

*“Loneliness and the feeling of
being unwanted is the most
terrible poverty.”*
**The Role of Youth Clubs in
Supporting Young People’s
Mental Health: Fostering Social
Support, Resilience, and Personal
Growth in Community Spaces.**
(Mother Teresa, 1995/2007)

Emma Jain
Williams

University of
Wales Trinity
Saint David

2107833

MA Children and
Young People’s
Mental Health

Applied
Research
Dissertation

ECAS7007

Supervisor: Dr
Charlotte
Greenway

Why This Matters for Mental Health



18% of children aged 7–16 and 22% of young people aged 17–24 are estimated to have a probable mental disorder.



Adolescence and early adulthood as critical periods for mental health



Rising mental health difficulties among young people

THE LANCET COMMISSION

Lancet Commission on Adolescent Health and Well-being - participation in community clubs as a significant contributor to positive health outcomes



Important for marginalised young people



structural inequalities such as poverty and social or educational exclusion shape young people's lives



Background Literature Conceptualising Youth Clubs

Youth Work

Non-formal education
grounded in voluntary
relationships
(Jeffs & Smith, 2010;
Davies, 2019)

Youth Clubs

Open-access, relational
community spaces
(Baldrige et al., 2017)

Open-Access Provision

Voluntary participation; not
targeted or referral-based
(Corney et al., 2024)

Young People Aged 11–25
(Welsh Government, 2019;
UNICEF, 2019)

Less attention has examined
how young people
experience participation as a
relational process
(Johnson, 2017).

The Ambivalent Role of Youth Clubs

Youth clubs occupy a dual position:

- *Sanctuaries* offering safety and connection
- Mechanisms for behaviour management (“off the streets”)

This creates tension between:

- Relational, voluntary youth work
- Expectations to address antisocial behaviour and conformity



Participation is not automatically protective

- Tokenistic involvement → undermine belonging
- Meaningful participation → fosters trust, autonomy, emotional safety

Policy pressures

- “Youth impact agenda”
- Emphasis on short-term measurable outcomes
 - Risk to relational continuity

Systematic Literature Review:

Establishing the evidence base

Research Question:

How do youth clubs contribute to young people's mental health and well-being, and what do these spaces mean to young people themselves?



To explore evidence of mental health outcomes associated with youth club participation.



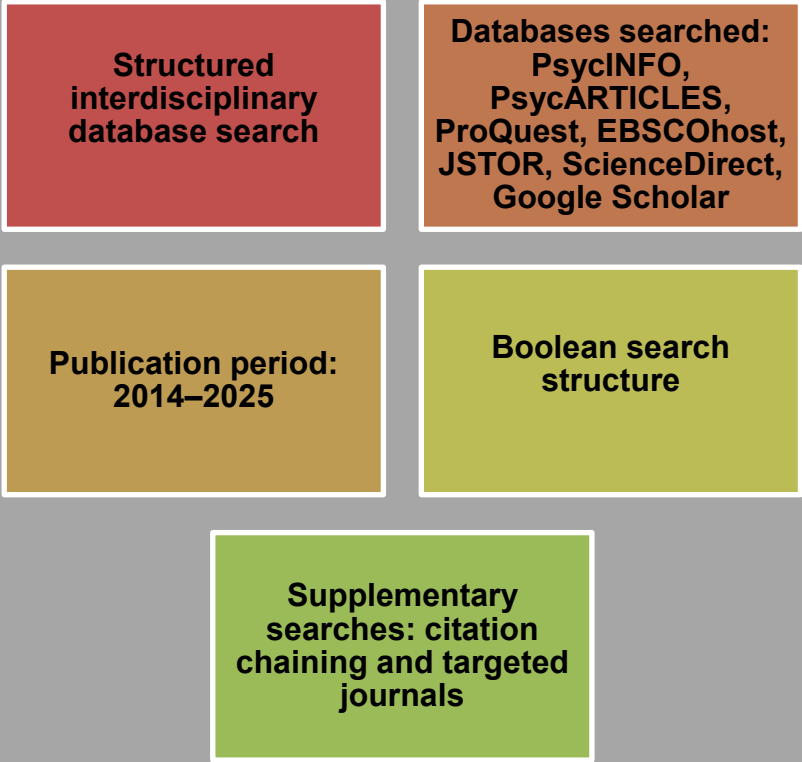
To understand the processes through which youth clubs enable or limit young people's participation.



To assess how youth clubs foster belonging and youth agency.



Systematic Literature Review: Methodological Approach



Journal of Youth Studies, Youth & Policy, Young, Children & Society, and Journal of Education Policy.

Facet	Search terms
Youth clubs	“youth club” OR “youth centre” OR “open access
	youth work” OR “youth organisation” OR “youth
	provision” OR “youth service”
Mental health	“mental health” OR “well-being” OR
	“resilience” OR “personal growth” OR
	“confidence”
Safe/supportive spaces	“safe space” OR “belonging” OR “inclusion” OR
	“support” OR “community support”
Young people	“young people” OR “youth” OR “adolescent” OR
	“teenager” OR “11–25 years”



Inclusion Criteria

Qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-methods designs

Youth clubs, open-access youth work

Young people aged 11–25 years, or professionals

The research addressed review focuses

The research was written in English

Peer-reviewed journals

Young people defined as individuals aged 11–25 years

Exclusion Criteria:

Adult populations or university students

Lacked live participants, such as purely theoretical or conceptual papers

Examined general leisure or extracurricular activities

Non-empirical publications, including commentaries or opinion pieces, systematic reviews, meta-analyses

Addressed topics such as substance use or criminal justice.

Screening, Quality Appraisal & PRISMA

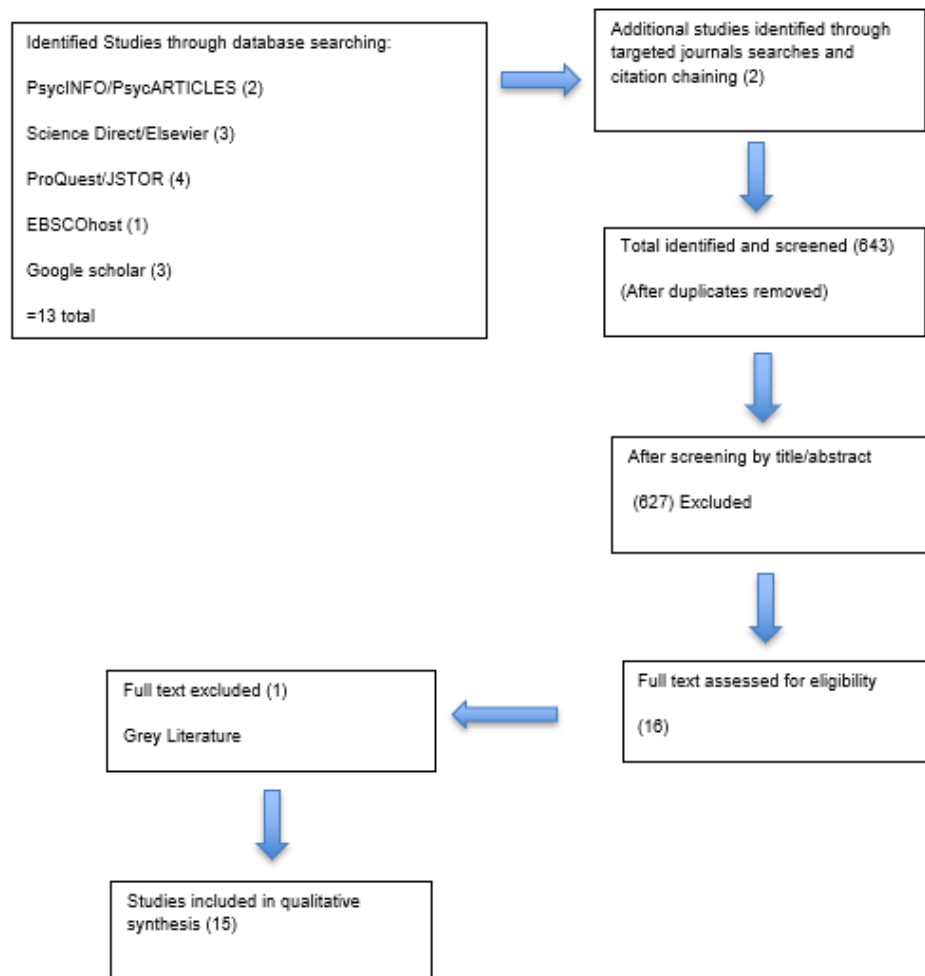
Records identified: 643

Title/abstract screening
→ full-text review

15 studies retained

Quality appraisal
conducted

PRISMA framework used



Overview of Included Studies

15 empirical studies included

Qualitative (n = 9)

Quantitative (n = 3)

Mixed methods (n = 3)

UK and international contexts

Well-being, belonging, participation, development

Author (Year)	Country	Design	Focus / Contribution
De St Croix & Doherty (2023)	UK (England)	Qualitative (ethnographic)	Youth clubs as “third places”; belonging, identity, relational safety
Barker et al. (2022)	UK (England)	Qualitative (participatory)	Belonging, wellbeing, and community ties during and after COVID-19
Turner et al. (2024)	UK (England)	Qualitative	Youth loneliness and the protective role of youth services
Cicognani et al. (2015)	Italy	Quantitative	Participation in youth groups linked to empowerment and wellbeing
Kiilakoski & Kivijärvi (2014)	Finland	Mixed methods	Youth clubs as non-formal learning and developmental environments
Ramey et al. (2023)	Canada	Quantitative	Safer youth spaces associated with higher quality of life
McPherson (2020)	UK (Scotland)	Qualitative (ethnographic-inspired)	Confidence, relationships, and alternative pathways through youth work

(Indicative examples only – full table in thesis)

Systematic Review: Results and Key Insights

Theme 1: Conceptualising Well-being across contexts

International research often drew on Positive Youth Development frameworks

UK research: relational, process-based well-being

Trust, belonging, everyday interaction central

Theme 2: Youth Clubs as Developmental Environments

Alternative pathways for disengaged young people

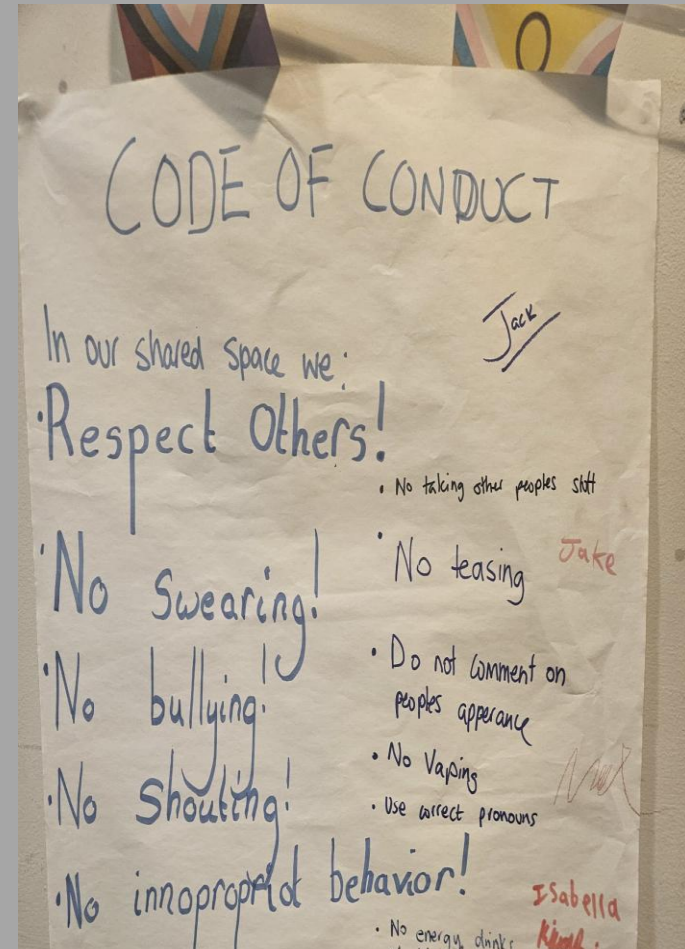
School described as rigid or unresponsive

Youth clubs: recognition, capability, voluntary participation

Theme 3. Participation, Belonging, and Youth Voice in Youth Club Settings

Theme 4. Structural Challenges and Policy Contexts Shaping Youth Club Impact.

Synthesis of 15 empirical studies (2014–2025)



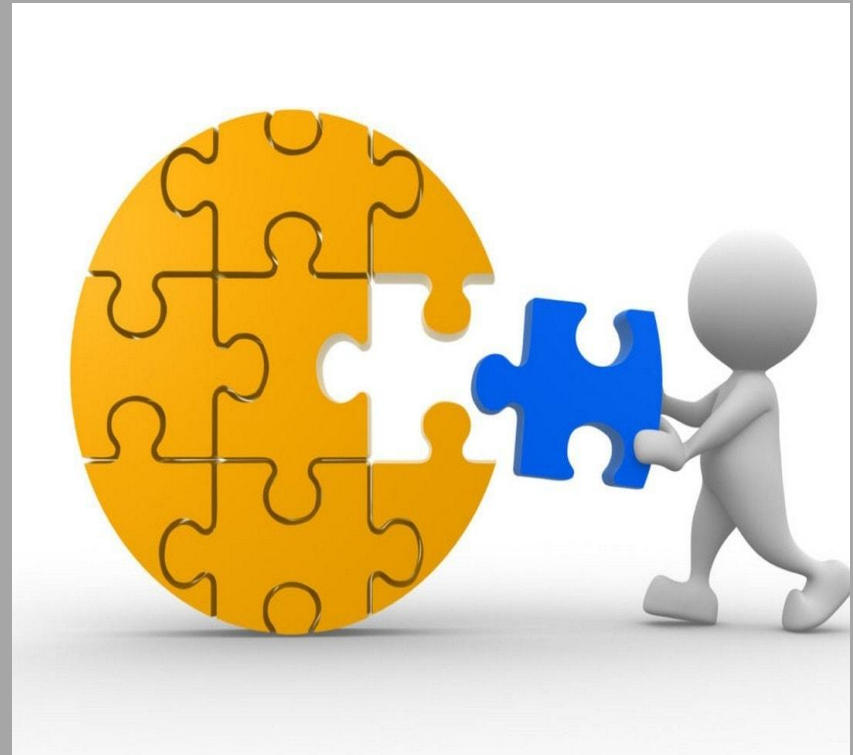
(De St Croix & Doherty, 2023; Erikson, 1968; Jeffs & Smith, 2010; McPherson, 2020; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Walker et al., 2025)

Identified Gaps in the Literature

Relational processes acknowledged but under-examined in lived experience

Participation and belonging shown to be uneven; limited youth-centred analysis

Limited empirical research within the Welsh context



Research Question

How do youth clubs in Wales foster mental health and resilience through everyday relational practices, and how do these spaces address barriers to inclusion?

This manuscript has been written for submission to the British Journal of Health Psychology, in accordance with the journal's instructions to authors.

Policy Ambition vs Structural Reality



Rights-based
emphasis:
participation, youth
voice, prevention

**link for further
reading**

[Youth Work
Strategy for Wales
\(Welsh
Government, 2019\)](#)

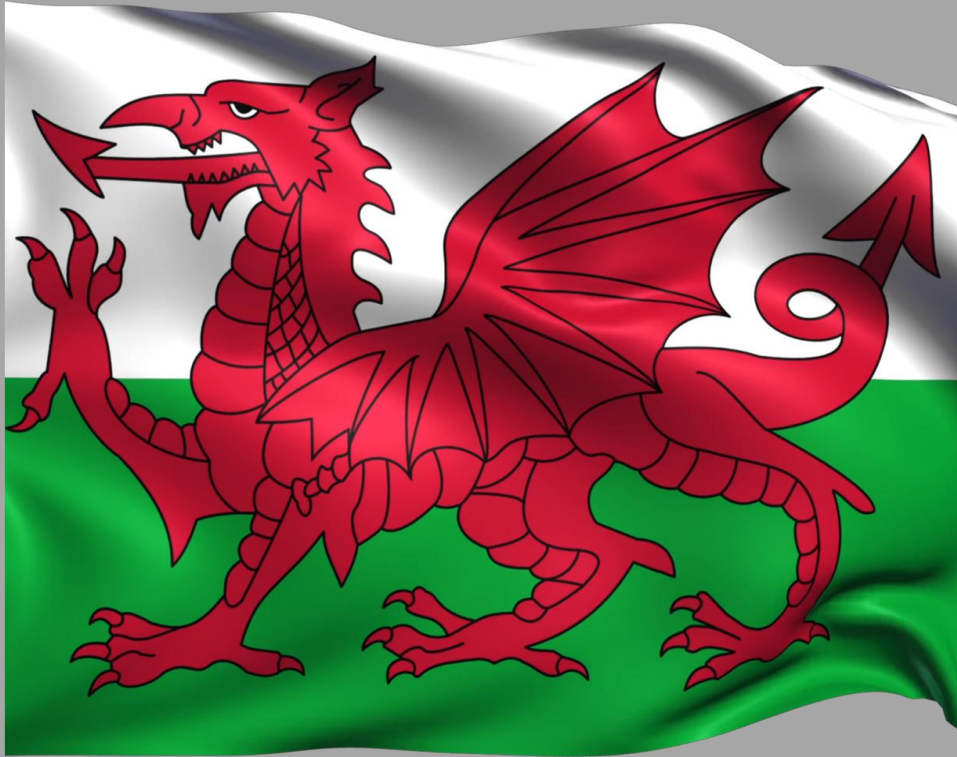
Youth service
funding ↓ more than
two-thirds since
2010

1,200+ youth
centres closed
(England & Wales)

Welsh provision
~62% lower than
2010–11

Tension between
policy aspiration and
operational capacity

Welsh Empirical Evidence



RPlace Wales

<https://rplacewales.co.uk/>

(Bacon, 2023; Hughes et al., 2025)

Hughes et al. (2025) explored participation in community development through the co-produced digital platform *Rplace*

Desire for safe, inclusive spaces that support social connection, activity, and accessibility.

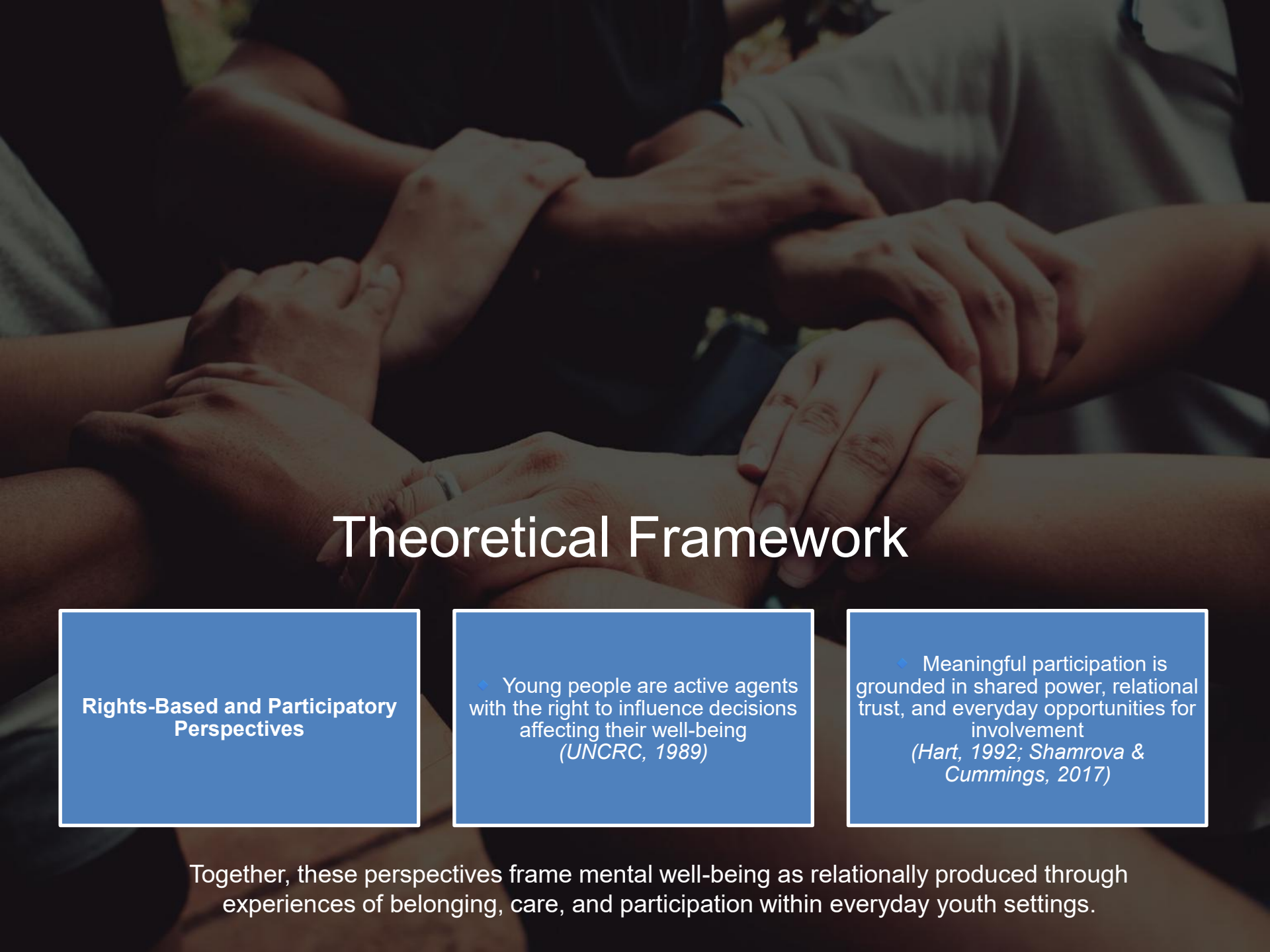
The findings warrant cautious interpretation.

Bacon's (2023) mixed-methods study

Sector mapping - organisational surveys and focus groups.

Valuable insight into contemporary issues— but limited attention to relational youth club experiences

→ Need for youth-centred empirical research



Theoretical Framework

Rights-Based and Participatory Perspectives

- ♦ Young people are active agents with the right to influence decisions affecting their well-being (*UNCRC, 1989*)

- ♦ Meaningful participation is grounded in shared power, relational trust, and everyday opportunities for involvement (*Hart, 1992; Shamrova & Cummings, 2017*)

Together, these perspectives frame mental well-being as relationally produced through experiences of belonging, care, and participation within everyday youth settings.

Methodological Approach and Study Context

Situated within an everyday rural youth club (West Wales)

Participants & Sampling

Purposive sampling of regular attenders (at least once per week)

15 young people, aged 11–19 ($M = 14.0$)

Enabled insight into embedded relational experiences

Methodological Consideration

Regular attenders may reflect higher belonging

Transferability to less engaged youth is therefore limited



Ethical Practice and Researcher Positioning

Ethical Governance

Faculty approval obtained

Accessible information

Right to withdraw

Aligned with UKRI / ESRC and HRA guidance

Researcher Position

Volunteer youth worker within the setting

Dual-role safeguards:

Clear role separation

Explicit additional consent

Ongoing reminders of voluntariness

Recruitment

Open for six weeks

Continued until **data sufficiency** was reached

(HRA, 2024; UKRI/ESRC, 2025)

CHECKLIST





Mosaic-Informed Data Collection

Mosaic-informed methodological approach

Ethnographic observation
(*relational entry point*)

Walk-and-talk interviews
(*individual perspectives*)

Creative focus groups (*collective insight*)

Participants selected their preferred method(s), supporting agency and comfort.

Interviews and focus groups were semi-structured, audio recorded with consent

Observation focus:
Naturally occurring interactions, group dynamics, use of space.

(Clark, 2017)

(Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019, 2021)

The Reflective Analysis



Dataset and Analytical Approach

Data Collection

11 walk-and-talk interviews

2 focus groups

Ethnographic observation

15 youth club sessions (~33 hours total)

Data Analysis

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Researcher as active interpreter of meaning

Themes constructed, not discovered

Researcher Positionality

Dual role: Youth Worker & Researcher

Ongoing reflexive practice

Critical awareness to avoid normalising routine practice

Results

Theme	Subtheme	Illustrative Codes	Data Source
Belonging as the Foundation of Emotional Safety	Friendship, protection, and peer belonging	Peer inclusion; protection from bullying; rebuilding trust; “proper friends”; feeling accepted	Interviews; focus groups; ethnographic observations
	Emotional safety through space, routine, and atmosphere	Feeling calmer; emotional regulation; relief from stress; motivation to attend; predictable routines; flexible spaces	Interviews; ethnographic observations
Everyday Care Within Relational Youth Work	Empathy, inclusion, and material support	Peer empathy; staff understanding; dignity; food security; awareness of poverty; access to trips; inclusion of difference	Interviews; focus groups; ethnographic observations
	Trusted adults and informal emotional support	Non-judgmental listening; continuity of care; emotional availability; informal check-ins; relational authority	Interviews; ethnographic observations
Developing Confidence and Agency Through Recognition, Responsibility, and Self-Expression		Peer encouragement; leadership roles; being trusted; creative recognition; voluntary participation; identity safety	Interviews; focus groups; ethnographic observations

Theme 1:

Belonging as the Foundation of Emotional Safety



Peer relationships fostered trust, protection, and inclusion

*"Helping people make friends... we help them feel included."
(Benji, 13)*

*"When I come here, I feel happy and calm... it's my second home."
(FGA, age 13)*



Belonging experienced as emotional security — not just attendance

*"I had a fake friend before — now I have proper friends here."
(Lori, 11)*

*"I had a hard day in school... but now I feel more like myself"
(Mia, 13)*



Youth club functioned as an alternative relational space

*"a break from the four walls of my room."
(Max, 16)*



Ethnographic observations showed young people often arrived dysregulated and became calmer through shared space and routine.

Young people repeatedly framed the youth club as emotionally different from other spaces — not because problems disappeared, but because they felt safe enough to manage them.

Theme 2: Everyday Care Within Relational Youth Work

*“You don’t get laughed at here... people just help.”
(FGB, age 15)*

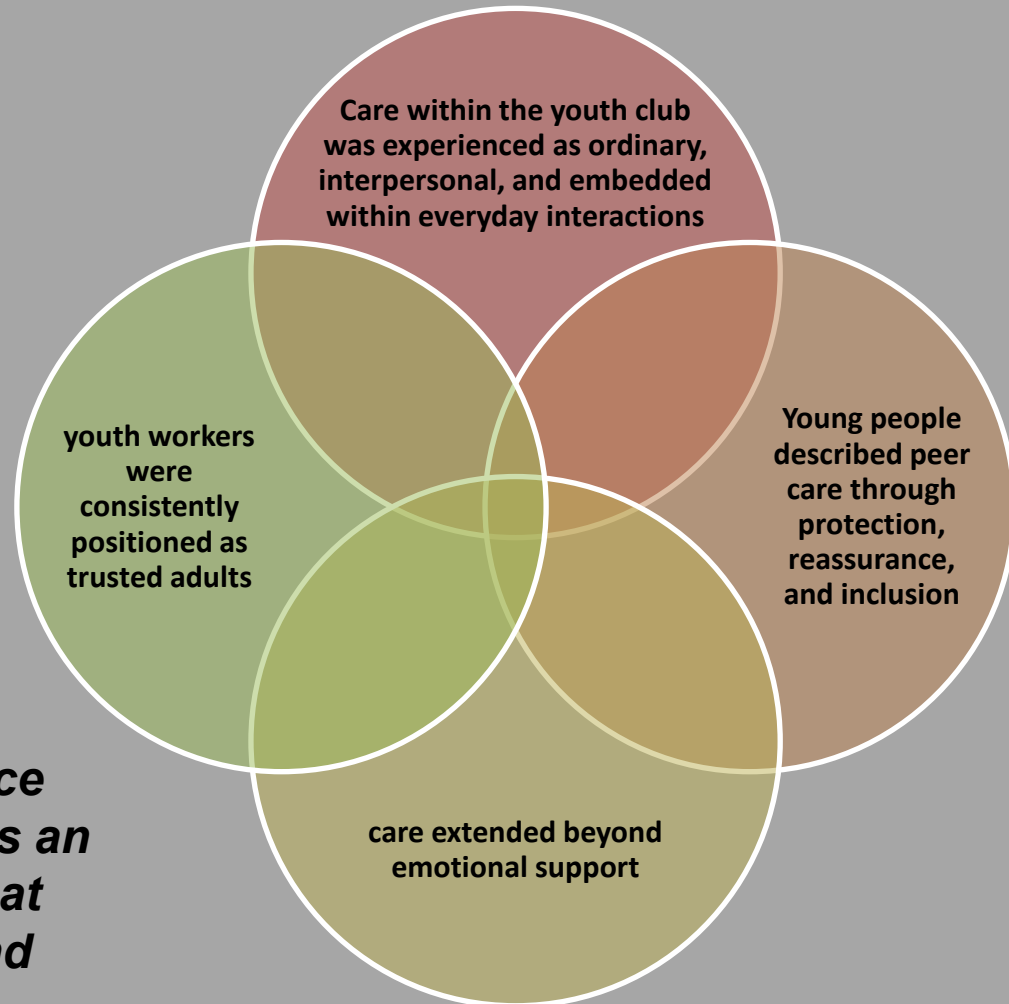
*“If someone’s hurt, we protect them.”
(Anna, 13)*

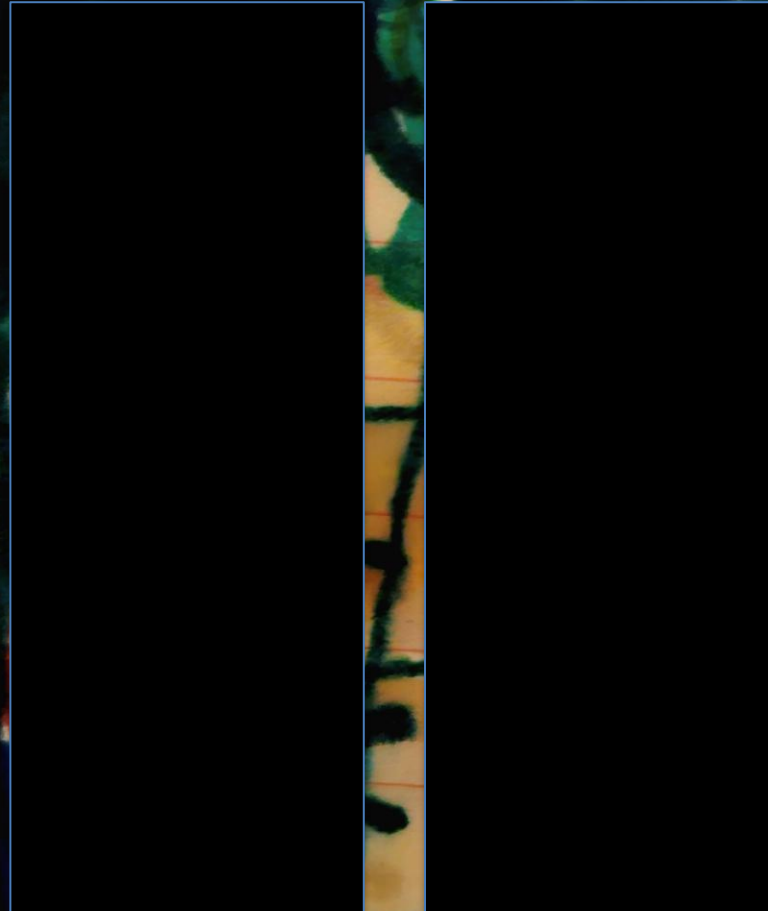
*“It’s not like ‘you do this, you do that like school’... it’s more relaxed here.”
(Max, 13)*

*“Sometimes it’s the only meal some people might get that’s warm,”
(Maz, 15)*

*“Staff actually listen instead of telling you off straight away”
(FGB, Participant 2, age 14).*

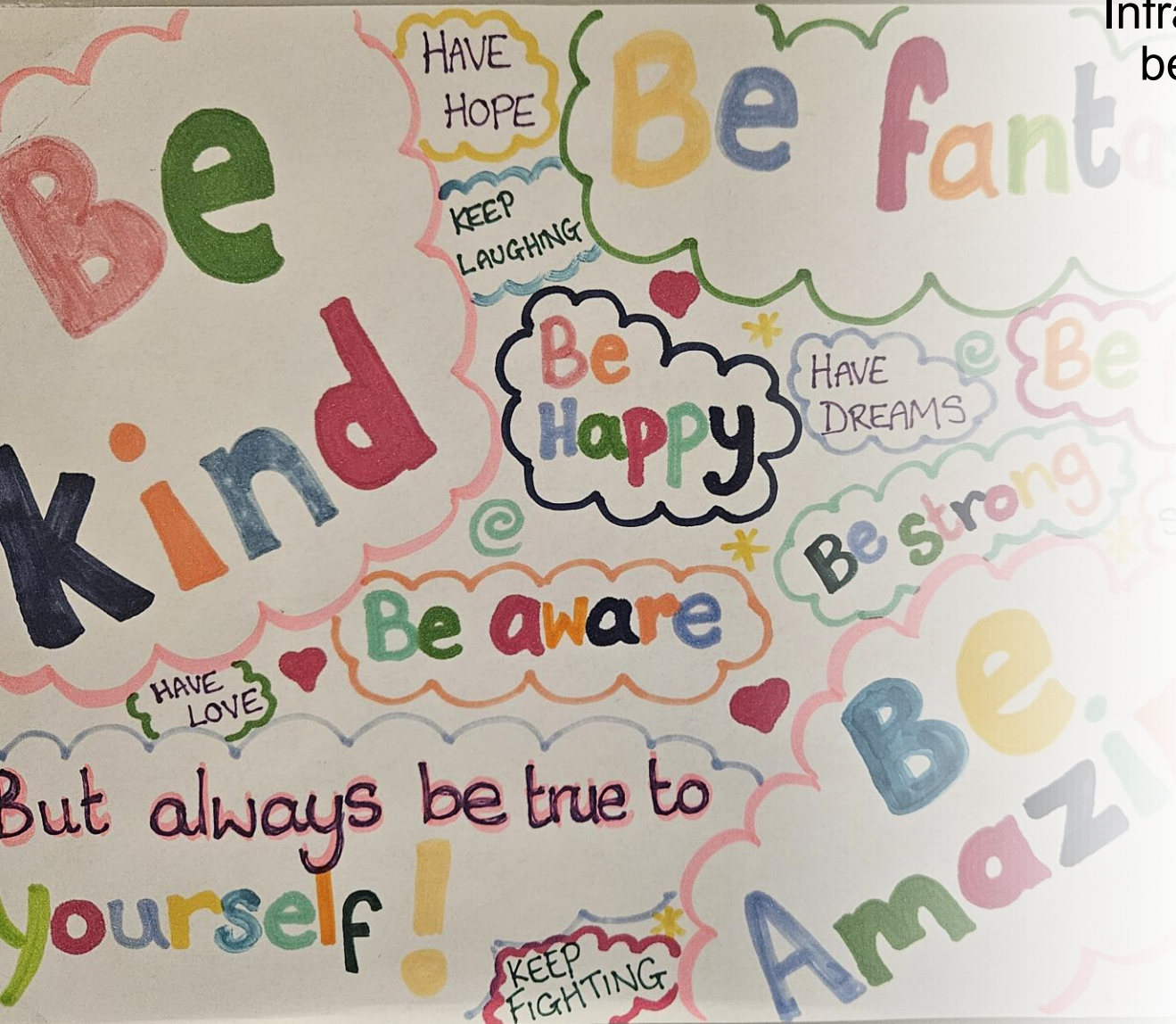
Care functioned not as a service delivered to young people, but as an everyday relational practice that sustained emotional safety and inclusion.





Confidence and self-expression appeared to develop through the relational conditions of belonging and care.

Discussion - Relational Infrastructure: How Well-being Was Sustained



Mental well-being was supported through *relational infrastructure* — not formal intervention.

Emotional safety was actively constructed through:

- Continuity
- Shared routines
- Trusted relationships

Well-being was sustained through the *everyday reliability* of people and space.

Emotional safety was relationally constructed — not environmentally given.

Discussion - Sanctuary Without Surveillance



Policy & literature often frame youth clubs as:

Sanctuaries

- Mechanisms of social regulation (“off the streets”)

Findings from this study:

- Young people overwhelmingly narrated the club as sanctuary
- Safety was not achieved through behavioural containment

Instead, safety emerged through:

- Relational authority
 - Consistency
 - Respect
- Non-judgemental adult presence

Discussion - Participation as Everyday Influence

Participation was experienced as:

- Shared influence embedded in everyday interaction
- Not consultation

Meaningful participation depended on:

- Trust
- Ongoing opportunities for influence
- Relational continuity

Care operated as non-stigmatising support

- Emotional regulation and belonging embedded in ordinary practice
- Youth clubs as *pre-clinical protective spaces*

But there were limits

- Stability and buffering
- Youth clubs absorb the consequences of austerity
- Outcome-driven evaluation overlooks relational processes



Implications for Policy and Practice in Wales

Findings suggest:

Frameworks must recognise relational labour and informal care as legitimate indicators of impact.

Outcome-driven models risk undervaluing the practices young people identified as most supportive

Key Takeaway

→ Mental well-being is often supported through relationships

YOUTH
WORK
CHANGES
LIVES



Reflection



Guided by Gibbs' (1988) reflective cycle

Reflective diary maintained across six weeks of fieldwork

Gibbs' reflective cycle applied flexibly rather than linearly

Purpose

Honest, personal, and deeply reflective account of my development

Nolan, S.-M. (2014). Exploring young people's and youth workers' experiences of spaces for 'youth'. *Youth Studies*, 17(1), 26-41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1367251.2013.792789>

Burns, C., Brown, J., & Smith, L. (2024). *Living with Adversity: Perspectives on Loneliness*. *Services Review*, 15(1), 107288. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.srv.2024.107288>

Method: Semi structured interviews, focus groups, and metaphor mapping

Sample & Setting: 14 adolescents

de St Croix, T., & O'Leary, L. (2009). 'It's a great place to find where you belong': creating, curating and valuing place and space in open youth work. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 24(5), 745-761.

Date
2021

* Exploring ypis and youth workers
exp of spaces for youth development

α 2014 - (pub 2013)

α UK (ENGLAND)

* Qualitative - focusable on how
youth development is experienced
by both yp and yw - attention to
participation space.

* Ethnographic/qualitative approach
observations/ form + informal interviews
participatory video

* n=18 (11 m) 7 f) 13-19 yo
interviews yw)

Turner
2023

* Resilience
* Safe space/ inclusion

* 2023

UK (ENGLAND)

* Qualitative - exploring how
open youth work settings function
as spaces of belonging and
support for yp.

* Multi site ethnographic research
Observations, interviews, + focus groups

* 8 open youth centres

* 87 interviews + fg

n=58 yp

n=59 yw

n=26 participatory actions

Personal and Professional Growth

Began as an
academic task —
became personally
transformative

Systematic literature
review challenged my
resilience

Moments of self-
doubt — questioning
my capability

Finalising the studies
for inclusion was
particularly rewarding

Strengthened my sense that this project
mattered

original author and source are credited.

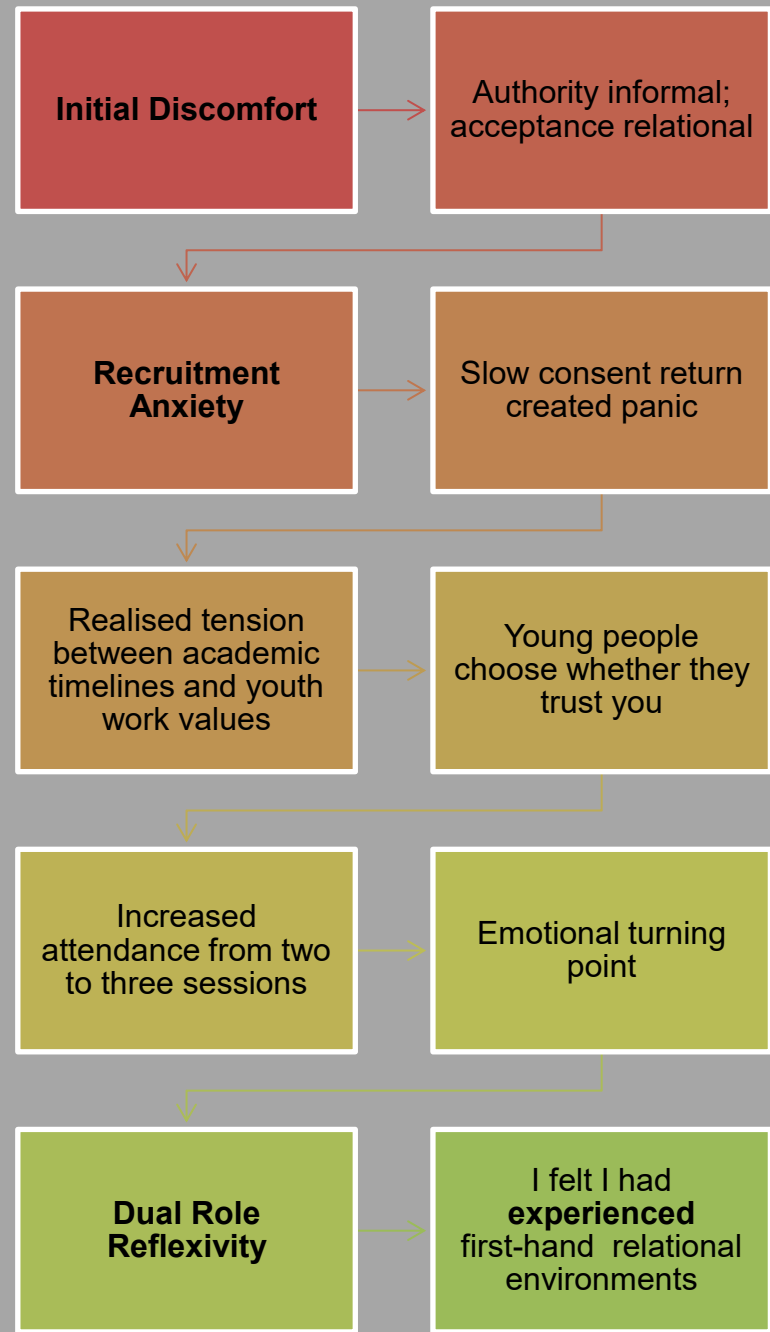
PRISMA ONE | <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.prres.2023.101077> April 4, 2024

Entering the Field: Trust, Presence, and Reflexivity

“Walking in, I felt a bit out of my depth... the young people looked at me with wide eyes – it was a bit intimidating, these young people are quite scary”

“I wasn’t getting many consent forms back, and I didn’t feel fully accepted yet, which made me question my confidence and whether I would be able to fit in and complete the research at all!!”

“Being there more frequently, I feel I am finally seen as an active youth worker and have become part of their space and accepted. This feels good”



Research in Practice



The analysis phase
brought a different form
of uncertainty

I learnt to identify the
meaning making of
doing justice for the
participants voices

11 interviews, two focus
groups, and 33 hours of
ethnographic
observation

*I see faces, conversations, laughter, awkward moments,
breakthroughs, and genuine connections.*



Reflection Personal and Professional Growth

What Young People Taught Me

Trust is built slowly

Belonging grows quietly

Humour as resilience

I learned more than I taught

The Ending

Pride & relief

Sadness & separation

Ethical responsibility when leaving youth spaces

Lasting Impact

Shaped me beyond the dissertation

Deepened commitment to ethical, youth-centred research

Listening carefully

Moving at young people's pace



Conclusion

Youth clubs are relational infrastructures

They provide everyday, non-clinical mental health support

Sustaining them is a **collective responsibility**

“One of the most vital ways we sustain ourselves is by building communities of resistance, places where we know we are not alone.”

(hooks, 2003)

Questions?



References

- Bacon, C. (2023). *Mapping the voluntary youth work sector in Wales*.
- Baldrige, B. J., Beck, N., Medina, J. C., & Reeves, M. A. (2017). Toward a new understanding of community-based education: The role of community-based educational spaces in disrupting inequality for minoritized youth. *Review of Research in Education*, 41(1), 381–402. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X17698347>
- Barker, J., Turner, S., & Smith, M. (2022). Youth wellbeing and community support. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 50(4), 1752–1766.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22759>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(4), 589–597.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic analysis: A practical guide*. SAGE.
- Cicognani, E., Mazzoni, D., Albanesi, C., & Zani, B. (2015). Sense of community and empowerment among young people: Understanding pathways from civic participation to social well-being. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 26(1), 24–44. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-014-9481-y>
- Clark, A. (2017). *Listening to young children: A guide to understanding and using the Mosaic approach* (Expanded 3rd ed.). Jessica Kingsley.
- Corney, T., Marion, J., Baird, R., Welsh, S., & Gorman, J. (2024). Youth work as social pedagogy: Toward an understanding of non-formal and informal education and learning in youth work. *Child & Youth Services*, 45(3), 345–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0145935X.2024.2301801>
- Cromwell Simmonds, C. J. J. (2025). *The social service industrial complex: Exploring the supportive and obstructive factors of critical youth work* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto).
- Davies, B. (2019). *Austerity, youth policy and the deconstruction of the youth service in England*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- France, A., & Roberts, S. (2017). *Youth and social class: Enduring inequality in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand*. Springer.
- Tania de St Croix (2018) Youth work, performativity and the new youth impact agenda: getting paid for numbers?, *Journal of Education Policy*, 33:3, 414-438.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2017.1372637>
- de St Croix, T., & Doherty, L. (2023). 'It's a great place to find where you belong': creating, curating and valuing place and space in open youth work. *Children's Geographies*, 21(6), 1029–1043. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2023.2171770>
- France, A., Roberts, S. (2017). Youth, Class and Intersectionality. In: *Youth and Social Class*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57829-7_5
- Garrett, P. M. (2003). Youth work and the politics of recognition.

- Garasia, H., Begum-Ali, S., & Farthing, R. (2015). Youth club is made to get children off the streets: Some young people's thoughts about opportunities to be political in youth clubs. *Youth & Policy*, 115, 1-18.
- Holding, E., Crowder, M., Woodrow, N., Griffin, N., Knights, N., Goyder, E., & Fairbrother, H. (2022). Exploring young people's perspectives on mental health support: A qualitative study across three geographical areas in England, UK. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, 30(6), e6366–e6375. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.14078>
- Jeffs, T., & Smith, M. (2010). *Youth work practice* (3rd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Johnson, V. (2017). Moving beyond voice in children and young people's participation. *Action Research*, 15(1), 104-124.
- Kiilakoski, T., & Kivijärvi, A. (2014). Youth clubs as spaces of non-formal learning. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(1), 40–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.815702>
- McPherson, C. (2020). 'It's just so much better than school': the redemptive qualities of further education and youth work for working-class young people in Edinburgh, Scotland. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 23(3), 307–322. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1599103>
- NHS Digital. (2022). *Mental health of children and young people in England*. <https://digital.nhs.uk>
- Ní Charraighe, A., & Reynolds, A. (2024). Re-thinking youth work as initial mental health support for young people. *Children & Society*, 38(6), 1920–1942. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12709>
- Nolas, S.-M. (2014). Exploring young people's and youth workers' experiences of spaces for “youth development”: Creating cultures of participation. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(1), 26–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2013.793789>
- Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., et al. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: An updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ*, 372, n71. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71>
- Patton, G. C., Sawyer, S. M., Santelli, J. S., Ross, D. A., Afifi, R., Allen, N. B., ... Viner, R. M. (2016). Our future: A Lancet Commission on adolescent health and well-being. *The Lancet*, 387(10036), 2423–2478. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(16\)00579-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00579-1)
- Perlman, D., & Peplau, L. A. (1981). Toward a social psychology of loneliness. In R. Gilmour & S. Duck (Eds.), *Personal relationships in disorder* (pp. 31–56). Academic Press.
- Kirsten Elisa Petersen (26 May 2025): Children and young people in socially and educationally excluded living conditions – leisure and youth clubs' work with inclusion processes aimed at the school, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2025.2508984>
- Ramey, H. L., Lawford, H. L., Berardini, Y., Mahdy, S. S., Khanna, N., Ross, M. D., & von Hugo, T. K. (2023). Safer spaces in youth development programs and health in Canadian youth. *Health Promotion International*, 38(6), daad166. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daad166>
- Shamrova, D., & Cummings, C. (2017). Participatory youth research and civic engagement. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 79, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.05.013>
- Sanders, J., Munford, R., Thimasam-Anwar, T., Liebenberg, L., & Ungar, M. (2015). The role of positive youth development practices in building resilience and enhancing wellbeing for at-risk youth. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 42, 40–53. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.02.006>
- Sneed, H. (2025). Navigating wellbeing through youth work and participatory research: Insights from post-COVID-19 Scotland. *Youth*, 5(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.3390/youth5010001>

Teresa, M. (2007). *A simple path: Mother Teresa*. Ballantine Books.
(Original work published 1995)

Thompson, N., & Woodger, D. (2020). Young people need youth clubs. A needs analysis in a London borough. *Youth and Policy*.

Tickle, S. J. (2016). The youth centre as a 'sanctuary' in aiding safer communities for young people. *Early Career Academics Network Bulletin*, 29.

Turner, S., Fulop, A., & Woodcock, K. A. (2024). Loneliness: Adolescents' perspectives on causes and prevention through youth services. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 157, 107442. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2024.107442>

UNISON. (2024). *The decline of youth services in the UK*. <https://www.unison.org.uk>

Ungar, M. (2011). The social ecology of resilience: Addressing contextual and cultural ambiguity of a nascent construct. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 81(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-0025.2010.01067.x>

Walker, J., Bradbury-Leather, V., & Wroe, L. (2025). Towards safety: The enablers and barriers that create safety in and around youth work organisations. *Journal of Youth Studies*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2025.2518954>

Welsh Government. (2019). *Youth work strategy for Wales 2019*. <https://www.gov.wales/youth-work-strategy-wales>

YMCA England & Wales. (2025). *Out of service: The state of youth provision*. <https://www.ymca.org.uk>

hooks, b. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope*. Routledge.