and they want them (the young people) to come up with more things to do. When she popped out the room she told them they need to come up with things they want to do next term - things they think the Eco Club should do.

Fieldnotes, Bryn Secondary, 2012

In the above quote it is clear that the teacher is trying to facilitate more input from the young people. She wants young people to have a greater role in decision-making. The Street Team is another example of time banking practices becoming more collaborative, or young person-led, as the time bank has evolved. The Street Team was considered a 'new' activity. It was initiated sometime after the time bank was launched with the explicit intention of involving young people in the decision-making in regards to how to promote time banking to others:

‘Well we are starting now, trying to get a Street Team on board...The Street Team will be the young people; the pupil’s themselves who will be the publicity team. They will promote it...we are going to have ten people as part of this team...The Street Team will be responsible for designing posters for making sure that it’s up-to-date...And having this Street Team I think is a really good way forward for us, because they – young people themselves – have the best ideas. So we are making them more part of the planning’ (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary).

The Street Team could be viewed as a club which adults initiated but shared decision-making with young people. While the coordinator introduced the concept of a Street Team and found members, the young people were given more responsibility and input into planning club activities.

Although these new forms of participation began to develop, by the end of the school term the Eco Club and the Street Team had stopped running. The teacher facilitating the Eco Club had stopped it. She stated that young people were not ‘doing enough’ to earn time credits:

‘...[A] conversation with a staff member was interesting, she wasn’t prepared to give them credits for not doing anything so they stopped turning up and I commend her for that actually...the Street Team were getting to that’ (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

The coordinator of the time bank approved of the teacher’s action and also believed that the Street Teams were following a similar path. There appeared to be a number of related issues why the Eco Club and Street Team became less well attended and eventually suspended⁷², all of which are rooted in conceptualisations of young people’s capacity for autonomous action.

[Responsibility and confidence](#)

One of the reasons that the Eco Club and Street Team were suspended is that young people were not comfortable with the activities being more ‘young person-led’. Young people prefer to participate in different ways (Hart 1992; Treseder 1997; Kirby and Bryson 2002) and may not welcome the

⁷² The term suspended has been opted here as discussions with both the teacher running the *Eco Club* and the coordinator who set up the Street Team stated that they would try running the activities again the following year.

responsibility that certain forms of participation can bring. While the Eco Club appeared to be an 'adult initiated activity', in which young people's decision-making was shared (Rung 6 on Hart's ladder), at least one young person believed that they were given too much responsibility and not enough guidance:

'I don't like Eco Club to be honest...in Eco Club they just tell you to go off and do it yourself and I am quite upset about that' (Lol, Year 8).

Lol first started time banking through her involvement in the Eco Club, however, as she explained, she no longer enjoyed Eco Club. Her quote suggests that she did not like how Eco Club became less directed. Lol may not have wanted the extra responsibility participation bought.

Kirby and Bryson (2002) in their review of youth participation evaluations, suggest that supporting young people to take the lead in decision-making is not a straightforward activity and can often be a much slower process than for adults. Young people are all different. They may prefer to participate in different ways and may require different degrees of support. Some young people may require more time and support in order to take on more responsibility (Tooke 2002, in Kirby and Bryson 2002)

Finding the right level of participation can be complex. While some adults may offer too much guidance and direction, making young people feel powerless, others might offer too little (Greer 2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002). The Eco Club may have been victim of the latter. The Eco teacher assumed the group would be able (and want) to operate with greater independence than they did (Greer 2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002). This might be a reason why some young people stopped attending Eco Club. It offers an example of the time bank 'running before it can walk'. In an effort to empower young people, the time bank developed certain forms of participation too quickly. As Matthews (2001: 316) notes, 'it is important to work at the groups' own pace' and recognise that 'every group of young

people is different.’ More time might be needed to build the capacity and confidence of young people (Lister 2007) so they feel able to engage in participatory forms that require more responsibility. Alternatively, the level of input required within the Eco Club (and Street Team) may need to be lessened or more individually tailored in order to better reflect the young people’s current abilities and preferences.

Protection vs. autonomy

In addition to building up young people’s confidence to want to participate, one of the issues with developing these forms of participation could have been rooted in the competing conceptualisations of young people that exist in late-modernity. According to Percy-Smith (2005: 1, in Thomas 2007: 202) there is a ‘tension between children having the responsibility for decision-making and enjoying their childhood.’ This tension was recognised by the coordinator of the time bank:

Rhiannon: ‘...one of the hard things in a school is that children are used to being told what to do and what we want to do is to allow them to have their own voice, well their own voice means sitting and chatting to their friends and laughing and giggling and getting a bit loud because that’s what you do at that age and we’re trying to reign this thing in but still allow them to be free and be themselves and it’s like we either say to them you come to *Street Team* and you do this, this and this and if you don’t do it you don’t come or you don’t get your credits but then we’re be teachery, so it’s a balancing act really...’

R: ‘...so has it been difficult to give them more responsibility?’

Rhiannon: ‘Yeah...they don’t want it, why should they? They’re children. We want to instil in them that ethic of work and workfulness in a different way to doing homework, which I think is good. We want to encourage them to try new things, to be part of new things but at some point you have to, especially with the age of some of them, you got to make sure that you’ve checked registers and that they’re all there and then it comes back to being schooly, but that’s just looking after them so it’s a fine balancing act ... finding the right thing that they want to do. They want to promote [the time bank] in the Street Team they’re just really scared about it...’

(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

For Rhiannon there appears to be a fine balance between letting young people be young and enabling them to use their voice. Like Percy-Smith (2005, in Thomas 2007), Prout (2000) argues there is a tension in society between protecting young people and recognising them as autonomous. This is evident in the coordinator's assertion. On the one hand, the coordinator views time banking as a mechanism for 'self-realisation' and recognises that young people, 'within the limits of social independence', are capable of autonomous action. This is evident in the statements about allowing young people to 'to be free and be themselves', 'to have a voice' and 'to try new things.' However, at the same time, the coordinator also highlights the need to protect ('look after them'), survey ('check the registers and make sure they are there') and regulate ('reign in') young people's action (Prout 2000). Thus these contending perceptions of young people, especially the latter, may limit the degree to which young people are able to participate.

Contradictory advice

Finally another related reason these activities could have stopped attracting participation and ultimately stopped running was because young people were being afforded different degrees of agency by different teachers. In Eco Club, the amount of guidance and direction young people received differed depending on which teacher was in charge on the day:

In Eco Club, Mr Crew was facilitating the group today, rather than the other teacher, Mr Crew did a register, he then started by saying, 'I have a complaint to make. No one's doing anything for these time credits. One of the girls replied 'well you've not told us what to do.' He said 'yes I have we have asked you to write a script for the video'. He told them the format of the videos and then told them to stop talking. 'You need to prepare a script' he pointed to a group of girls 'you three do the one for interviewing Mrs May, he pointed to another group 'you do the script for introducing the Eco Club ' and then another ' you do the bit in the garden.'

Fieldnotes, Eco Club, March 2011

The above extract depicts the Eco Club in a very different manner than the teacher who normally runs it proposed. Rather than young people making

decisions, here the other teacher is directing them. This is not to say that the Eco Club was never 'adult initiated, shared decisions with young people' but that it was inconsistent in its approach. The following extract highlights this:

In the middle of talking with the teacher who ran Eco Club one of the pupils came over and said to her 'sir came in and told us all the ideas, but shouldn't it be independent. The teacher replied - yes! One of the girl replied, 'but they have just wrote what he said, should we come up with our own? Again, the teacher replied 'Yes you should, silly Sir.'

Fieldnotes, Eco Club, 2011

Different teachers facilitated different degrees of participation. Young people themselves recognised the contradictory approach given to them. While Mr Crew directed participation, the teacher who normally facilitated the Eco Club tried to instil independence. Rather than not organically evolving from one form of participation to another, the Eco Club was blurred between adult-led, adult-led joint decision with young people and youth-led.

9.3.2 Youth-led activities

This section draws on Cornwall's (2008) distinction between spaces created *for* people, where services providers 'invite' people to participate in services structured and owned by the providers, and spaces created *by* people, where spaces have been created *by* the participants themselves. In the examples of the Eco Club and Street Team, an attempt had been made to transform 'invited spaces' into a participant-created space. The problematic nature of this is that it is very difficult for providers to simply transform one space into another (Cornwall 2008). This appeared to be underestimated by the staff facilitating these activities, and became even more problematic when the other teacher facilitating the Eco Club directed activities.

If service providers want activities to be led by participants – which according to the coordinator is an aim of the time bank; 'we're trying to...empower them to run events themselves, to do these things themselves' (Rhiannon) – then they need to create an environment in which young people can truly create their own spaces.

However, this appeared difficult in practice. The few examples of ‘youth initiated activities’ (rungs 7 and 8 of Harts ladder), where young people created spaces for participation (Cornwall 2008), either did not transform into anything substantial, or created some level of controversy over whether they should be time credited. For instance, in one case two of the young people – including one very active time banking member – came up with a new idea to earn time credits; running a talent show:

‘Well we [Billy Bob and Dave] organised a talent show [laughter], but that just went to pot and didn’t happen’ (Billy Bob, Year 10)

Despite the auditions taking place, the talent show did not materialise, due to lack of staff support. The insight from Greer’s (2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002: 40) findings is relevant here. While ‘a small minority of young people with experience of running projects have been found to succeed without an adult support worker...they have required the support of a host organisation.’ Although Dave and Billy Bob were keen to run the talent show and the coordinator supported this idea, there was no member of staff in the school available to assist. They did not have enough organisational support.

While the mechanism appears to be in place to help facilitate certain levels of participation, such as adult-initiated activities located in the middle of Hart’s ladder (rungs 4-6), they do not appear to be in place to assist youth-led/initiated activities, which represent the higher rungs (7 and 8). Again this can be witnessed in the contentious response from the coordinator to another youth-led activity:

Rhiannon: ‘We had quite a difficult situation where the Year 10 did put on a concert to raise money...they did it all themselves, they set it up they rehearsed, they rehearsed for weeks, they got a sell-out concert and then on the day of the concert she asked [a member of staff] ‘Oh they should be getting credits for this, there’s hundreds of hours...’ and I actually said ‘No’...not because I didn’t want them to have the credits but mostly because we can’t be allowed to be railroaded into what somebody else thinks and it should’ve been thought out from the beginning.’

R: 'Did they get time credits for it?'

Rhiannon: 'They got some for the performance, which I'm happy enough about...but what I probably would've done is credited the small team who had organised it and who were running the rehearsals and getting all the equipment but we found out about it too late and then there was this expectation because she [the member of staff] got involved then and it would just happen...if someone had been involved from the start and told us from the start it was happening it would've been fine, because actually one of the students involved, I would've asked him to monitor it and give them out...we would've been more than happy about it but it was, they were doing it off their own back which in a way are the things that are slightly off radar and you can't do much about that because you don't want to stop them doing anything... it was the way that she asked and there was an expectation...that was quite difficult but the students didn't know anything about it...if the students had come to me we would've worked it out...'

(Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator)

The extended extract above highlights some contention whether young people should have received time credits for planning and delivering the concert. While it is apparent that the coordinator does not frame this particular issue as being one with young people having more responsibility but as a concern with the staff administration of time credits – the extract still implies that these activities are more difficult to properly support through time banking. It is suggested that activities need to be planned as part of the time bank from the outset – which can be difficult to do if young people initiated the activity. It appears that many negotiations are at play, not just between adults and young people, but also between different members of staff. This specific example accords with Cornwall's (2008) more general observation that:

Participation as praxis is, after all, rarely a seamless process; rather, it constitutes a terrain of contestation, in which relations of power between different actors, each with their own 'projects', shape and reshape the boundaries of action (Cornwall 2008: 276).

Relationships *between* staff as well as relationships *between* adults and young people can impact on the type of action that is sought and generated. Despite Rhiannon's assertion that through time banking they are attempting

to empower young people to create their own spaces, this is not a straightforward process. Not only did the relationships between staff hinder this but if it is a prerequisite that activities need to be planned, this will inevitably stifle spontaneity. A lack of spontaneity could make it difficult for young people to create their own spaces.

9.3.3 Degrees of participation

By using Hart's (1992) ladder as a framework for assessing participation there appears to be different degrees of participation amongst and within different 'time-in' activities. Hinton (2008: 288) has criticised the numerous typologies of participation as their construction tends to favour a snapshot analysis which 'can hinder reflection on process and the dynamic nature of power relations.' However, as has been shown here, this is not the case. The ladder has been used to show how different degrees of participation have existed and transformed over time and how different power relations can be exercised simultaneously within different activities.

The following adaptation of Hart's ladder (Figure 7) illustrates this. Activities that had stopped running⁷³ (Eco Club and Street Team) or faced some difficulties (the talent show) or controversy (the concert) have been included on the ladder. Although the time bank may not have successfully achieved or recognised these levels of participation they are included on the ladder as they help illustrate two main points. First, there has been some attempt on behalf of adults to increase the degree to which some young people participate, but that this is difficult to achieve. Second, certain young people do want and attempt to increase the degree to which they participate themselves. Thus Hart's ladder has

functioned...as a rhetorical device, with the climb...representing the challenge for adults working with children and young people, to make their practice truly participatory (Thomas 2007: 204)

⁷³ Or had been suspended as mentioned earlier.

Finally, what can also be seen in the ladder is that while all the 'time-in' activities have enabled certain degrees of participation, 'time-out' activities have not. Rather, these could be described as non-participatory. Attention will now turn to exploring this.

9.3.4 Non-participation

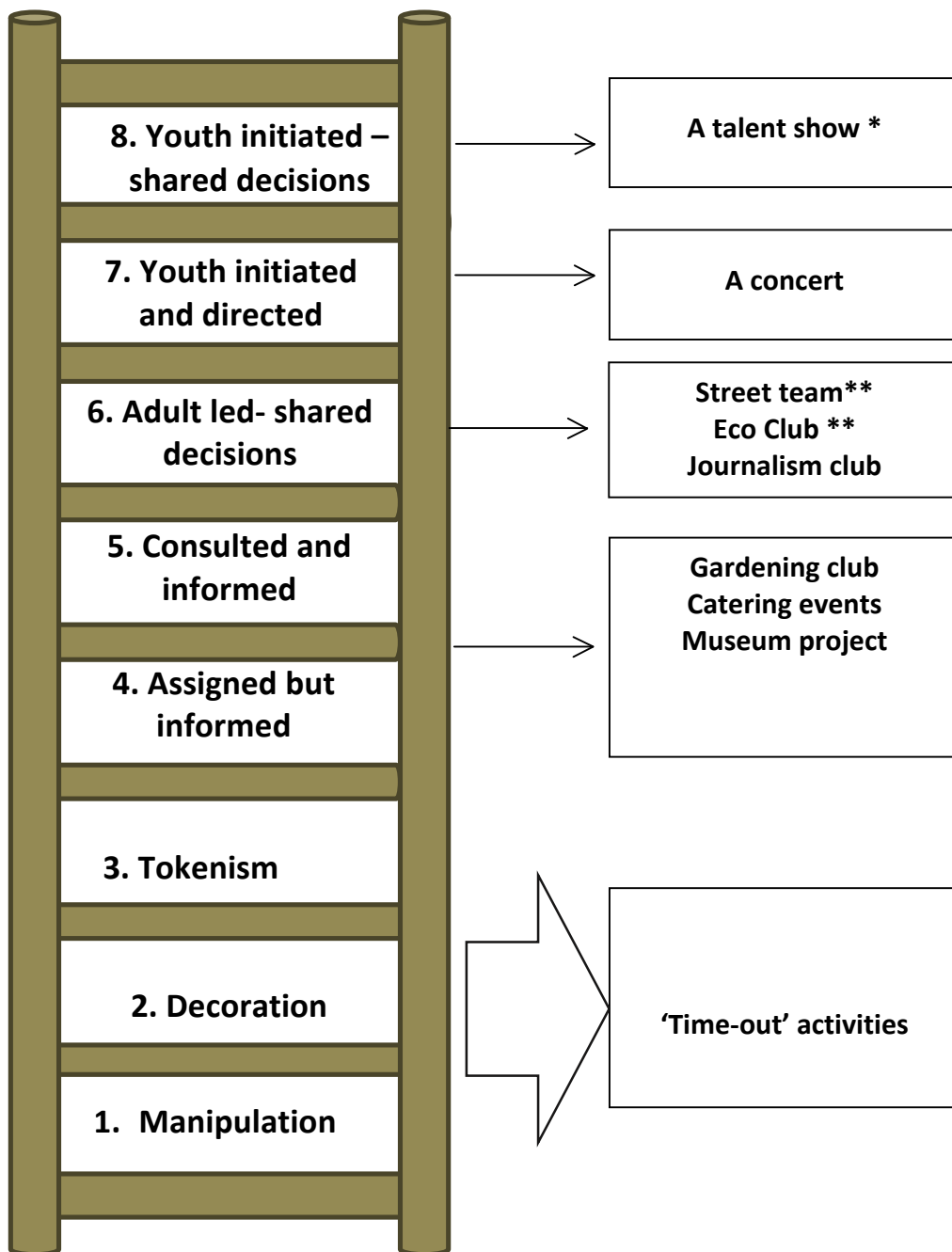
Whilst so far Hart's ladder has been utilised to show the different degrees of participation in the time bank, what now follows is a discussion of activities which can be considered non-participatory. For Hart (1992) 'participation' refers to the process of involving young people in decision-making about matters that affect them. While most of the 'time-in' activities could be described as participatory, 'time-out' activities cannot (see Figure 7 below). A number of those who took part in the research (Lauren, Chocolate Muffin, Smiley and Victoria) said that they had not been asked what they would like to do to with their time credits:

'No, no one has asked' (Lauren, Year 8).

Only Dave and Billy Bob mentioned that they had been asked, however they said they had not been listened to:

'...we were asked, but then we were like shoved to the side...it didn't go ahead' (Billy Bob Year 10).

Figure 7: Degrees of participation in the time bank



*The talent show auditions did not evolve into an actual talent show

** *Street team* and *Eco Club* stopped.

Utilising Hart's definition of participation, 'time-out' activities arguably are non-participatory as young people's voices are either not sought or when

they were, they were not listened to. As Figure 7 above shows, 'time-out' activities have been located on the bottom three rungs of Hart's ladder, representing the non-participatory rungs. Thomas and O'Kane (1998) have argued that not listening to/or seeking the voices of young people has become endemic in society. They claim that young people believe adults routinely 'ignore them, leave them out...interrupt, over-ride, or redefine what they say' (1998: 372). While Dave and Billy Bob were consulted on how they would like to use their time credits, their views were not adopted into practice, and arguably were not given due weight. Thus the experiences of Dave and Billy Bob could potentially be considered as tokenistic.

The problem of this tokenism is outlined by Lundy (2007), who claims that tokenistic forms of participation exercise a breach of Article 12 of the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) which explicitly states that children and young people's views are to be given 'due weight' in all decisions that affect them. 'Implicit within the notion of due weight is the fact that children have a right to have their views listened to (not just heard) by those involved in the decision-making processes' (Lundy 2007: 936). The experiences of Dave and Billy Bob are not uncommon. A central challenge to Article 12 of the UNCRC 'is that it is easy for adults to comply with the various outward signs of consultation and ultimately ignore children's view[s]' (Lundy 2007: 938).

The suggestion that young people's views are not given due weight is further supported in a discussion with the coordinator. Explaining how 'time-out' activities were thought out, she claimed that they came from 'team meetings as opposed to asking the kids, when we ask the kids we don't really get much' (Fieldnotes, May 2012). Similarly, neither the facilitators in Bryn Secondary nor Field High gave any mention of consulting young people on decisions regarding 'time-out' activities. Instead they suggested that 'time-out' activities are initiated by themselves and the coordinator:

'Rhiannon will give me a load of stuff, I'll come up with some stuff and we'll start planning some events as well. So it's done between the two of us or all four schools and Rhiannon really...Rhiannon['s]...got a budget so she might put on some events and away days...yeah that's how it's done, just come out with it between us really' (Dewi – Facilitator, Field High)

'...because I am the community focused coordinator so normally all the projects are coming out of my head.' (Helen – Facilitator, Bryn Secondary)

Although young people involved in the time bank appear to be empowered (to a certain degree) to give their time, the same cannot be claimed in regards to decisions on how young people use their time credits. Possible reasons why this could be are centred on two main rationales. First, adults were dubious about young people's decision-making capabilities (Hart 1992; Hill et al 2004; Lundy 2007) and second, consulting young people required time and effort that could be spent elsewhere (Lundy 2007):

'...it takes a lot of facilitation to co-design with young people and we haven't really had the time to do that because we've had other things that we've needed to achieve...getting the young people to...getting them to understand why they should design it and then you hit all the crazy ideas, like 'We want to go to Florida', you can't do that, and once you start saying 'Well no, we can't' or 'Well maybe we should try somewhere close to home', they know what you're saying ' but you can't do that' (Rhiannon – Time bank coordinator).

The coordinator's quotation indicated both these rationales. Not only does she mention time constraints but she also states that when they have had time to ask young people, their ideas are unrealistic.

Doubting the capabilities of young people is a well-rehearsed barrier; it resonates with the conceptualisation of young people and their citizenship status outlined above. Drawing on an essay written by Carol Brennan on children's rights, Freeman (2010: 24) discusses how Brennan's essay 'exhibits another common concern that children will make mistakes.' He explains that 'her main reason for refusing to acknowledge that children have autonomy is that "often children do not choose well or wisely"'.

This is evident here. Rhiannon, to some extent, doubts the capacity of young people. She submits that if unrealistic ideas are suggested, this could result in the young people feeling like they are being undermined when these activities cannot be delivered. Rhiannon's worries are somewhat justifiable given the assertion above that young people do not think their views are taken seriously. With this said, however, previous research 'indicates that children are more capable than adults give them credit for and that their capacity for decision-making increases in direct proportion to the opportunities offered to them' (Alderson and Goodwin 1993; De Winter 1997, in Lundy 2007: 937). Moreover, as suggested by Freeman in a critique of Brennan's standpoint, young people should be given the right to make mistakes:

...as Dworkin told us many years ago it is fundamental to believing in rights that we accept that there is a right to do what we consider to be the wrong thing to do, to make mistakes, to let others do things we would not do. To encourage children to be agents requires that we give scope to that agency (2010: 24-25).

While Freeman acknowledges that there are some limits to young people's autonomy, and they should not be put at risk, he argues that young people should be encouraged to make decisions – they are entitled to make decisions even if they are not considered by others as capable of making the best judgment calls. Thus, rather than denying young people the opportunities to have their say, the coordinator and the facilitators of the time bank could accept that not all of the suggestions young people make will necessarily be plausible but the more opportunities young people have to offer input into decision-making, the more likely it is that young people will come up with more realistic suggestions.

9.3.5 Co-production

Hart's (1992) ladder has provided a useful analytical device to distinguish between different forms of participation. However, it is not so well equipped in helping assess to what extent young people were co-producing activities.

Though it could be argued that higher up rungs of the ladder are most similar to co-production, Hart's framework places too much emphasis on decision-making and not enough on young people's involvement in the delivery of projects. This can be considered one of the subtle differences between co-production and participation:

The point [of co-production] is not to consult more, or involve people more in decisions; it is to encourage them to use the human skills and experience they have to help deliver public or voluntary services (NEF 2008a).

As highlighted in Chapter Two, Bovaird (2007) offers a useful typology of user-provider relationships which has been used by others to help assess the development of co-production within time banking (see Gregory 2009, 2012b). Dependent on the role adopted by service users or providers in relation to planning, design and delivery of services results in a different type of user/provider relationship. Of his nine identified variations, he states that two are not co-productive relationships as they consist of *only* professional or *only* community/user forms of design and delivery; no collaboration is present. While the remaining seven are all identified as forms of co-production only the centre of the matrix – 'service users as co-planners and professional and users as co-delivers' – is considered 'full co-production'. The remaining six relationships will be referred to as partial co-production (see Figure 8 in section 9.3.4).

Table 4: Bovaird’s typology of professional/users relationships (annotated)

	Professionals as sole service planner	Service user and/or community as co-planners	No professional input into service planning
Professionals as sole service deliverer	1. Traditional professional service provision	2. Professional service provision with users and/or communities involved in planning and design	3. Not applicable
Professionals and users/communities as co-deliverers	4. User and/or community co-delivery of professionally designed services	5. Full user/professional co-production	6. User and/or community co-delivery of services with professionals, with little formal planning or design
Users/Communities as sole deliverers	7. User and/or community delivery of professionally planned services	8. User and/or community delivery of co-planned or co-designed services	9. Self-organised community provision

As Table 4 illustrates, the form of co-production – or partial co-production – currently identifiable is the ‘user and/or community co-delivery of professionally designed services’ (cell 4). Whilst young people are not fully involved in the design of the projects, a number of young people are involved in the co-delivery of a several time banking activities. Again the Gardening Club example outlined above is just as applicable here. Young people help deliver a service that adults have planned. The other relationship identified on Bovaird’s typology is ‘traditional professional service provision’ (cell 1). This was evident in the case of ‘time-out’ activities; however, this cannot be classed as co-production (or even partial co-production) as young people are not involved in either planning or delivery.

Unlike Gregory's (2009; 2012b) research into a Welsh Valley's P2A time bank which found multiple types of co-productive relationships (or what could more appropriately be termed partial co-production) between time bank staff and members, here the time bank only appears to be producing one type of 'partially' co-productive relationship as young people were not involved in the planning of services. Although there is scope for other forms to develop – especially if members are able to create their own spaces – this has not yet been achieved. While examples have been provided where members started to develop new ideas to earn time credits, such as holding a school talent show, this did not transform into anything substantial due to lack of staff support. Similarly, while the Eco Club and Street Team were trying to move towards 'full/user co-production', adults either dominated too much and thus the relationships still reflected 'user and/or community co-delivery of professionally designed services' (cell 4) or young people felt that too much responsibility was placed on them to deliver the service making it more akin to 'user and/or community delivery of professionally planned services' (cell 7), or 'co-planned or co-designed services' (cell 8).

9.3.6 New typology for examining co-production

To illustrate how the different levels of participation highlighted above inform and interact with discussions of co-production, a new framework has been developed (Figure 8). Alongside the corresponding typology (Table 5) it helps visually represent participation and co-production within the case study and highlights the subtle differences between youth participation and co-production that are missing from existing typologies (for instance Hart 1992 and Bovaird 2007).

Figure 8: Visual representation of participation and co-production in the time bank

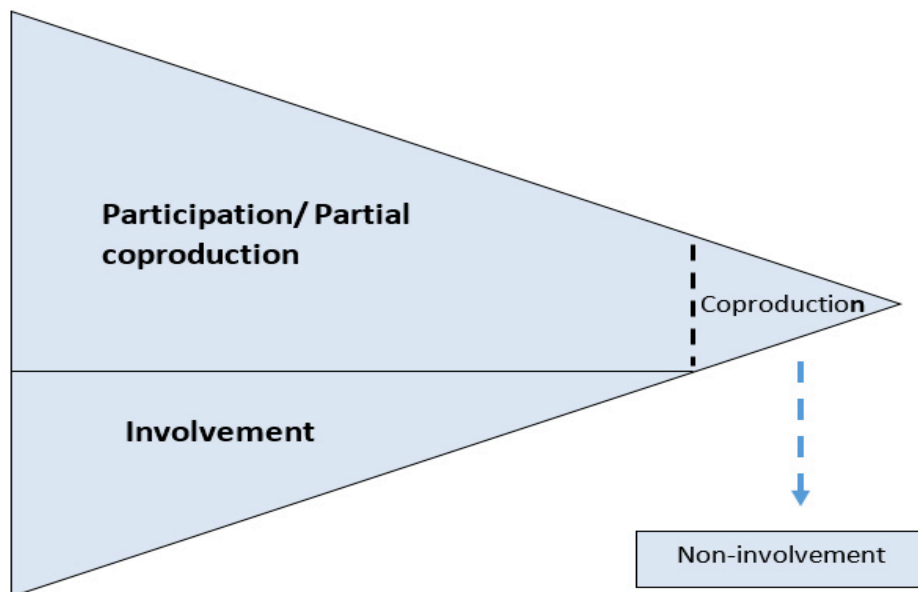


Table 5: Typology of different forms of time bank involvement

Non participation/ involvement	Participation/partial co-production	(Full) Co-production
<p>Young people are involved in a project but have no input into its planning or delivery of that service;</p> <p>Young people are consulted but do not feel like their views are taken seriously or are given no feedback.</p>	<p>Adult initiated. Young people are consulted / involved in the planning of services. Their views are taken seriously.</p> <p>Adult initiated. Young people have volunteered to be involved in the delivery of services (but have limited input into the design)</p>	<p>Adult initiated but young people are involved in the co-design and co-delivery of a service.</p> <p>Young person initiated adults advises on planning and delivery or are co-planners and co-delivers</p>

Participation/partial co-production occurs when young people are either involved in the planning of services whereby they are consulted and their views are taken seriously, or when they are involved in the delivery of services. Participation/partial co-production reflects rungs 4-6 on Hart's (1992) ladder and several of the cells (cells 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8) from Bovaird's (2007) matrix. While young people have some input into the design or delivery of services there is little collaboration between them and adults. Activities could be considered as 'on route' to co-production, falling short of full co-production. Co-production on the other hand, captures activities and services that have been co-planned and co-delivered by young people alongside adults. These can either be youth or adult initiated. The importance is that young people play a part in both the planning and the delivery and adults are there to assist them at all stages in the process. Active collaboration between adults and young people at all stages of the project is what differentiates co-production from participation.

Like Hart's (1992) ladder of participation, and to some extent Bovaird's (2007) matrix with its cell 'traditional service provision', the typology also includes a description of activities or service provision which are considered 'non-participatory.' Non-participatory or involvement included activities where young people are involved in a project but have no input into the planning or delivery of that service. In some cases young people might be asked for their opinions but they are either given no feedback or feel as though their views were not taken seriously.

Each of these categories is evident in the time bank. The visual representation (Figure 8) highlights how most activities in the time bank are participatory but far fewer are co-productive. The time bank shows that participation/partial co-production is easier to promote than co-production. Only a few will go on to co-produce. While it shows that participation/partial co-production can develop into co-production, it also indicates that if young

people are not given the right support these can stop altogether, hindering young people's involvement in time banking activities. The talent show and Eco Club exemplify this. As noted already the talent show was a 'time-in' activity that was initiated by young people, namely two of the time banking members. While they were able to hold the auditions, the absence of sufficient adult support meant that the young people were unable to effectively deliver the talent show. The activity did not materialise. The Eco Club, on the other hand was initiated by adults. However, one teacher's attempt to encourage young people to have more input into the design and the delivery, at same time as another teacher took charge of the planning of the Eco Clubs activities, resulted in unclear levels of youth participation. This caused the club to cease altogether.

Moreover, it is also apparent that there can be examples of non-participation within time banking activities. While all 'time-in' activities are participatory in nature because young people are involved in the delivery of services, 'time-out' activities can, and in this case have, fallen into the non-participatory or involvement category. Young people are 'involved' in 'time-out' activities in so far that they choose which activities to use their time credits on but they are not 'participatory' as they are they are not involved in deciding which activities became part of the 'time-out' menu. However, this does not have to be the case. Young people could be asked how they would like to use their credits and/or be involved in the planning of these or others 'time-out' activities. If this occurred, 'time-out' activities could become more participatory and at least partially co-produced.

9.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was twofold. First, by asking young people to reflect on their participation in the Bryn Secondary time bank, it explored

whether involvement had led to any positive benefits and to what extent these map on to those outlined in Welsh Government policy, specifically *Extending Entitlements*. Second, it examined the scope and degree of participation in the time bank – assessing to what extent young people could be considered to have engaged in co-productive practices.

In exploring the experiences of young people's involvement in time banking a number of positive benefits were reported, these included:

- the relational aspects of time banking: young people were able to form social networks within the time bank. While these mostly reflected bonding social capital (fostering friendships with peers), there were also elements of bridging capital (inter-generational activities within the community). Both of these were considered advantageous. Bonding was particularly useful in developing social well being for these young people whereas bridging could potentially lead to better community relations.
- new opportunities and experiences: the use of time credits in place of money offered a means to access services and activities that would otherwise be denied to members. Consequently, this also allowed families to partake in activities together.
- personal development: involvement in the time bank was said to improve young people's confidence, give them a voice, make them feel valued, give them a sense of pride and allow them to 'find out what they are good at'.

While Kirby and Bryson (2002) note that in a number of evaluations (Back et al 2000; France 2000; Kirby 2001; Kirby et al 2002; Save the Children 2002) these additional benefits have been 'examined as process factors that encourage young people's involvement rather than as valid outcomes in

themselves', these findings reposition these as important outcomes *in their own right*.

In investigating to what extent these are products of co-production the chapter argues that the outcomes are a result of participation, not necessarily co-production. By drawing on existing typologies of participation and co-production (Hart 1992; Bovaird 2007; Cornwall 2008) the chapter has shown that participation in the time bank was complex. Rather than being homogenous, it varied between and within time banking activities. While utilising these typologies helped gain a nuanced understanding of involvement in the time bank, it was suggested that these on their own were not enough. In order gain a better appreciation of the subtle differences between co-production, participation and non-participation – all of which were present in the case – a new framework was developed.

Most of the activities were found to be participatory; young people either had input into the planning or delivery of activities. Far fewer were co-produced; only a small number of activities involved young people in the co-planning *and* co-delivery of activities. Moreover those activities often came up against various obstacles and were short lived. A number of reasons were attributed to this, many of which were rooted in conceptualisations of young people's capacity for autonomous action:

- There was a tension between giving young people responsibility and allowing them to enjoy childhood. Reflecting Greer's argument (2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002), it was suggested that finding the right level of participation can be complex. While some adults may offer too much guidance and direction, making young people feel powerless, others might offer too little (Greer 2000, in Kirby and Bryson 2002).
- Not all young people are the same and not all will want the same degree of input and responsibility.

- ‘Invited’ spaces were being transformed into ‘created’ spaces (Cornwall 2008). This is a difficult process that was underestimated by staff, a problem compounded as different teachers afforded young people differing degrees of agency.

It was argued that more time might be needed to develop capacities of young people and allow young people to create their own spaces within the time bank. However, there is no guaranteeing that the time bank will produce fully co-productive relationships. Different people might want to be involved in different ways and not all will necessarily want to co-produce.

Despite the time bank only achieving partial co-production in practice, the normative values of time banking and co-production were recognised. A number of the benefits outlined above by young people map on to the ideological underpinnings of time banking and tenets of Cahn’s (2000a) co-production. For instance young people reported feeling valued, feeling like assets, making social networks, engaging in processes of reciprocity, and being able to use their skills. Moreover, it could be claimed that it was the development of these normative values which helped produce a number of tangible benefits that appear to align with the vision outlined in the Welsh Government’s policy document *Extending Entitlements*. ‘Full’ co-production does not therefore have to be present for young people to report a number of positive experiences.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

10.1 Story of the Thesis

This chapter concludes the thesis. It provides a summary of the main debates and discussions within in each chapter and outlines the key findings and argument of the thesis, answering the questions that guided the research. It also considers the major contributions and potential implications of the research for the study of youth participation in time banking and the development of co-productive practices.

The introductory chapter outlined the main aims and objectives of the research and discussed its social scientific and practice relevance. The research was conducted as a qualitative mixed method case study of a youth time bank operating in a South Wales' secondary school. By following the policy initiative unfolding in practice, through ethnographic methods, semi-structured interviews and a participatory approach with young people, the principal aim of the research was to provide an in-depth understanding of the *who*, *how* and *why* of youth participation in the time bank and to examine whether youth time banks can develop co-productive relationships.

Chapter Two introduced the concept of time banking and the associated theory of co-production. Although multiple definitions of co-production were shown to exist, this chapter outlined the conceptualisation of co-production that the thesis would draw upon and 'test' (Cahn 2000a; NEF 2008). The chapter explored a number of empirical studies which threw light on the nature and outcomes of members' participation in time banks and on how organisational structures can develop the values of co-production. Some studies suggested time banking could function as a preventative mechanism for young people at risk of offending behaviour, while others outlined the potential benefits for prompting youth co-production. Importantly, however,

this review signalled the lack of any empirically robust research into young people's engagement with time banking, and more specifically research that sought the voices of young people.

Consequently, Chapter Three cast the net wider and explored the literature surrounding youth participation. Although the thesis has distinguished participation from co-production, a number of the claims made for greater participation were thought to bring new insight into the increased interest in co-production. Also presented in Chapter Three were differing conceptualisations of young people, divergent normative and ideological claims made for youth participation, and the current challenges and barriers to establishing participatory practices with young people. Assessing these debates helped to focus more finely the analytical gaze of this thesis.

Chapter Four considered the political and policy context and ideologies within which time banking and co-production are situated. Data from a number of 'expert' interviews and key policy documents highlighted the theoretical malleability of time banking from an ideological perspective. It suggested that different versions of co-production have been used to promote slightly different functions of time banking.

The second part of Chapter Four focused specifically on locating time banking within the Welsh context. It highlighted the significant parallels between the policy goals of the Welsh Government and the particular 'P2A' model of time banking that has developed in Welsh communities. More specifically it suggested that the Welsh policy approach towards young people showed a number of rhetorical overlaps with the philosophies of time banking. It proposed therefore using one of the Welsh Government's policy documents, *Extending Entitlements*, as an 'analytical tool' through which the thesis could explore whether in practice the time bank helped achieve such stated goals.

Chapter Five offered a reflexive account of my research journey and elaborated on how the emerging conceptual framework of the thesis was operationalised and adapted. It outlined the key questions guiding the study and the methodological decisions made throughout the research. The multi-method qualitative case study comprised ethnographic immersion into a time bank semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders⁷⁴ and a participatory approach with a group of active young time banking members. Combining these methods enabled me to gain first-hand experience of the everyday running of the time bank. It allowed me to explore the varying perspectives and interpretations of stakeholders concerning the time bank's creation and operation. It gave young people a voice in the research, not only through capturing their views and experiences but also by giving them input into the research process.

Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine drew on the data generated in order to answer the questions guiding the research. The analysis in Chapter Six addressed two central research objectives: what are the aims of implementing a youth time bank and are justifications for doing time banking embedded in notions of co-production? Stakeholder interviews and examination of the funding bid for the time bank revealed three broad aims: the facilitation of co-production; the development of young people's citizenship; and the generation of greater social and community cohesion. For organisational purposes, these were categorised using the analogy of a rowing boat. Co-production was the boat, the vehicle moving the policy forward. The young members were the rowers. Once developed into 'active citizens' they would be able to propel the boat towards its final destination. This destination was social and community cohesion. By engaging parents and bringing the community together through the development of strong social networks, the end policy-goal would be reached. Using this device it

⁷⁴ As noted in Chapter Five, stakeholders were selected on the basis that they were either involved with the implementation of the time bank, or had some knowledge of the context in which the time bank was being created

was possible to see how different stakeholders recognised and prioritised different aims. For instance, school staff were unaware that an explicit aim of the time bank was to get parents engaged in the school and create greater cohesion between the school and community. They were unaware, in the terms of the analogy, where the boat was heading or, indeed that it needed to head anywhere. A related aspect identified in the analysis was the scale of ambition associated with the project. In part, it was suggested, this stemmed from the visions of time banking's earliest proponents. However, *Together* also demonstrated a degree of ambition with what the school time bank could achieve for young people. Interestingly, this was not reflected in the views of school staff tasked with 'front line' implementation. In keeping with the rowing metaphor, what Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine illustrated was how these aspirations struggled in the choppy waters of actual implementation.

As regards the second objective, justifications for doing time banking appeared to be embedded clearly in notions of co-production. Most stakeholders recognised the aim of promoting co-production in Cahn's (2000) normative senses, particularly through valuing people as assets and thanking them through reciprocity. However, far fewer mentioned the aim of co-production as a new way of delivering public services. The findings from Chapter Six served to illustrate early on the different dimensions to appreciating the role of co-production in the time bank. This was supplemented in later chapters where co-production resurfaced concerning the organisational structure of the school (contextual factors) and young people's experiences of participating in the time banks. The chapter showed that while many stakeholders recognised the various rationales for creating the time bank overall there was a lack of clarity surrounding its primary aim.

Chapter Seven introduced the *modus operandi* of the time bank operating in Bryn Secondary and explored and compared the implementation of the time

bank in the two school settings. Moving beyond policy talk and aspirations to explore action it addressed the third research objective: whether there were any contextual or organisational factors that promoted or inhibited the implementation of time banking or co-production. A number of factors helped explain why implementation in the time bank had been 'slower than expected' in Bryn Secondary and much more limited in Field High.

One of the primary factors that stakeholders saw as having an impact on implementation of the time bank was the receptiveness of school staff. Existing time constraints restricted teachers' involvement and their discretion enabled them to de-prioritise the time bank. A second, related factor was that implementing co-productive practices required a cultural change. Echoing existing literature, it was claimed that co-productive practices profoundly alter existing roles and relations between service users and providers. While a general challenge of time banking, this also emerged as a particular hurdle for the schools. Questioning the existing dichotomy between pupils as learners and teachers as providers proved hard to respond to. Furthermore, it was proposed that the different levels of teacher involvement in the two schools could be attributed, in part, to their different prevailing cultures. Although there was little staff support for the time bank in either school, it was slightly easier to implement in Bryn Secondary. This was because Bryn Secondary's existing participatory culture was more amenable. However, as was shown and will be discussed again below, despite marginally better 'buy-in' from teachers, participation was still extremely limited.

The third factor having an impact on implementation was the organisational structure of the school. Although bureaucratic organisations can be extremely efficient (Weber 1947, in Hoy and Sweetland 2001), the findings in Chapter Seven suggested that the hierarchical structure of the school obstructed and distorted communication and consequently slowed

implementation (Blau and Scott 1962, in Hoy and Sweetland 2001: 296). It was suggested that if the headteacher was committed to the time bank and information was fed down the chain of command, teachers would be far more likely to get involved. Evidently, these factors are related: commitment and communication may improve receptiveness, which in turn may lead to a cultural shift in the school.

Closer examination of the differences in implementation between the two schools showed a particular roles were essential in addition to that of the headteacher. Having an existing member of staff dedicated to coordinating the time bank was seen as beneficial for successful implementation. Employing part-time someone with no previous connection to the school and giving them sole responsibility for delivering the time bank made implementation far more difficult. Consequently, the main argument of this chapter was that a number of contextual and organisational factors can promote or inhibit the implementation of time banking. These factors can be seen particularly clearly in a school environment. At a more granular level, differences that emerged between the two schools showed that barriers to successfully implementing a time bank and developing co-production manifest themselves in specific ways depending on the particular environment.

Chapter Eight explored a research aim specifically about what impelled young people's participation in time banking. It introduced the voices of young people and explored their involvement in the Bryn Secondary time bank. It discussed who was involved in the time bank, what motivated them to get involved, and the reasons they perceived for others' non-involvement.

A particularly active group of young people were involved in the time bank. To some extent they were viewed as the 'usual suspects' as most became members through their existing involvement in extra-curricular activities. This group consisted mostly of younger pupils, motivated by the time bank's

relational aspects. These young people had difficulty creating their own social networks and the time bank enabled them to do so. Through involvement in the time bank young people were able to strengthen social bonds with their peers.

Time banking, to a degree, could be credited for engaging a group of less confident young people who are normally less represented in other formal participative structures. However, engaging this group may well have restricted the involvement of others. There appeared to be a limited number of young people involved in the time bank. Whilst many of the young people who were actively involved suggested others did not join because they saw it as uncool and boring, there was some evidence of exclusionary practices resulting from the formation of dense social networks amongst the active time banking members. A small number of time banking members saw other young people as a threat. Similarly a small number of adults could also be seen as guilty of enacting exclusionary practices; a tendency to label unknown young people as 'a risk' (Roche 1999) potentially restricted their participation. Adults may have initially targeted young people on a pragmatic basis – the time bank was implemented gradually, so creating membership through existing activities was the obvious starting point – there also appeared to be elements of targeting this group because they were a 'safe pair of hands'.

Chapter Nine considered young people's experiences of being involved in the time bank and examined the scope and degree of participation in the time bank at Bryn Secondary. The analysis addressed several key research questions. These were: are there any positive benefits for young people who participated in the time bank and specifically; can participation in youth time banks extend young people's entitlements?; what is participation within the context of the Bryn Secondary time bank?; and can youth time banks achieve co-production?

Young people reported on their involvement in time banking positively. The time bank enabled them to develop social networks and have access to services and activities that would otherwise be unattainable. Young people also reported a number of individual and developmental benefits. They stated that the time bank had improved their confidence, given them a voice, made them feel valued, given them a sense of pride and enabled them to 'find out what they are good at'. Thus young people's experiences appeared to align with the Welsh Government's policy document *Extending Entitlements*, suggesting that time banking could go some way towards achieving the policy goals.

The outcomes young people referred to were the result of *participation* not necessarily *co-production* and thus the chapter was able to offer some conceptual clarity between the two. Whilst previous typologies (Hart 1992; Bovaird 2007) helped provide a nuanced understanding of involvement in the time bank, a new framework was developed to show the subtle differences between co-production, participation and non-participation present in the case study. Specifically, the majority of activities were identified as participatory in that members had *some* input into *either* planning or delivery. Far fewer were co-produced – members were involved in neither the co-planning nor co-delivery. Explanations for this were rooted in perceptions of young people's capacity for autonomous action. Conceptually, they were seen as occupying a position somewhere between 'being' and 'becoming' (Freeman 2010), capable of some level of autonomy but not completely autonomous. This autonomy is something that must be developed over time, alongside allowing young people to experiment with creating their own spaces within the time bank. There is no guarantee that the time bank will create fully co-productive relationships. Equally, following on from the argument in Chapter Eight, it is likely that different members will want to be involved in different ways. Not all members will want to co-

produce in the time bank and, as we have seen, participation can yield benefits for young people in its own right.

Although the time bank only achieved partial co-production in practice, the normative values of time banking and co-production were recognised throughout. Among other findings highlighted here, the experiences of the young people involved are testament to this. They felt valued and worthy, created networks, engaged in reciprocal practices and felt able to use their skills. Arguably it was the development of these normative values which helped produce a number of tangible benefits that appear to align with the vision outlined in the Welsh Government's policy document *Extending Entitlements*. 'Full' co-production, then, is not a necessary prerequisite for young people to report a number of positive experiences. What is important is that the normative values are made explicit (Cahn and Grey 2012); that they are pursued as essential practices of the time bank to be nurtured and developed.

10.2 Discussion and Debate

This research has followed the initial implementation of two school-based time banks and the further development and practices within one of these. As shown in Chapter Six, the two schools 'officially' pursued time banking in an attempt to try to link with the wider community in effect to bring the schools 'into' the community. The very ambitious aim was to bring teachers and pupils together in the co-production of a public service and engage parents and community members alongside young people in order to facilitate more cohesive communities. Underpinning this initiative were the principles that people and their skills should be valued and that their contributions to the community should be acknowledged in the form of reciprocal exchange. The resulting social networks would stimulate the sense of community that is vital to a healthy society (Cahn 2000a). The time bank was attempted in a Welsh context. In Chapter Four it was suggested that this

particular context has a unique set of policy priorities including citizen-centred services, equality, cooperation and the upholding of young people's rights, all of which would make an environment potentially ripe for time banking. However, as this thesis has shown, a whole array of questions surfaced when trying to meet these aims in practice. Moreover, nothing distinctively Welsh appeared to emerge about this policy. This discussion now turns to these matters, drawing on relevant earlier theoretical contributions to the thesis.

Underlying a number of these concerns is the school. This is not to say that the specific location of the time bank at Bryn Secondary and Field High is the root cause of the problems that arose but that the issues pertain to a related set of factors stemming from this setting:

- Lack of integration between the school and the community;
- Ineffective communication at a number of levels – within the school in organisational terms and also communication/clarity of the purpose of the time bank, who it sought to engage and why;
- Little inclusivity of young people, staff and community members;
- Conceptualisations of young people as policy targets and actors, (or rather a lack of clarity about how young people should be conceptualised)

Overall, these issues raise important questions about the role of school time banks and whether it is possible or even desirable to co-produce in these settings.

Chapter Six outlined the aims of the time bank. It found that a key goal was to integrate the school within the community and in particular to facilitate social networks and develop community cohesion. However, there appeared to be little evidence of this endeavour being realised in practice. Despite some events organised through the Bryn Secondary time bank which brought the

community in contact with the school, the time bank was extremely limited in scope (when compared to the stated aspirational aims and goals of *Together*). Membership of the time bank did not extend far beyond the parameters of the school. This highlights a widely held but mistaken assumption that time banks attached to public institutions or organisations will automatically extend into the community. During the fieldwork the Communities First team received additional funding to create a community-based time bank. This time bank seems very detached from the schools; there was little reference to this time bank during my time in the field and I did not observe the time banks ever crossing paths. There was little sign of intergenerational engagement or collaboration between the pupils of the school and the wider community. The impact of the time bank on community cohesion was thus extremely restricted.

This lack of impact on community cohesion calls into question Seyfang's (2004a) suggestion that time banks should be integrated in existing public services (such as schools) in a bid to enhance social inclusion. Only a small cross-section of young people were involved in the school time bank. This is because, in practice, the school was a difficult environment in which to embed a time bank.

Chapter Two suggested that due to the hierarchical nature of these institutions, the modifications to the ways in which they operate needed to facilitate co-production are often met with resistance (Boyle ND). Moreover, it was claimed that the ability for institutions to adapt to co-production presents something of a 'paradox'; co-production can break down institutional barriers, however, these already need to be blurred. Specifically in the schools these barriers took the form of communication problems.

Every policy needs an effective narrator or champion to articulate its vision (Ball et al 2011). Those not employed by the school (i.e. the coordinator of the time banks and the facilitator in Field High) found it difficult to enter the

environment and communicate the aims of the time bank. Due to the rigid hierarchical structure of the schools, what was required was communication from the top down, from the headteacher and senior leaders. However, this stands at odds with the bottom-up approach of time banking and the need identified above for the breakdown of institutional barriers in pursuit of co-production. The fact such communication did not flow from the top down, meant that the scope of the school time bank was ultimately limited. In this specific case, the communication channels were potentially more fractured due to leadership changes. As both schools had changes in the senior team (including consecutive appointments of a number of new headteachers) there was no 'narrator' to develop a clear institutional vision for the policy (Ball et al 2011).

The thesis shows that if certain mechanisms are not in place within public services the goals of the time bank will be hard to achieve. Communication networks are key; if fractured they can stunt the development and reach of a new initiative. If hierarchal structures within an organisation obstruct effective communication, the result can be low buy-in from the members of staff tasked with facilitating the time bank on the front line. The consequence of this, as arguably occurred here, is to the detriment of the ability of the time bank to promote social inclusion.

The Bryn Secondary time bank was very limited in the number of people involved. It enabled a small number of young people who could to some extent be considered as socially excluded to make new friends, experience a sense of solidarity and access new opportunities. Nevertheless, its ability to promote this level of inclusion did not extend far within the school. Despite having between 105 and 175 'recorded' members, there was little evidence of regular engagement with the time bank across the school student population as a whole. Frequent involvement appeared to be confined to a relatively small minority. Previous research had found that time banks

operating in community settings were able to create weak social networks, crossing social divisions and bringing different groups of people together who would not normally participate (Seyfang and Smith 2001, Seyfang 2004b, James 2005). Here, by contrast, the limited number of young people involved and perhaps the particular characteristics of the young people involved, resulted in the formation of dense social networks which were potentially exclusionary.

Despite the portrayal of time banks as a mechanism for inclusion, in certain instances, they, like other participatory structures (Cornwall 2008: 277) 'serve to deepen the exclusion of particular groups unless explicit efforts are made to include them.' Although there will inevitably be some limits to who is and who is not able to be involved (see Gregory 2012b for discussion of exclusion based on geographical location), as has been stated already, the time bank did not extend beyond the school as intended. This returns us to Seyfang's (2004a) suggestion above. There is no guarantee that investing in the development of time banks in public services, such as schools, will generate social inclusion and community cohesion on the scale she anticipates.

It might be presumed that the community would provide a suitable environment for the development of time banks because the organisational conditions are favourable, in particular the lack of hierarchy. However, as we have seen, there are other factors at play including the clarity of aims and communication of purpose. Boyle and Smith's (2005) research found that parents and pupils were confused as to why a time bank had been set up in the school they studied. Similarly, in this case study, stakeholders across the project did not seem to have a shared understanding. There was a distinct lack of clarity over the aims of the time bank; it appeared to mean many things to different people. This was also a particular issue in respect of young people's understanding.

There appeared to be a level of confusion over what change the time bank was meant to achieve for young people, how young people were viewed and in what way they were to be involved. Perceptions of what change the time bank ought to make for young people were closely tied to how young people were viewed - whether they were seen as citizens in the own right (beings) or citizens in the making (becoming) – and the different levels of autonomy they were granted. These issues were complex and overlapping and touched on wider debates concerned with the position of young people.

Chapter Six put forward a view that the time bank was established to develop good ‘responsible’ citizens in line with the perspective that young people are not yet citizens but ‘citizens in the making’ (Marshall 1950). Young people were perceived as in a state of ‘becoming’. Additionally, some evidence suggested that the time bank would be able to extend young people’s entitlements, thus empowering young people and recognising them as rights holders. In this way young people were viewed as active beings. Thus, conceptually, the findings suggested that young people were viewed as occupying positions somewhere between ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ (Freeman 2010).

Whilst it was outlined in Chapter Three that young people could be viewed as both ‘beings’ and ‘becomings’, the emphasis was clearly placed on acknowledging that young people were more than just pre-adults (Freeman 2010). From a practical standpoint the problem with these different perspectives of young people is that the policy (i.e. the time bank initiative) does not have a clear vision of how it should produce the desired change or what the desired change is for its beneficiaries. There was some evidence that a potential consequence of this lack of clarity was that the time bank drifted into becoming a form of behaviour modification. These ‘nudge’ style practices (Gregory 2012a) were somewhat at odds with the philosophies underpinning time banking (which emphasises valuing people as assets and

recognising their capabilities) and the Welsh policy discourse which sees young people as rights holders.

Likewise the level of autonomy granted to young people was complex. For instance, there was tension between giving young people responsibility and allowing them to enjoy childhood. There was some suggestion that young people's capabilities were doubted and different stakeholders afforded young people different levels of autonomy. Together these amalgamated in the promotion of different types of involvement, instances of 'tokenistic' practice and general confusion over how much input was required of young people.

A clearer vision of who young people are, on what grounds they are to be involved, and why the policy seeks to involve them is required. Policy makers and practitioners need to acknowledge and take seriously the views and experiences of young people. They need to find out what young people want, why they do and do not get involved and what they are willing to contribute. It is important that everyone has a shared understating of the aims of that policy and that more emphasis is placed on the promotions of young people's rights as opposed to their creation into future citizens

There are lessons to learn regarding co-production of public services, specifically with young people. The research has found that co-productive practices are difficult to achieve. The research supports previous suggestions that there are various challenges in attempting to bring co-production into mainstream public services (Boyle and Harris 2009; Boyle et al 2010). The research has also found that these issues are even more pronounced when attempting to co-produce services with young people.

Co-production does not happen overnight and there is no guarantee that full co-production will develop. In the school context it has been shown that even for some of the most dedicated teachers and time banking staff, it is not a

straightforward process. Gregory (2009) found that in a community setting, co-productive practices had the potential to develop. However, while he showed how a time bank started out as a small standalone project and gradually expanding, this did not appear to occur in the school setting.

A multitude of factors affect the time banks' ability to develop co-production. As has been shown these include (but are not limited to) communication issues, cultural change, power dimensions, and conceptions of young people and their abilities to contribute. Moreover, from listening to the voices of young people it has been found that not all members will necessarily want to fully co-produce and that having greater input into the design and delivery of services is not the main reason young people chose to get involved in time banks. With this in mind, a move to full co-production should not be rushed and should not necessarily be seen as the only goal of a time bank. If pushed in this environment, particularly when young people do not feel ready/or motivated, it runs the risk of undermining the benefits associated with youth participation, and the normative values of time banking (such as valuing people and thanking them for the contributions that they are willing to make) that young people recalled so positively.

10.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

Having addressed the key questions of this thesis and assessed the main debates there are a number of implications for policy and practice that can be discerned. Ultimately any recommendations and implications are closely tied to aims. It is important that the aims underpinning the time banks' development are clear. In particular, there needs to be clarity when young people are involved which should include an understanding of who young people are, on what grounds they are to be involved, and why the policy seeks to include them. Similarly, policy makers need to recognise that if time banks are developed in existing institutions such as schools with the goal of creating greater community cohesion, it should not be assumed that the time

bank will naturally become integrated into the community. This is not a straightforward process. Developing full co-production is also difficult. Even for the most dedicated teachers and time banking staff, changing current practices is not easy. The complex sets of mechanisms at play need careful consideration.

Consequently, implicit in the discussion above are several concerns that policy makers and practitioners should bear in mind when seeking to implement new initiatives like time banks and/or develop co-productive practices with young people:

- The need for effective communication networks, which, if in a school with a clear hierarchy, will need to be directed by the headteacher.
- The need to appreciate contextual factors – to acknowledge that different institutions can present different environments for implementation, some of which may be less amenable to time banking. Equally, certain environments within the same types of institution can have different cultures that may make it harder to do time banking.
- The recognition that simply because a time bank is implemented in a Welsh context does not mean the emphasis on distinctively Welsh policy aims (such as encouraging mutualism, collaboration and young people's rights) will automatically come through. If policy makers want these values to be reinforced they need to be actively promoted and clearly defined.
- An awareness that access to time banks can be quite restricted. There is a need, then, to be as inclusive as possible, and at the same time being careful not to exclude others. It cannot be assumed that you can include one group and not exclude others. Particular care needs to be taken that young people feel comfortable taking part alongside others. If time banks seek to widen their membership and be more

inclusive, the challenge will be to ensure that young people who are already involved are able to access 'social networks that will empower them without undermining the supportive character of those networks...which they are already members' (Crow 2004: 7).

- A respect for the views and opinions of young people. Young people noted that their voices were not always heard – particularly in regard to how time credits could be spent. Policymakers should listen to the voices of young people and take what they say seriously. Young people were at the centre of this research; other research that is interested in policies aimed at young people should seek their voices and pay attention to what they have to say. Those promoting, developing and facilitating time banks should not assume 'they know best'.
- Even when young people are not involved in the fully co-productive design and delivery of a service they may still report a number of positive experiences that uphold the normative basis of time banking. However, this does not mean that co-production practices should necessarily be abandoned altogether. These outcomes resulted from attempts to involve young people in anti-paternalistic ways which, as mentioned, were embedded in the normative principles of co-production that the time bank promoted.

10.4 Limitations and Implications for Further Research

With any study there are different paths the research can take and there will be certain limits and compromises that will need to be made in respect of what is achievable given the parameters of the research. One limitation mentioned already in this thesis (in Chapters Five and Seven) concerns the sampling of participants. A number of actors, such as teachers and parents, were difficult to access and thus their voices were largely hidden from the researcher. This was attributed in part to the scope of the time bank; it was

also a result of the time bank's location (or lack of integration) within the school and into the wider community. Given the perceptions this research has highlighted of why these stakeholders were not involved, it would have been beneficial to hear these voices for a fuller understanding of the operation of the time bank. In particular, teachers could have shed more light on why they themselves do not engage with/promote time banking activities. This may have placed the research in a broader political context: was a lack of engagement more than just an issue with time constraints? Did they see *Together* as a threat? Did they have different priorities given the restructuring of the schools?

Another key group that was not heard from during the course of the research was of pupils who were not involved in the time bank. While those who were involved in the time bank (adults and young people) voiced their opinions on non-involvement – leading to some insight into exclusion – hearing from young people who chose not to participate could have provided additional perspectives. I had originally planned on accessing this group with help from the time banking members who participated in the research. I had hoped to give these young people a more active role within the research than was ultimately the case, so they could help co-produce the research. The intention was that the time banking students would interview others who were not involved. It was thought that this might help overcome some of the difficulties of accessing this group myself. These difficulties included having to rely on teachers or staff to recruit participants (which can lead to an ethical dilemma as pupils may feel obligated to participate as so to comply with teachers' requests (see Valentine 1999) and not having sufficient time and opportunities to build a rapport with young people outside of the time bank. However, during the research I recognised that although many of the young people involved in the time bank self-reported growing levels of confidence, co-producing in this way may not have always been the desired outcome of participation for these young people. Additionally, some of these pupils

mentioned finding other pupils a threat. I did not want to make the research processes unenjoyable for young people by pushing them too far. Nevertheless, the participatory elements that were employed were not only helpful for the fieldwork, but were also met positively by the young people who took part in the research. I suggest that future research in school settings could profit from such an approach which places young people at the centre of the process.

It is naturally the case with research such as this that benefits could be gained by returning to the research site at a later date to conduct follow-up interviews with those involved and to see what progress had been made with the time bank. This is especially apposite with regard to the pertinent issues raised regarding a lack of involvement from both teachers and other students. It would also be of interest to examine whether the time bank had established itself to any extent within the wider community, particularly given the attempts that were being made (described above) to foster a separate time bank in the community.

Thinking to the future, other research could supplement the findings from this thesis by conducting comparisons between Welsh and English contexts for time banking or examining other examples of time banking in schools. There are also many public services that might explore the potential benefits of time banking and co-production with young people. Research in these settings would help to develop the broader conversation about public service delivery and youth policy that this thesis feeds into.

10.5 The Significance of the Research

This thesis was a theoretically informed, empirical study of a policy initiative unfolding. It has generated better understanding of the complexity of undertaking youth time banking in secondary schools. Importantly, it has heard the voices of young people, engaging with them on their own terms.

More broadly it has added to a growing debate about the position of young people in society, the contributions they are able to make, and how perceptions of young people can influence the impact of a policy.

In examining the concept of co-production and its implications for public service, the thesis shows that there is some promise for the development of co-production in its normative sense (as envisioned by Cahn 2000a). The Bryn Secondary time bank facilitated reciprocity, recognised young people's skills and abilities to contribute. However, as an equal and reciprocal relationship between service providers and users wherein they design and deliver a public service together, full co-production was not evident. In its current form this raises the question of whether co-production is achievable, desirable or may even need redefining.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Information sheets and consent forms

[School's headed paper]



Dear Parents/Guardians

My name is Olivia Pearson and I am a postgraduate researcher at Cardiff University. I am currently researching the time banking project your child has been involved in at [REDACTED]. Your child has said that they are keen to be involved in my research and would like to attend a workshop I am putting on with the time bank coordinator [REDACTED].

What is the study about?

The study is about the new time banking scheme that your child has become involved in at [REDACTED]. It aims to find out about young people's experiences of, and opinions about, the scheme.

The workshop

The workshop will be a chance for the pupils involved in the time school project to let me know how they would like to help me with the research in a fun way that they will enjoy.

Time and date

The workshop will run after school in the community room at [REDACTED] on Wednesday 23rd November 3-5pm. As the workshop will be time credited, on Wednesday 30th November 3-5pm there will be a pizza and film event as a reward for giving up their time. This won't cost anything and we will provide them with food. The workshop and the activity will take place after school from 3-5pm.

Other information: confidentiality and consent

Some of the information gathered from the workshop might be written up in the study. All information gathered will stay private and real names will not be used.

If you are happy for your child to attend the workshop and come along to the activity after please fill in the attached form.

Giving consent for your child to take part in the workshop does **NOT** mean you are giving consent for them to take part in the rest of the study. If your child wants to be involved in the rest of the study, another letter will be sent out explaining what it will involve and asking for your consent.

Contact details

If you have any questions you would like me to answer concerning the workshop or the research, you can contact me on [REDACTED] or email me at pearsono@cardiff.ac.uk

Or Contact [REDACTED] – Community Focused Schools Coordinator and Time bank facilitator [REDACTED] - on [REDACTED] or on the school phone number [REDACTED] Many thanks

Olivia Pearson

*PhD Student
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1-3 Museum Place,
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CF10 3BD*

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 Cardiff University
 1-3 Museum Place,
 Cardiff
 CF10 3BD



Consent Form

Time banking with young people workshop

Name of Researcher: Olivia Pearson

	Please initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheets enclosed and had any questions about the research answered to my satisfaction (Parent/Guardian)	
2. I give my consent for to take part in the workshop and did does not mean that they will have to take part in the study (Parent/Guardian)	

Name of pupil participating in study
 (Print name)

Person with consent authority (parent/guardian)
(Print name)

Signature of above (parent/guardian)
Date.....

[Schools headed paper]



Dear Parents/Guardians

I recently contacted you to ask if your child could take part in a workshop I put on with the Time School coordinator [REDACTED]. I am now writing to invite your child to participate in the research.

I'd be very grateful if you could take some time to read the following information. Your child will be provided with a separate information sheet.

What is the study about?

The study is about the new time banking scheme that your child has become involved in at school. It aims to find out about young people's experiences of, and opinions about, the scheme.

What is involved and when?

In the research workshop the pupils participating decided on a range of methods they would like to use to express their views of the Time School project. The methods they have decided to use include a combination of drawing/pictures, making collages and videos.

The research will take place after school in the community room at [REDACTED] on Wednesday 25th January 3-5pm. Both [REDACTED] and I will be there to help the pupils. As this activity will be time credited the pupils will earn two time credits for their participation. If pupils are happy to do so, I will have a one-on-one chat with them about what they have created during school hours at a time that suits them best.

How will information be recorded?

If your child doesn't mind the one-on-one chat will be tape-recorded and I will write up the recordings after. I will make a copy for myself only of the work they produce in the session.

What will happen with the information? Will it be private?

Real names will not be used and your child will not be able to be identified by anyone reading the report. The video footage will not be viewed by anyone other than your child and myself. They will be kept confidential and in accordance with the Data Protection Act. I will then analyse the information which will be used in my PhD thesis and may also be published in academic journals. The research has been approved by Cardiff University ethics committee. I have been fully police-checked and follow the school's child protection and health and safety policies.

What to do if parents/guardians are happy for their child to participate?

If you are happy for your child to take part in the research please fill in the attached form stating so.

What if you change your mind about your child's participation?

This is fine. Your child's participation is up to and you and your child. They can withdraw at any point throughout the research process, without giving a reason.

Your views on the Time [REDACTED] project

I am also interested in finding out about parents/guardians views of the Time School project. If you are willing to take part in an interview or attend a coffee morning where we can have an informal group discussion please indicate below.

Contact details

If you have any questions you would like me to answer concerning the the research, you can contact me on 07983534994 or email me at pearsono@cardiff.ac.uk.

Or Contact [REDACTED] – [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] - on [REDACTED] or on the school phone number [REDACTED]

Many thanks

Olivia Pearson
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Cardiff CF10 3BD

School of Social Sciences,
Cardiff University
1-3 Museum Place,
Cardiff
CF10 3BD



Consent Form

Time banking with young people workshop

Name of Researcher: Olivia Pearson

	Please initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheets enclosed and had any questions about the research answered to my satisfaction (Parent/Guardian)	
2. I give my consent forto take part in the research and understand they can withdraw at any time (Parent/Guardian)	
3. I am happy to take part in an interview or informal group discussion and you can contact me on(email or phone number)	

Name of person participating in study

..... (Print name)

Person with consent authority (parent/guardian)

..... (Print name)

Signature of above (parent/guardian)

.....Date.....

THIS INFORMATION LEAFLET IS FOR PARTICIPANTS

Who am I?

My name is Olivia Pearson and I am doing some research into the Time banking project that you have been involved in. I recently put on a workshop about research that you attend.

You are being invited to take part in the research. This sheet provides some information about what the study involves. I'd be very grateful if you could take some time to read the following information.

What is the study about?

The study is about the Time banking project that you have become involved in at school. I want to find out about what you think about the scheme.

What is involved?

- In the workshop you all decided on a number of questions that you would like me to ask you all.
- As a group you decided that you would like to use videos, diaries and picture colleges and group discussions to answer these questions.
- If you don't mind, when you have made your videos, diaries and picture colleges, I will have a one on one chat with you where you can tell me more about it.

How will information be recorded? Will it be private?

In the workshop we discussed issues about recording others. If you and your parent/guardian don't mind the chat we have will be tape recorded so I can write up our discussion after.

The recording will not be shared with anyone else and when I write up the information, I will not use your real name.

What if you do not want to take part?

That's fine. You will only be included in the study if you fill in the consent form attached.

What if you change your mind?

This is fine. As we discussed in the workshop, your involvement is completely up to you and your parents. You can withdraw at any point throughout the research process, without giving a reason.

Thank you.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please tick the boxes below if you agree with the statements.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study.	
I understand that my involvement is voluntary and that I would be free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason	
I agree to take part in the study.	
I agree to have the one to one discussion recorded.	

Name _____

Date _____ Signature _____



Cardiff University

1-3 Museum Place
Cardiff
CF10 3BT

Tel: 07983534994

Email: PearsonO@cardiff.ac.uk

Information sheet for research participants

Time Banking with Young People in Wales

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study on time banking in Wales. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. The following will provide you with some information about what the study involves. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

Who am I?

My name is Olivia Pearson and I am a postgraduate research student at Cardiff University. I am supervised by Prof. Gordon Hughes, and Dr Nick Johns, both from the School of Social Sciences. The research I am undertaking is towards my PhD and has the approval of the School Research Ethics Committee.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study is about time banking with young people in Wales. It aims to explore how time banking has been used with young people in Wales, focusing on both new and existing time banking projects. It will examine the reasons for creating these projects and the outcomes they hope to achieve. In order to do this, I hope to talk to people about their experiences of and opinions about time banking.

What's involved?

I would like to conduct interviews with people involved in the time banks' development or people participating in time banks. The interview will last between 30 minutes and one hour. They will be audio taped so that I have a record of what is said.

What will happen to the information that you give?

The interviews will be strictly confidential and no one will be named or identifiable in any way. The transcripts of interviews will only be viewed by myself and my supervisors. They will be kept securely, in strict accordance with the Data Protection Act. They will not be used for any other purpose. An analysis of the information will form part of my PhD thesis and may also be published in academic journals.

What if you wish to withdraw?

If you decide to take part then this is your voluntary decision, therefore you are also free to withdraw from the study at any point you wish, without giving a reason.

Contact Information

If you would like further information about the study please do not hesitate to contact me at the following:

Tel: 07983534994

Email: PearsonO@cardiff.ac.uk

Thank you

Consent form for interview participants

Time banking with young people in Wales

- I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information.
- I am willing to take part in the interview for this research and for the interview to be recorded.
- I understand that no one will have access to the recording beyond the researcher and her two supervisors.
- I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.
- I understand that my involvement is voluntary and that I would be free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

Name of Respondent:.....

Signature of Respondent:

Date:

Appendix B: Activities I attended

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of event/meeting</i>	<i>Who is involved</i>
November 2010	Time banking community meeting: an event ran by <i>Together</i> for community members to find out about time banking.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhiannon (<i>Together</i> representative) • Youth workers • Communities First employees, • Play group staff
November 2010	Meeting at Field High: about time banking and existing reward system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helen • Rhiannon • Head of year 11 • Sports teacher
December 2010- March 2011 (6 occasions)	Visit to Bryn Secondary: to find out about the time bank and discuss its progress.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helen • Rhiannon
January 2011 (All day)	Painting the community room at Bryn Secondary: with the parent group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barbara • An employed painter, • Three mothers from the parent group • Two pupils (intermittently) • Two Communities first employees (briefly)
January 2011	Gardening club: with the pupils at Bryn Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helen (briefly) • Gardener • Group of year 7 pupils
February 2011	Fruit and veg co-op at Bryn Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theresa • Asdan teacher • Asdan pupils
February 2011 - June 2011	Visit to Field High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhiannon • Dewi • Sarah (<i>Together</i> prison

(4 occasions)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> coordinator Sports leader
February 2011 (3 separate days)	Community group meeting: meeting community groups to discuss their involvement in time banking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Henry – <i>Together</i> employee Two Communities First employees Jenny – Chair of a community group
February 2011	Bryn Secondary Saturday club	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barbara Pupils
February 2011- April 2011 (4 occasions)	Eco Club	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eco teachers Pupils
February 2011	Coffee morning- Bryn Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Helen Mothers College representatives Job Centre representatives Pupils (catering) Communities First
April 2011	Museum Project at Bryn Secondary (Bryn Secondary and pupils)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Helen Museum representative Time banking members from Bryn Secondary and Field High
April 2011-June 2012 (weekly/fortnightly)	Meetings and coffee with Rhiannon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhiannon
April 2011 (Overnight Friday-Sunday)	Weekend adventure trip away	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 (year 7-9) students from each participating school (including Bryn Secondary and Field High) Rhiannon
May 2011 (Overnight stay Saturday -Sunday)	Weekend trip to the beach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rhiannon 4 year 10 and 11 students for each participating school
May 2011- June 12 (8 occasions)	Street Team in Bryn Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street Team members Rhiannon

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helen
June 2011	Garden party at Bryn Secondary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helen • Eco Club • Teacher who runs Eco Club • Gardening pupils • Mothers from parent group • Communities First • Community members
July 2011	Event to promote time banking in schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minster for Education • CEO of <i>Together</i> • Rhiannon • School time banking members
July 2011	Romance Academy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theatre company • Pupils
July 2011 (2 separate days)	Sweden prep	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhiannon • Time banking members (one from Bryn Secondary one from Field High, others from other time banks in Wales)
November 2011- July 2012 (13 visits)	Research phase: including pre-data and data collection workshop, interviews focus groups and 'time-out' activities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhiannon • Young people involved in the research
December 2011	Talent show auditions (Bryn Secondary)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two time banking members • Pupils auditioning

Appendix C: Pre-data collection workshop

Timetable/Description of activities

Activity	Method	Resources
Introduction	I began by introducing myself, why I was there, what the aims of my project were and how the session would run.	
What is research	<p>Information tree: Participants were asked to write down their conceptualisations of research on a leaf shaped piece of paper to be added to a 'seasonal information tree'.</p> <p>Participants were told that it was currently winter and the tree was bare.</p> <p>When spring arrived participants were asked to place their leaves on the tree. When summer came the different ideas of research were discussed. When it turned into autumn the leaves fell off the tree until a shared understanding of research was reached.</p>	<p>Picture of a bare branch tree.</p> <p>Leaves and pens.</p> <p>Have a few of my own statements.</p>
Ethics	<p>When doing research and asking people questions there's a number of ethical considerations researchers need to make to insure we don't cause anyone any harm. it was important that the young people were aware of their rights and responsibilities as well as the rights and responsibilities of others</p> <p>Balloon game: This activity involved the participants passing around a balloon to music and then popping it when the music stopped. When a balloon was popped a true or false statement (contained in the balloon) was read out. Each statement was discussed in pairs and then fed back to the group. The answer was then written up on a board.</p>	10 balloons, questions inside the balloons, flip chat paper and pens.

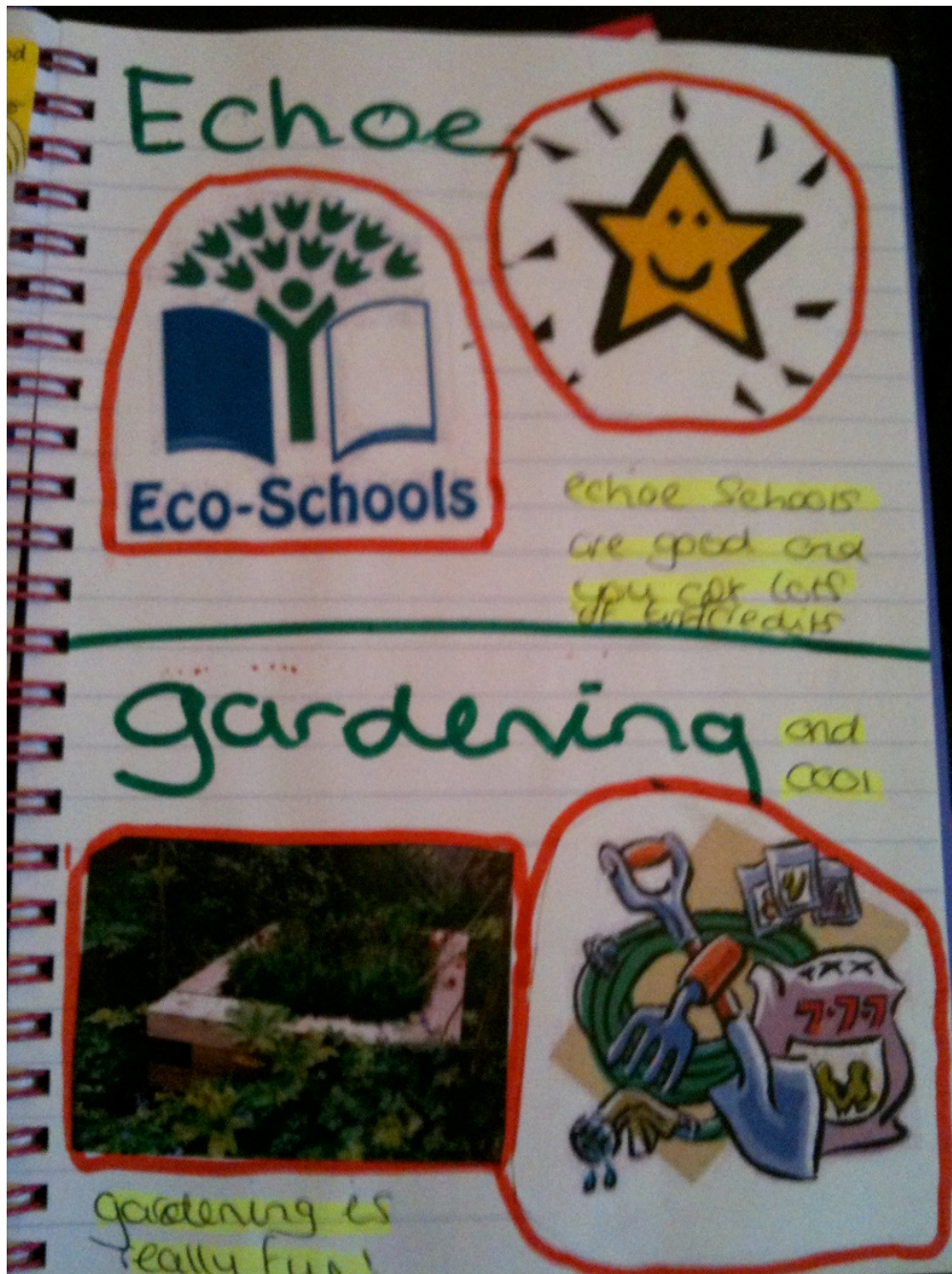
My Research and Research Questions	<p>My research was discussed in detail allowing participants to ask questions about the topic. Young people were then then asked to consider question they thought were important for me to ask them</p> <p>Question box: A question box was designed were the participants could put their questions in whilst staying anonymous.</p>	Cardboard Box, paper pens.
Methods	<p>A number of different methods to find out the answer to questions. I.e. talking writing pictures.</p> <p>Methods snap: participant was given a set of cards which had pictures of different methods on them. Each time a pair was produced the participants would suggest what they thought the picture was which was then followed by a discussion of the method, how they could be used and some of their strengths and limitation. These where then stuck up on the board.</p>	Laminated pictures of methods x2.
Voting on methods	<p>When the methods game ended and all the methods had been discussed, each participant was given a 3 sticker to vote on which method they would like to use in the subsequent data collection stage. The favoured methods were incorporated into the next stages of research.</p>	Stickered dots.

Appendix D: Data collection phase

Questions for time banking members

1. What activities do you do with time banking?
2. Why do you do time banking and why did you start time banking?
3. Do you think time banking has helped you in any way?
4. Do you think being involved in time bank has helped anyone else (people in the school or your community)?
5. What do you like about time banking?
6. Have you had any problems with time banking?
7. Would you change anything in time banking or any of the time banking activities?

Pages from participants' scrapbooks



I Started doing timebanking because I met [redacted] and [redacted] introduced me to time banking



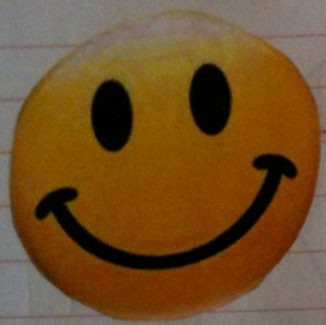
Time banking has helped me because it has made me more confident because I used to be shy.



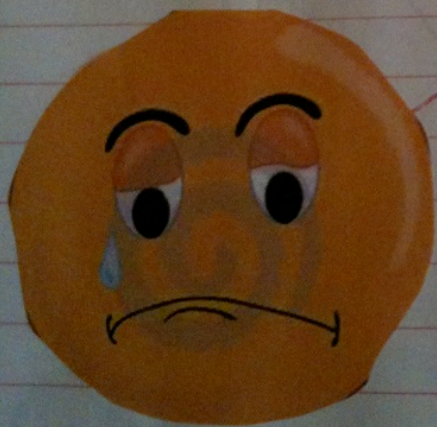
I think time banking ~~becau~~ has helped people because people were bullied and they came here to get away from it and be happy ☺ ☺ ☺

3) Do you think time banking has helped you in any way.

Yes because it made me more confident + it also makes me feel more ~~more~~ alive and more happy with my self.

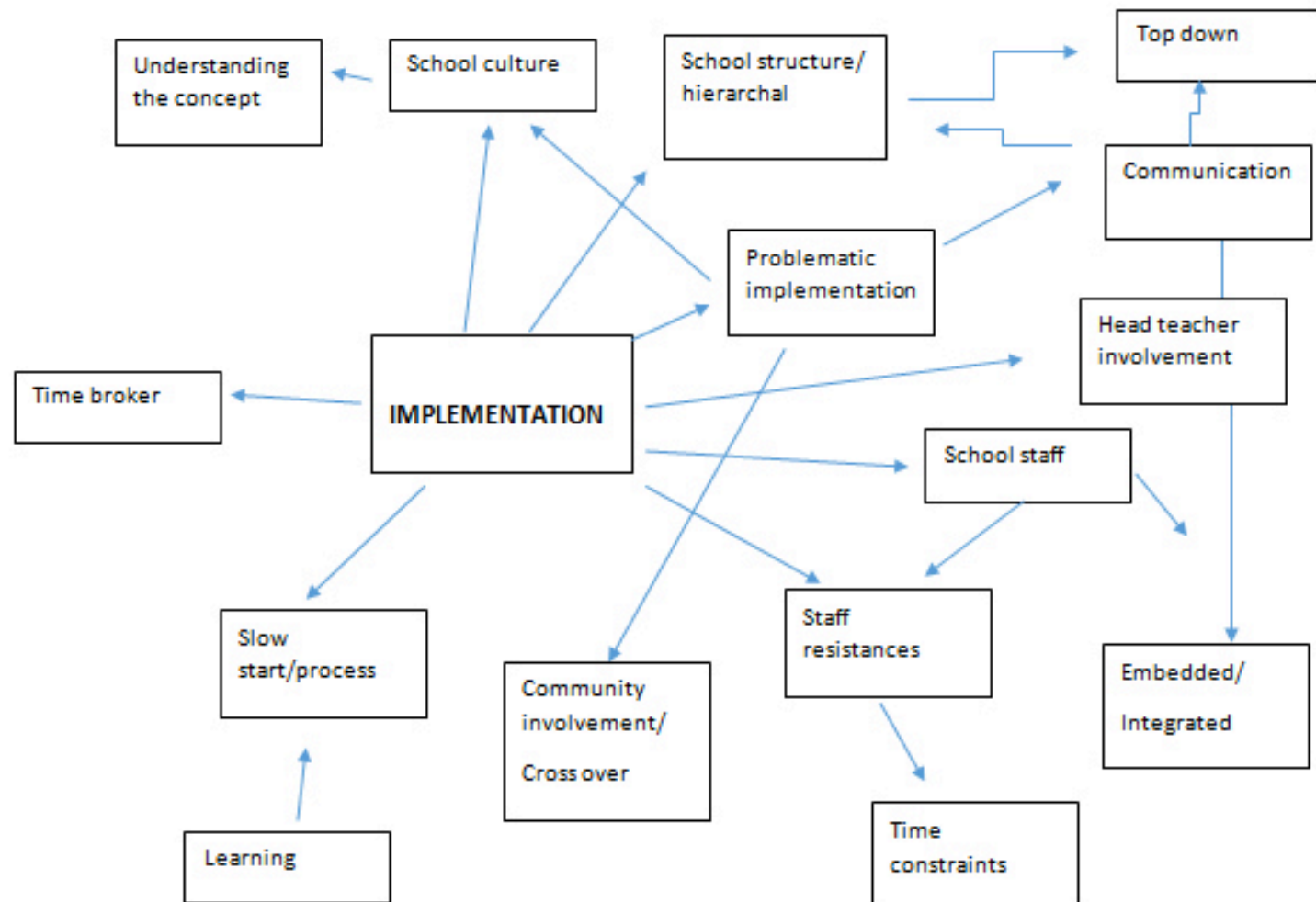


Me now.



Me before

Appendix E: Thematic map



Appendix F: Analysis (list of themes)

Aims of the time bank

- Co-production as a form of delivery
- Co-production as ideological principle
- Creating active citizens
- Responsibilisation
- Behaviour modification
- Entitlements
- Social cohesion
 - Parental engagement
 - Social networks
 - Integrational

Implementation

- Teachers' resistance
- Time
- Discretion
- Culture change
- Organisational structure
- Communication channels
- Time brokers
- Important roles

Access to the time bank

- The usual suspects
- Age
- Relational motivations;
- Economic/instrumental motivations
- Non-involvement
 - Social and economic capital
- Targeted access
- Exclusionary practices

Scope and degree of participation

- Child-led
- Adult-led
- Invited spaces
- Created spaces
- Responsibility
- Protection vs Autonomy
- Non-participation
- Co-production

Outcome of young people's participation in the time bank

- Social networks
- Confidence
- Time credits and new experience
- Extending entitlements
- Having a voice

Appendix G: Timeline of key events in the two schools

