Youth led change in the UK – Understanding the landscape and the opportunities

Natasha Adams & Jim Coe
December 2019

Contents

Introduction

1   OVERVIEW

The purpose of this research was set out in the research agreement between the Blagrave Trust and the researchers:

> *"To inform future strategy and future investment decisions, the Blagrave Trust is looking to understand better how it can effectively support young people to lead change … The Trust is looking to base decisions about the best role it can play around this on a deeper understanding of current practice and provision, as well as future opportunities, and also to ensure that it understands and manages any associated risks".*

The Blagrave Trust commissioned this research in the context of wider organisational discussions about how the Trust might become increasingly youth led as a funder.

This thinking builds on existing work including: establishing and co-funding the Listening Fund and the Young Trustees Movement, both of which are expanding listening practices across the youth sector and supporting young people to lead; reforming its own governance by recruiting young trustees to Blagrave's own board; and scoping, developing and co-funding the Opportunity Fund (upcoming), which will provide direct funding to potential young campaigners and entrepreneurs.

This research is intended to extend thinking and further identify how the Trust can support youth led change through its policy and influencing work.

This research has considered:
- Where, and how, are young people leading change?
- What are the gaps, and the ways they could be addressed?

Our report sets out findings and recommendations around possible future strategic options for the Trust and other funders operating, or thinking of operating, in this area.

The primary purpose of this research is to shape the Trust's strategic approach, but we hope that information emerging from the research will be also useful to other funders and/or young activists.

Our evidence is drawn from a literature review, interviews with contacts in the sector and young people leading change, a workshop with Blagrave staff, a focus group with young people in

Lewisham, and a second workshop with NGO staff, funders and young change makers to test our recommendations. More details about the purpose and approach are included in Appendix 1.

We provide more detailed definitions of 'youth led change' below, but in brief:

- **By youth leadership** we mean young people having agency and decision making power.

- **By change** we mean **external change** in society, and especially change that is about building and redistributing power, addressing structural barriers, and supporting and centring marginalised and under-represented young people.

There are many organisations and initiatives focused on youth development, but it's clear that only a very small part of the overall 'youth engagement' sector is focused on supporting and enabling young people to take the lead in achieving wider social change.

And yet the need is greater than ever. Young people are in the frontline of exposure to austerity and are specifically and disproportionately affected by important issues from housing to crime to climate change. At the same time, young people are marginalised and disconnected from politics.

With established routes to social change in flux, the fitness for purpose of traditional change models is in question and so now is a good time to back new approaches that operate in more fluid and flexible ways and seek radical change by looking beyond specific policy and towards redistributing leadership and power. Picking up on these new approaches, young people are engaged in some of the most interesting and impactful social change, through new movements like the School Strikes for the Climate.

However, youth led initiatives for change of the kind the Trust is looking to enable are currently very limited in scale, with patchy support at best. But there is significant latent potential to expand the landscape of youth-led change, especially if funders and other support providers are willing and able to step up and help put in place the necessary infrastructure of support.

By understanding the pathways towards youth led change, support can be provided to address the significant challenges and barriers that young people face in stepping up to – and then maintaining and building – leadership.

This could involve, for example, having rapid support packages in place as well as helping to create space for young people to work out the best response to the situations they face.

It could also mean supporting young people who face particular challenges around telling their stories as part of wider communications work, or building stronger peer support networks.

There will also need to be a focus on engaging meaningfully with the most marginalised and disadvantaged young people, who are likely to be unconnected to existing support groups or networks, and will likely need significant support before the possibility of taking on leadership roles can take hold.

Underpinning all this is a need for the sector to adapt traditional funding and support models and embrace more flexible, speculative approaches, encompassing both rapid responsiveness and longer term investment. Finding and supporting organisational forms that work for young activists, unleashing potential rather than constraining it, will be critical. And will be important too to explore ways to cede control and put funding decisions in the hands of young people themselves.

This work cannot be accomplished by any one actor. It requires collective and coordinated effort.

A radical reorientation across the sector is needed to help move youth led change to scale. We hope this report can help encourage as well as inform this shift.

2   DEFINING YOUTH LEADERSHIP

Considering **how the term 'youth leadership' might best be understood** in the context of creating the kind of change that the Trust is seeking to support and enable, we have developed a proposed definition as follows:

The Trust is looking to support and enable **young people to create change**.

In doing so, The Trust will support individuals, organisations, networks and groups (however affiliated) that operate in ways that mean that **young people have agency and decision making power**.

The Trust does not have a precise checklist of elements that would together constitute 'youth led' change. Commitment to youth leadership is **cultural** as well as being reflected in whether specific structures and processes are in place to support youth leadership.

In potentially supporting young people as individuals, or unconstituted groups of young people, the Trust will be interested to understand what efforts are being made, or being considered, to **seek to be representative** of wider concerns and wider positions held by young people affected by a particular issue.

In working with organisational partners and potential partners, the Trust is particularly interested in evidence and feedback from young people themselves about the extent to which they feel they are able to take a leadership role, including by understanding:

- Young people's **belief** in the **genuine commitment** of the group or organisation to youth led change
- Young people's roles in **formal governance** structures where they exist
- Young people's roles in developing, reviewing and evaluating **strategy**
- How well processes support and enable young people's meaningful participation in **decision making**, including around how resources are allocated
- How well young people's diverse needs and interests are centred in the **values** that the group or organisation seeks to uphold, and how well these values are enacted in practice

---

- How well the organisation or group seeks to **learn from young people and adapt** according to young people's feedback
- The extent to which commitments to young people extend to **all young people**, with a particular emphasis of amplifying the voices of otherwise marginalised groups

The Trust is interested in working with entities that operate with an adaptable learning approach, who **strongly value youth leadership, and are committed to an ongoing process to centre this**. Potential partners will need to show how well they exhibit behaviours, and have policies and practices, that enable youth leadership, as well as how they intend to improve.

In supporting youth-led change initiatives, **the Trust will be clear and transparent about its own agendas and priorities**, including when and how these are influencing its decision making.

As needed, the Trust will look to **link young people to individuals, groups and organisations that can provide support**, in the form of mentoring, connections and resources.

3 DEFINING CHANGE

The term 'change' is open to very wide interpretation: thinking about what kind of change is intended, we have developed a framing of this as follows:

The Trust wants to enable young people create change in society that is about:

- **Building collective power to effect external change** through grassroots groups, networks and movements
- **Re-balancing whose voices are heard** in decision making
- Opening space for exploration of, and progress towards, solutions that **address structural barriers holding young people back**, challenging thinking around what is possible and achievable

In seeking change, **the Trust will fund initiatives led by, supporting and centring under-represented and marginalised groups**. Those who are marginalised will depend on the issue which voices are currently under-represented, including but not limited to groups generally disadvantaged and marginalised by society. The Trust will focus on who is included and who is excluded from change processes, and how this can be rebalanced.

Context

4   WIDER SOCIAL CHANGE CONTEXT

The routes to achieving social change are in flux

There has traditionally been a relatively standardised approach to achieving social change in the UK (and much of the global north). In this model, established organisations engage in set-piece, issue-specific campaigns underpinned by expert research. Such campaigns typically involve lobbying by professional staff, on behalf of groups regarded as 'beneficiaries'. Where thought necessary, this is bolstered by mobilising supporters to act in support of the campaign's aims.

However, in recent years a range of social, technological and political trends have exposed the limitations of this standardised approach, pointing to the need to adopt new approaches.

The traditional approach to change making is experiencing stress

Structures of representative democracy are facing upheaval. Social polarisation and fracturing was revealed and exacerbated by the EU Referendum and its aftermath.[1]

Meanwhile, communities are struggling with the effects of continuing austerity and grappling with the causes and consequences of a growing environmental crisis, amongst other fundamental challenges.

The traditional model is not holding under the resulting tensions. Many communities feel marginalised and disconnected whilst those in power show only limited receptivity. This makes it very hard for established NGOs to act as a bridge between the two in ways that can lead to meaningful change.

This dynamic was highlighted, for example, by the recent Inquiry into the future of civil society. This identified a sense that national NGOs lack responsiveness, connection and accountability to communities, describing large charities as "*too often rigid, unaccountable and distant from the people they are meant to serve*".[2] The Inquiry found that:

---

[1] E.g. as explored in Bobby Duffy et al, 'Divided Britain? Polarisation and fragmentation trends in the UK' The Policy Institute, Kings College London, Sep 2019
[2] Civil Society Futures: 'The Story of Our Times: shifting power, bridging divides, transforming society' 2018

"In every place we visited we found people coming together to garner collective power and pursue social and political goals, but rarely did this involve large formal charities". [3]

The sector disproportionately focuses on securing policy change and this comes with limitations, especially in isolation

This sense of communities' disengagement no doubt partly reflects that campaigning NGOs are disproportionately focused on engaging with formal power structures around specific policy. They invest much less in broader based and more inclusive strategies for change, through building and distributing power for example.[4]

Work around the detail of policy can have value and bring tangible benefit. But used alone, it focuses too much on incremental change, and is not designed to achieve the systemic shifts needed to change power structures themselves.

Meanwhile, new ways of operating, through distributed models of organising for change, have increasing salience

Despite massive resources (still) being locked up in the traditional NGO model, most of the interesting / impactful campaigning and activism is being pushed forward by a new wave of actors, engaging people affected by issues directly, at scale and in depth.

New groups tend to be effective at using technology to organise collectively, based on a networked approach. This is encapsulated in the concept of 'new power', which emphasises collaboration, wisdom-of-crowd approaches, commitment to transparency and testing by doing.[5] This way of operating combines some element of top down (or centralised) framing and coordination, with *"a fair amount of freedom and agency to grassroots supporters and a diverse network of inside and cross-movement allies"*.[6]

There is a growing recognition of the importance of leadership by people with lived experience of an issue or combination of issues

The social change sector is generally moving (at least rhetorically) from delivering change 'on behalf of' people towards operating in solidarity, and amplifying the voices of people who have been directly affected by the issues in question (if not actually being led by them). Organisations like Oxfam,[7] for example, have signalled the goal to move in these directions. The sector is increasingly recognising the latent agency of people who are experts by experience, and the importance of their

---

[3] Civil Society Futures, 'Civil Society in England: Its current state and future opportunity', 2018

[4] As identified in Sheila McKechnie Foundation's 'Social Power' report from June 2018 for example

[5] Henry Timms & Jeremy Heimans, New Power, Macmillan, 2018

[6] Jason Mogus & Tom Liacas, 'Networked Change: How Progressive campaigns are won in the 21st century' Netchange, 2016

[7] Winnie Byanyima, INGOs – it's time for us to go further faster, Devex

leadership in attempts to address issues that they are affected by. But the sector's track record in this area is patchy. Hence the critique that:

"People with decision-making power in the sector do not meaningfully and equitably value the knowledge, insights, perspectives and views of [Lived Experience] leaders … Social sector organizations continue to rely on 'elite', professional and technical expertise'".[8]

Sustainable change involves policy, norms and power

Achieving change is sometimes about specific policies and the direction of policy. But it can and should be more than that. Sustainable, systemic and transformational change comes through challenging power dynamics, redistributing power, and promoting social norms that open up space for more progressive action.

These are ways to radically change the context in which policy decisions are made. But achieving these kinds of changes typically involves longer term effort, and requires a broad based response from an ecosystem of actors.

Transformational change can't be achieved by individual organisations, or narrow coalitions, acting in isolation. Instead it requires an ecosystem of actors taking different approaches but pulling in the same direction. These inter-relationships are explored in Bill Moyer's thinking about social movements and the different components of them:

Figure 1: Bill Moyer's Movement Action Plan

The Four Activist Roles - Participation

---

[8] Baljeet Sandhu, Lived Experience Leadership, Clore Social Leadership & the Tsai Center for Innovative Thinking at Yale, 2019

Moyer's Movement Action Plan[9] is a strategic model based on case studies of successful social movements, and it identifies eight distinct stages. It is designed to help movement actors choose the most effective tactics and strategies to match their movements' current stage, based on the contribution they are best placed to make.

As shown above, Moyer suggested that outsider 'Rebel' groups tend to kick-start the awareness of a problem in the minds of 'Citizens' (the wider public) with headline grabbing direct actions. Public support is won long before legislative change happens. Then, as the energy for this drops away, with the Rebels feeling they have failed, the baton is picked up by 'Reformers' (policy /lobbyist types) and 'Change Agents' (campaigners and organisers).

This can be seen in current UK climate change activism, for example. It currently sits in the 'Rebel' phase, with the significant role for policy makers to operate at the scale needed likely coming later (after shifts in the thinking of 'Citizens' have been forged).

Successful movements require a healthy movement ecology

Moyer's model has proved useful as a basis for identifying the range of actors involved in environmental and LGBTQ+ movements in the UK over a 50 year period.[10] This research confirmed that transformational change takes time and identified that legislative changes (often the campaigning benchmark for success) tend to have deep roots in radical outsider action, which in turn owes a debt to whole cycles of change-focused work preceding it, and so on.

This analysis highlights that individual social change actors cannot affect change alone, but rather that any gains made are dependent on the sum of efforts pushing in any given direction. Understanding the range of actors involved helps individual actors work out the best role they can play in broader movement efforts.

Some NGOs are considering shifting strategy but face huge challenges in doing so

National NGOs with a campaigning remit are increasingly questioning their old approaches. For example, Scope is shifting its focus to structural change, and Shelter has a goal of building a 'movement for change' on housing. In making this strategic shift, however, NGOs face huge challenges, for example because of:

- **Path dependence**, where historical decisions have embedded a set of practices, strategies and approaches that limit scope for radical new directions.
- A **strategic inertia** that can affect big organisations in particular, in which strategies are adopted without a clear rationale.[11]

---

[9] Bill Moyer, Movement Action Plan, Spring 1987
[10] Natasha Adams, Ecologies of UK Social Movements, May 2019
[11] Hahrie Han, How Organizations Develop Activists, OUP, 2014

- Issues around **messaging and brand** – more fluid, 'hashtag-led' campaigns may be more effective at attracting support than organisation-branded ones,[12] but present significant challenges to organisations that prioritise gaining coverage and demonstrating visible success.

Faced with these challenges, one risk is that organisations bolt on new features to the existing set of disciplines and ways of working – rather than taking on the much more daunting (and perhaps unfeasible) task of radically reorienting structures and cultures. This ambivalence of response is creating its own difficulties.[13]

Meanwhile, organisations providing locally-based services and support typically find themselves firefighting in increasingly hostile territory, leaving them little space or opportunity to look beyond dealing with what's in front of them.

5   YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHANGE MAKING

Thinking about how these trends apply more specifically to young people, and how important young people are in the overall landscape of campaigning, the following themes stand out:

Young people are in the frontline of exposure to austerity

The UN Special Rapporteur on Poverty found in 2018 that *"millions of children … are being locked into a cycle of poverty from which most will have difficulty escaping".[14]* This is linked to a crisis around access to services and support: to give only one example, recent research by the YMCA identifies that nationally there has been a 69% cut in youth services since 2010.[15] Young people are specifically and/or disproportionately affected across a range of issues including housing, crime and mental health provision. Unsurprisingly, young people are also more likely to be very or extremely worried about climate change than older groups [16]

Recent research exploring young people's views on their communities and their future found that *"too many young people feel a 'poverty of hope'"*. Two thirds of young people, for example, believe their generation will be worse off than their parents' generation.[17]

At the same time they are comparatively marginalised politically

Age is a clear predictor of voting intention:[18]

---

[12] Jason Mogus & Tom Liacas, 'Networked Change: How Progressive campaigns are won in the 21st century' Netchange, 2016

[13] Sue Tibballs, Devolving Power Brings Its Own Challenges, Third Sector Magazine 23.09.2019

[14] Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom, by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights
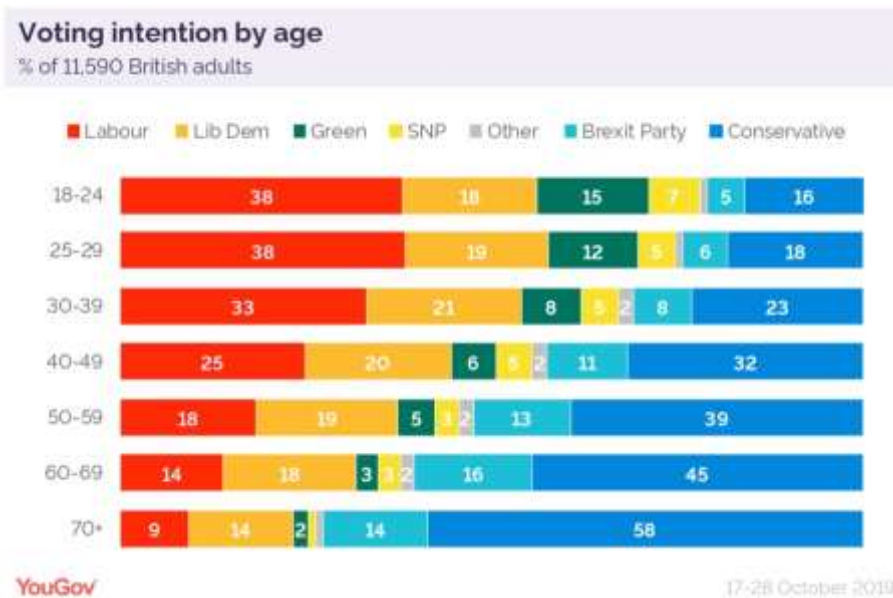
[15] May Bulman, The Independent, 25.09.2019

[16] NatCen Social Research, British Social Attitudes Survey 34, 2017

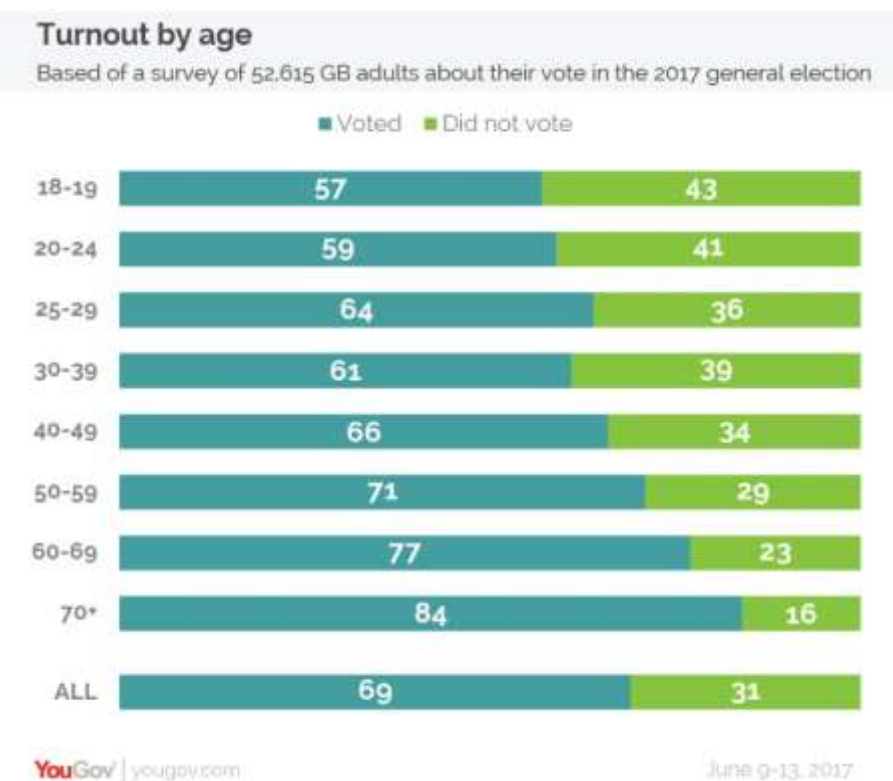[17] Lianne Smith, 'Overcoming Poverty of Hope', Barnardo's, 2019

[18] Chris Curtis, 2019 General Election – the demographics dividing Britain YouGov

Figure 2: Voting intentions by age

Voting intention by age
% of 11,590 British adults

	Labour	Lib Dem	Green	SNP	Other	Brexit Party	Conservative

	Labour	Lib Dem	Green	SNP	Other	Brexit Party	Conservative
18-24	38	18	15	7		5	16
25-29	38	19	12	5		6	18
30-39	33	21	8	5	2	8	23
40-49	25	20	6	5	2	11	32
50-59	18	19	5	1	2	13	39
60-69	14	18	3	1	2	16	45
70+	9	14	2			14	58

YouGov   17-28 October 2019

And age also correlates with likelihood to vote:[19]

Figure 3: Turnout by age in 2017 general election

Turnout by age
Based of a survey of 52,615 GB adults about their vote in the 2017 general election

	Voted	Did not vote
18-19	57	43
20-24	59	41
25-29	64	36
30-39	61	39
40-49	66	34
50-59	71	29
60-69	77	23
70+	84	16
ALL	69	31

YouGov | yougov.com   June 9-13, 2017

---

[19] Chris Curtis, How Britain voted at the 2017 election, YouGov

The population is divided and those more likely to vote are much more likely to have their interests represented by those in power. Young people feel disconnected from politics:

> *"Young people strongly voiced their concern that the government doesn't care about their political views or consider the long term impact of policies on their future".[20]*

Consistent with this, the young people we talked to in the focus group we held in Lewisham[21] were also highly sceptical about formal political processes:

> *"I think a lot of change is going to be due to people power rather than people asking the Government. They won't do something that doesn't benefit them. Why would you ask someone to do something they are not going to do and they've shown they are not going to do it?"*

This all highlights that politics needs to change for young people.

Young people helping to drive progressive social change

Sociological research[22] shows that cultural shifts often occur as previous generations with fixed worldviews and approaches are replaced by younger generations who bring new approaches and views (so-called 'cohort effects'). For example, increased liberalism towards premarital sex has occurred *"as older generations are being replaced by younger, more liberal ones".* [23]

But opinion can also change through 'period effects', where the whole population shifts broadly in the same direction. Attitudes to same sex relationships, for example, have become more liberal over time, across generations, *"driven by a society-wide cultural shift".* [24]

The dynamic is not straightforward, but clearly young people play a role in helping drive wider trends. And there is evidence that younger people tend to be more socially liberal, although the picture is not always clear and consistent.[25]

Young people bring something different and additional to the activism mix

1) Effectively adopting flexible and distributed approaches to achieving social change

---

[20] Lianne Smith, 'Overcoming Poverty of Hope', Barnardo's, 2019

[21] This focus group was conducted with young people not identifying initially as activists – more information on them can be found in appendix 1 – Purpose and Approach

[22] Stephen Vaisey & Omar Lizardo, 'Cultural Fragmentation or Acquired Dispositions? A New Approach to Accounting for Patterns of Cultural Change' Sage Journals, Oct 2016

[23] NatCen Social Research, British Social Attitudes Survey 34, 2017

[24] NatCen Social Research, British Social Attitudes Survey 34, 2017

[25] Bobby Duffy et al, Millennial Myths & Realities, Ipsos MORI, 2017

For example, flexible approaches have been modelled by youth protestors in Hong Kong deploying an agile style of protest that is highly emergent and fluid.[26] This is in contrast to the traditional model of the 'set-piece campaign' that locks down resources and priorities, making reactive strategy and tactics much more difficult to carry off.

Whilst for NGOs, distributed leadership presents a challenge because it means ceding responsibility and control (which carries risk), young people naturally organise this way. Decision making in youth led campaigns is typically both consensus-based and quick, as demonstrated by youth-led groups like March For Our Lives in the US [mobilising in response to the school shooting in Parkland, Florida in February 2018] and the UK School Climate Network [UKSCN, organising behind the school climate strikes], where decision making can be done almost instantly through a WhatsApp group.

2) Exploiting more creative approaches to campaigning

"We Will" is a campaign led by a group of 14-18 year olds in West Cumbria who have joined together to change the way that youth mental health is dealt with in their schools, communities, families and wider social circles. In exploring this campaign for a case study, we found that:

> *"The young people came … with lots of ideas like making films and organising assemblies. Their approach was very different to what the adults were doing, but they found that when they ran with these ideas they had traction and impact".[27]*

And this approach of drawing heavily on the creative arts follows a long tradition in youth led campaigning. 'Freedom singing' was a core organising tool adopted by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] at the peak of the civil rights movement in the US, for example.[28] And singing together forms part of the strategy of the Sunrise movement in the US (the young people behind the Green New Deal).

3) Being less constrained by traditional assumptions around how things are done

Findings suggest that young people have, or create for themselves, greater space to challenge accepted ideas around what is possible. In a case study of the UKSCN, a new organisation set up to coordinate school strikes for climate in the UK, we interviewed Jake Woodier, the coordinator, who identified that:

> *"The students who are heavily involved haven't been taken into traditional ways of thinking and organising, so they're not constrained by the things that hold back other organisations. They have no sense of limitation. Lots of organisations start with resources and then think 'how is this possible'. The students start with thinking about what they want to do".[29]*

Young people will typically not be held back by ideas of what is possible that adults might tend to default to. If Greta Thunberg, before going down to the Swedish parliament on her first protest, had

---

[26] Anthony Dapiran, The New Statesman, 01.08.2019
[27] Natasha Adams & Jim Coe, Youth Led Campaigns & Movements, MAP, April 2019
[28] SNCC Digital Gateway, Freedom Singers
[29] Natasha Adams & Jim Coe, Youth Led Campaigns & Movements, MAP, April 2019

looked for approval for the action from a group of adults interrogating her 'theory of change', then we wouldn't be currently seeing millions of people striking for the climate across the world.

Children and young people also bring moral authority, calling things how they see them, which can be effective in getting media cut-through on issues they are directly impacted by. The Parkland students in the US and Greta Thunberg are powerful recent examples of this.

However, as we explore below, young people also face specific challenges that adults don't experience or face less.

Current state of youth led change

6   MAPPING YOUTH LED CHANGE

There is a key distinction to be drawn between 'youth development' and 'youth led change'

The Blagrave Trust is clear that its **focus is on external change** and on tackling the external barriers to young people's fulfilment.

The Trust's primary interest is in supporting efforts that lead to benefits that go beyond the individual - to young people more generally, and to wider society. This stands in contrast to 'youth development' approaches, with their focus on benefits to young people themselves (developing leadership capacity, resilience etc).

This is about centring the rights of children and young people, and their agency as they are, rather than their potential to develop into adults.

There are only limited examples of youth led change at scale

One current initiative in a broadly similar area to that being considered by the Blagrave Trust is the Act for Change Fund. This is a joint initiative between Paul Hamlyn Foundation and Esmée Fairbairn Foundation in partnership with the National Lottery Community Fund. It provides funding for organisations supporting young people working for change, and is part of the broader #iwill social action campaign.[30]

As an input to the development of the Act for Change Fund, those involved commissioned a mapping of approaches to youth engagement, which was kindly shared with us to inform our own thinking.

---

[30] https://www.iwill.org.uk/about-us

This research reviewed 120 'youth engagement' initiatives and found that the majority are focused on young people's development (rather than on achieving external change). Only 10% of initiatives could be categorised as aiming for external 'change' in the terms the Trust is considering, and only three of these in total were operating at scale.

As contributors to this review have noted, the aspiration to 'map the sector' is not a straightforward one, because of the scale and scope of the task and because of the fuzzy boundaries around what 'the sector' comprises.

But with that caveat our own findings were consistent with this. We found only a small number of campaigns, projects and organisations operating at scale otherwise that met, or came close to meeting, the criteria of both 'youth-led' and 'change' (as defined above).

In terms of relative prevalence, therefore, the picture looks something like this:

Figure 4: Youth engagement and youth led change at relative scale

■ Youth engagement
■ Youth led change
■ Youth led change at scale
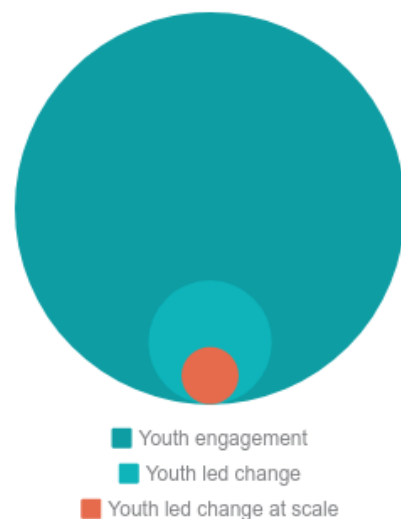
Interviewees regularly cited the same groups and organisations. Young leaders in these organisations and groups are the ones who are typically asked to speak on panels, interviewed as case studies for research, and featured in media stories regarding the vibrancy of youth activism.

Groups that have generated particular interest and national-level attention include:

UKSCN (the UK Student Climate Network) as noted above is an organisation initially formed by students who coordinated to set up the first UK school strikes for climate, inspired by Greta Thunberg and the global 'Fridays for Future' movement.

We Belong emerged from Just For Kids Law, after Chrisann Jarrett went to them for advice when her immigration status prevented her from accessing funding for University. Just for Kids Law took Chrisann on as an intern, and in this role she encountered many other young people facing similar issues. In response to this, and with incubation support from Just for Kids Law and a group of

foundations, We Belong (Initially Let Us Learn) was established. It now has a wider remit to work with and for young migrants in the UK.

The Advocacy Academy is an intensive training programme for young people in south London to lead social change. **Legally Black** is a campaign that grew out of an Advocacy Academy project, designed to combat the way black people are portrayed in the media.

Reclaim is an organisation based in Manchester, which supports young working class people to develop and lead campaigns on issues that affect them and other working class young people across the UK. Current campaigns include 'Stop the Nastiness', aiming to put an end to politicians using violent and de-humanising language, and 'Toxic masculinity', a collaboration between 12-13 year old boys and a local rugby team.

However, young people *are* engaging in activism

We don't have comprehensive information about this, but, for example, the most recent analysis by the Charities Aid Foundation identifies that:
- The most likely group to have signed a petition in the last year is those aged 16-24 (53% vs. 49% on average)
- The youngest age group are also the most likely to have protested in the last year (9% of 16-24s vs. 6% on average).[31]

Our own findings are consistent with this summary picture. For example, while members of the Lewisham focus group didn't define as 'activists':
- Most had taken some sort of campaigning action (e.g. signed a petition)
- Many had been involved in protest (for example around the proposed closure of Lewisham hospital)
- Some had been active participants in local campaigns (student-led protests against academisation for example).

Most of this activism is around local / hyper-local individual or small group action. Much of it wouldn't necessarily qualify as 'youth led' but some does, and it definitely points to there being an 'activist base' already in existence. At the local level, most youth led change is likely to be under the radar, with new groups emerging all the time.

We have come across some local, regional and national groups in our research but we suspect this is the tip of the iceberg. To give a couple of examples:

The **#DarwenGetsHangry** campaign is led by young people as part of the Blackburn with Darwen Food Alliance. The initiative got some broader UK coverage in May this year when residents held a day of action in Darwen to raise awareness about food poverty and how it's affecting children. The young activists leading it where joined by local councillors and third sector organisations.

---

[31] Charities Aid Foundation 'CAF UK Giving 2019: An overview of charitable giving in the UK', May 2019

Who Cares Scotland is a membership organisation which engages with care experienced young people and care leavers. Kenny Murray won the 2019 Young Persons Award from the Sheila McKechnie Foundation for his work on the Who We Are campaign, which tackles negative media portrayals of people who are in or have grown up in care.

There is likely significant latent potential for youth-led activism

In the absence of robust evidence, we're speculating somewhat, but this claim is based on:

- The extent of need: notably given the challenges that young people face that will not be resolved without systemic and structural change.

- The extent of young people's current engagement in activism.

- The example of the small number of young people who *are* taking leadership (or having it thrust upon them) and how good they are at doing what they are doing. Dave Cullen in his book about the Parkland students, for example, quotes one academic as saying, *"One minute they are like any [teenager] .. then … they turned into some of the most inspirational leaders in the world today"*.[32]

- Some additional anecdotal evidence that points to latent demand and interest, for example around the extent that training places offered to young people by Campaign Bootcamp are over-subscribed.

- The fact that, as we explore below young people have been something of a neglected demographic, with NGOs (in general) not proactively reaching out to engage, suggesting that the potential for activism is currently being under-exploited.

7   MAPPING SUPPORT

Current support is patchy in scale and reach

There is good support being provided to a small number of individuals, groups and organisations, but it is limited in scale. The overall picture, as far as we can see it, seems patchy and partial. It is often London centric, and not commensurate with need. The result is that the pipeline of youth led activism remains small.

A small number of groups focus on support to individuals

Two organisations were consistently mentioned above all others:

---

[32] Dave Cullen, Parkland: Birth of a Movement, Riverrun, 2019

- Advocacy Academy, which operates only in South London and has the goal of providing support to young leaders from marginalised communities so they can develop the knowledge, skills and confidence to tackle some of the big challenges they face.

- Campaign Bootcamp, which exists to develop people's campaign skills so they can address disadvantage and to promote diversity and excellence in campaigns.

Campaign Bootcamp provides relatively light-touch support through residential training and some other mentoring and support, whilst Advocacy Academy provides extensive year-long capacity building and leadership development support.

Campaign Bootcamp proactively invests in outreach to connect with marginalised groups, by connecting with local community organisations, but this is expensive and time consuming. In contrast Advocacy Academy is rooted in, and works with, a specific local community.

There is some support available to organisations and groups as they evolve

The UKSCN is a good current example of this. It began through organic growth, and was established on a shoestring by students organising autonomously. But fairly quickly the activists themselves recognised the need to put some support structures in place. At that point many organisations rallied round to provide the support required.

Operating to a different model, We Belong was initially incubated (as Let Us Learn) as a project within Just for Kids Law, and was given support (including advice and funding) towards formal constitution as a charity by a group of foundations.

But we know of only a few examples like this, and the individual support required is very intensive.

There are opportunities for the Trust to work with organisations currently providing 'youth development' type support

Amongst more disadvantaged groups, young people who are already linked in some way to 'service providers' may be best placed to move to activism, as there is already some support and connectivity in place. This is the case with people with lived experience of issues more generally, where:

> *"Early stage leaders … often transition from a 'service- user' or volunteer/community participation role into a frontline or organising role".[33]*

And examples like the Young Activists Network supported by MAP point to the potential. MAP is a 'youth development' organisation providing support and services to young people in Norfolk that

---

[33] Baljeet Sandhu, Lived Experience Leadership, Clore Social Leadership & the Tsai Center for Innovative Thinking at Yale, 2019

has more recently been considering how young people can take a leading role in calling for change, and is supporting the Young Activists Network along this journey.[34] To inform its development, the Network has had a programme of campaign training delivered by the Sheila McKechnie Foundation, a research trip to visit activists in the US, and some research conducted by us to explore trends in youth led change.

We suggest there may potential for the Trust to work with its existing funded partners (and/or the groups of young people they are working with). Existing knowledge and relationships would likely make it easier for the Trust to identify which partners are interested in, and capable of, taking a strategic response to change (and not getting diverted as a result of being invited to participate in consultation processes that prove not to be meaningful, for example).

But at the same time there are risks with this approach, pointed out by many, essentially along the lines that it will inevitably be tempting for 'youth development' organisations to repackage their work to chase funds, rather than radically reconsidering the role they, and the young people they support, could potentially play.

Some more mainstream organisations have programmes and campaigns focused, to varying degrees, on youth led change

Some NGOs supporting youth activism are actually youth organisations. People and Planet and Restless Development are examples of well-established organisations in this space.

Others are more mainstream national NGOs that have 'youth wings' – these tend to develop programmes and campaigns centring on young people and some cases aspiring to be youth led. Organisations like Friends of the Earth and Amnesty International are investing in such approaches.

Across the sector we see a spectrum of approaches. Some organisations engage young people in supporting campaign priorities the organisation has already have identified, while others give space to young people for some leadership to define their own priorities within specific projects. These organisations can bring significant resources, but when organisations aren't actually led by young people or even youth focused overall, the sustainability of youth led initiatives within them can be fragile.

More insurgent groups may also have youth wings or youth affiliates. XR (Extinction Rebellion) Youth is a current example of this, and differs from NGO groups in that this is a separate organisation, affiliated to XR but led by the young people running it.

8   THE SUMMARY PICTURE

We found that it is not always possible to be definitive about whether a particular initiative, organisation or group meets the stands of being 'youth-led' and/or being focused on (external)

---

[34] @YoungActivistUK

change. This is a relevant finding in itself, which suggests that, even operating to criteria, these judgements will not be clear cut and a degree of interpretation is required.

But based on the analysis above, we can broadly categorise the different actors as follows (even though there may be questions and disagreements about which individual groups and organisations fit where):

Table 1: Typology of groups and organisations

Type	Sub type	Examples	Prevalence
Youth led change organisations and groups operating at scale	Established	British Youth Council People & Planet NUS	Small number
	New	Let Us Learn	Small number
	Informally constituted	UKSCN	Very small number
Local youth led change organisations and groups	Formally constituted	RECLAIM UKYCC	Small number (as far as we are aware)
	Informal		Much activity here but difficult to map
Change focused organisations with programmes and campaigns focused on youth led change	National	Friends of the Earth Amnesty UK Who Cares Scotland UK Citizens (Stand Up Stand Out) Global Justice Now (Our Future Now) Youth Access (Our Minds Our Future)	Relatively small number, but with (relatively) high resources
	Regional/local		Small number
Youth development focused organisations	National		(Comparatively) large group
	Local/community		Many
	Combining a change mandate	MAP Ewanrigg Local Trust (hosting We Will)	Small number (as far as we are aware)
Organisations supporting young change-makers	Youth led	?	None that we are aware of
	Focused on young people	Advocacy Academy	Only group of its type?
	With young people as a key constituency	Campaign Bootcamp NEON Movement Builders	Very small number

Pathways to activism and leadership

Distilling complicated pathways to activist leadership for young people can help in identifying where support is needed

In the following sections we explore the various activism pathways we have uncovered through the research. In a complex field, simplifying the different routes and motivations gives us the best chance to understand possible support needs and how they could best be met.

At its simplest, there is a straightforward pathway, along the following lines:
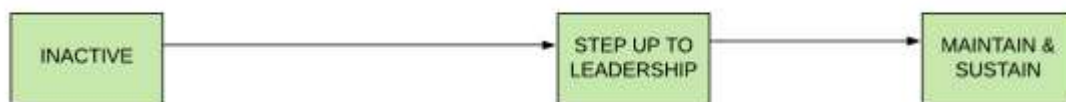
Building from this starting point, we look in turn at variants and explanatory factors in the sections below. We present a summary overview, combining all these, in section 12 below.

9   INITIAL PATHWAYS

As we note above the number of young people moving into leadership roles in activism is currently very small, but there appears to be significant potential to increase this. Based on what we have read and heard, we have identified four generic routes that young people follow, as set out below.

It is worth noting that, across these routes, young people are not only motivated by wanting to make change on a particular issue for their own or wider benefit. Research[35] and input to this review highlight that the motivation to gain skills and expertise can also play a significant role. Social opportunities are another factor likely to encourage participation.

For many, activism is a response to a personalised injustice

[35] Achieve, The 2013 Millennial Impact Report, Case Foundation

A common starting point for campaigning is being confronted with a problem, and organising to address and overcome it. This explains the origins of We Belong for example. Similarly, March for Our Lives in the US arose from personal experience, in this case tragedy, when the young people involved lost friends to a high school shooting in Parkland, Florida.

Some may react rapidly (as the Parkland students did) and some will be more considered (as with the Sunrise Movement in the US, pushing the Green New Deal, who developed strategy and spent a long time building organising structures, training leaders and developing their support base before public launch). Either approach is valid, partly depending on the specific circumstances, but they come with different support needs.

Where things are moving quickly, young people – operating as individuals and groups – may need support and advice and may benefit from being connected to other groups that they may not be aware of or have access to. They will also almost certainly have a need for (small amounts of) money. Whilst providing financial support at this very early stage comes with risk – in that it is inherently speculative, and in many cases, there are unlikely to be organisational forms through which the money can be distributed – it is low risk in the sense that the initial need in most cases will be for very small amounts, to cover basic expenses. This has to be balanced against the risk of *not offering financial support*, which could mean that opportunity is missed.

Where a response to a problem or situation is more strategically considered, there will still be a need to be reactive and relatively quick to respond, but there is more time to put some basic checks in place.

In summary, these routes look like this:
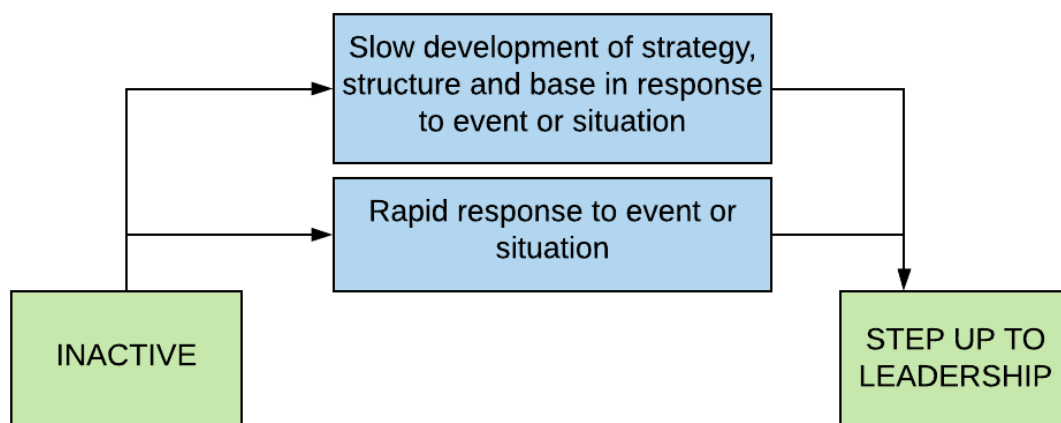
Some activism is underpinned by a more general need for change

Alongside this more direct route to activism, there is a route that has its starting point in a more general sense of things needing to change.

At Advocacy Academy, for example, the intensive training programme supports young people to work out what they want to campaign on, as well as how, as their training progresses. The starting

point is the need to develop agency and make change, not necessarily a specific issue. MAP's Young Activist Network has also been creating space for young people they support to learn about campaigning and work out what they might want to campaign on, and how.

Discussion at the Lewisham focus group also highlighted how issues are often deeply entangled, and so it actually makes sense to take time working out where to start with a campaign:

> *Q: Say you wanted to do something about knife crime, what would you do?*
>
> *J: The only way to get rid of knife crime, you have to stop the poverty circumstances … it's a bigger problem*
>
> *K: There's also circumstances where kids don't get told what's wrong, or that everyone's doing it, so they see it's a good thing to do as well … need to show them there's other ways to make money*
>
> *N: It kind of leads to the funding cuts in youth clubs, young people just need something to do. Not having anything to do makes you go out on the streets and do something else.*

As one interviewee stressed, it's important that young people have space to consider their options, and how best to respond to the challenges they face, without having activism having necessarily been already identified as the 'right answer'.
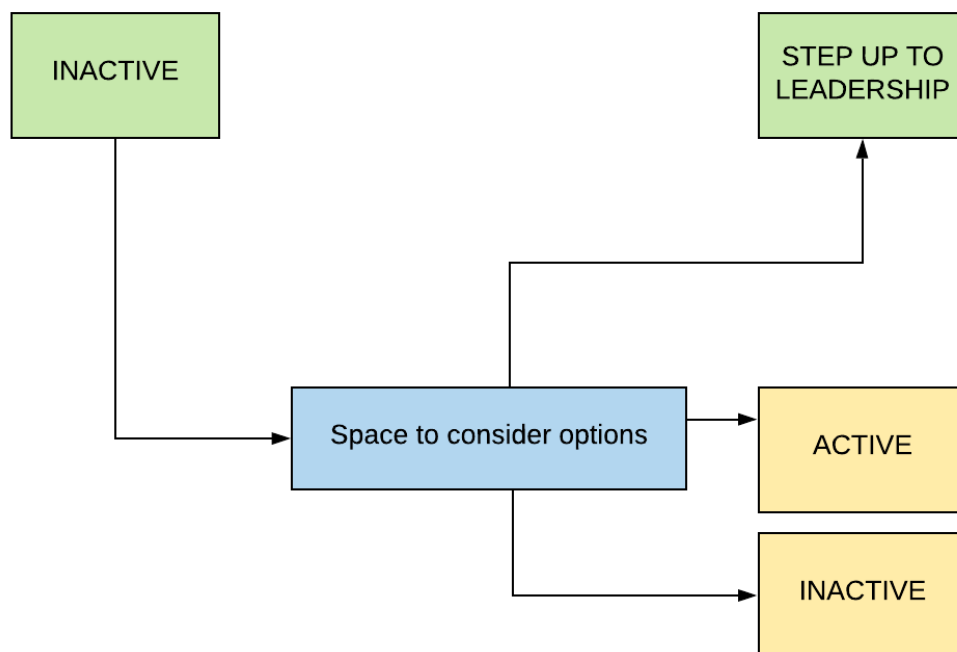

Some are inspired by others to take action

Some step into a leadership role as an activist having been inspired by others.

The ripples from Greta Thunberg's lone school strike for climate provide an excellent example of this. When her individual actions picked up national, and then international, coverage, young people all over the world were inspired to step in and organise their own school strikes in solidarity. With the recent global strike for climate also attracting adults from unions and businesses around the world, her actions have led to the biggest ever wave of global climate protests (and possibly the biggest protests full stop).

This theme emerged too in discussion with the Lewisham focus group whose members picked up on the idea that this inspiring others can cross issues, acting as a spark more generally. The implication is that, the more role models become visible, the more others will feel inspired and emboldened to act themselves. This speaks to wider evidence about the importance of representation.[36]

In following this route, some may step directly into a leadership role themselves, others may be inspired to take action that falls short of being in a leadership role:
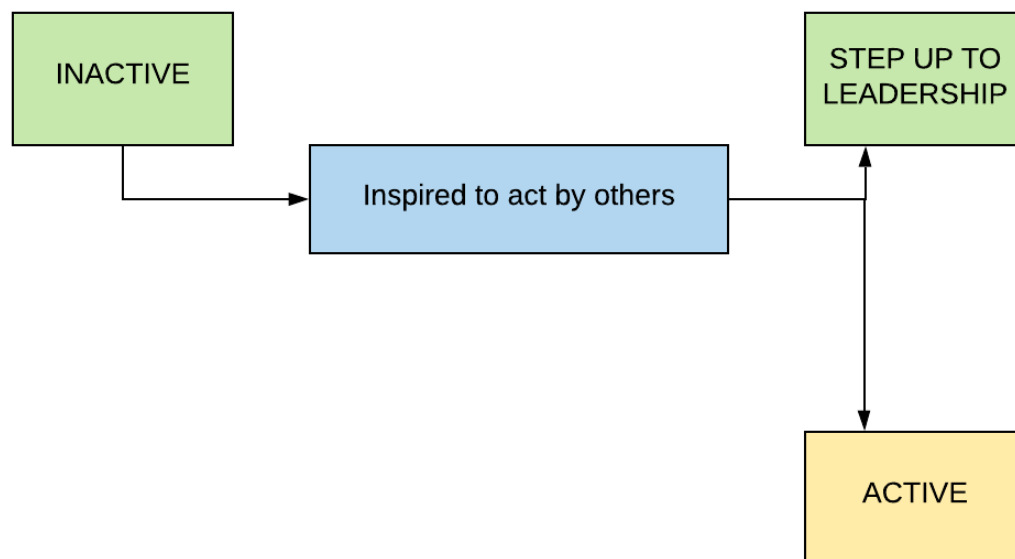

Some are invited to act, and respond

Another route to activism is the obvious one of being asked to take action and responding to the request. This is the way NGOs build their supporter bases for example, and it's a logic that allows organisations like change.org to play a key role in the overall ecosystem. Operating as an online petition platform, change.org (and similar groups) create opportunities for people to initiate, as well as support, campaigns.

But whilst young people's activism in response to these kinds of approaches may be welcome, it typically encourages activist engagement rather than 'youth leadership'.

---

[36] As explored in Alice Sachrajda, Riding the Waves, 2017, Unbound Philanthropy
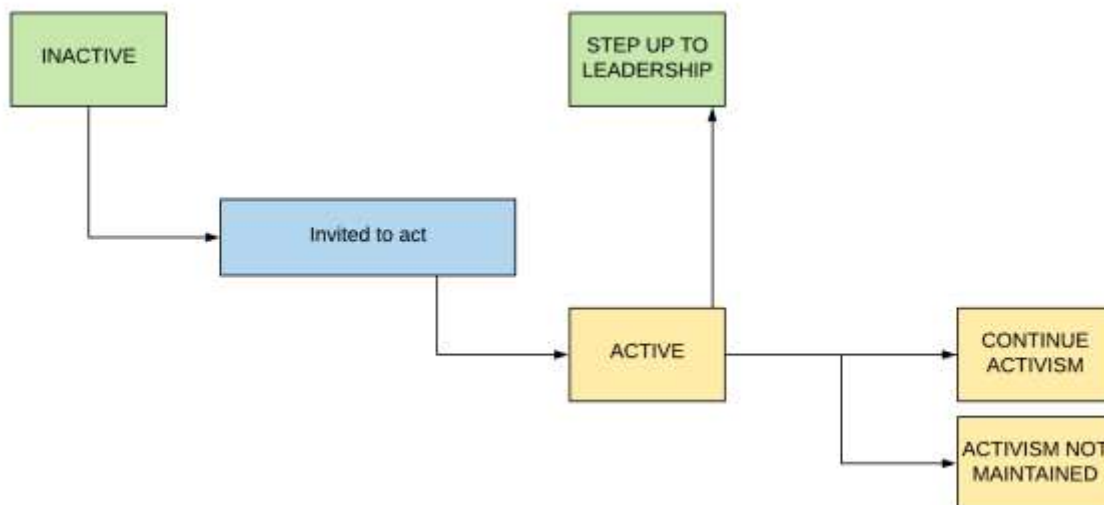
The big question here is - how can young people taking action move, and be supported to move, towards taking a leadership role in activism? See the discussion on the leadership pipeline below.

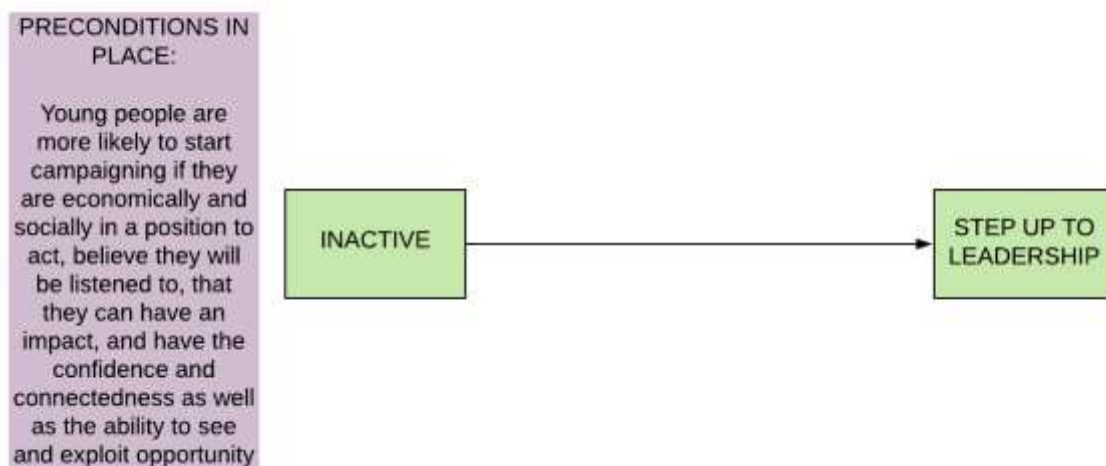## The most disadvantaged young people face particular hurdles that need to be addressed

Young people are more likely to start campaigning if they:

- Are economically and socially in a position to act,
- Believe they will be listened to
- Believe they can have an impact
- Have confidence
- Have connections to networks
- Have the ability to see and exploit opportunity

The most disadvantaged young people will have the biggest obstacles to overcome before they can see themselves as leading change. Often facing multiple causes and symptoms of deprivation, they will need significant support to become active in social change, and sometimes it will not be possible or appropriate for them to do so.

Young people who are not connected to any support groups or networks are likely to be the hardest for civil society groups to access and engage (and vice versa). But exploring ways to do this will be a critical element in any approach if it is to reach as far as it possibly can.

Small local organisations already well connected to their community are likely to be in the best position to coordinate outreach to the most marginalised in their area. Lessons can be learned here from Campaign Bootcamp's Everyday Activism project, which seeks to provide training for the most marginalised groups in their communities to help people run their first campaigns.

PRECONDITIONS IN PLACE:

Young people are more likely to start campaigning if they are economically and socially in a position to act, believe they will be listened to, that they can have an impact, and have the confidence and connectedness as well as the ability to see and exploit opportunity

INACTIVE → STEP UP TO LEADERSHIP

10 PATHWAYS TO MAINTAINING AND SUSTAINING YOUTH LED CHANGE

Sustaining young people's activism are likely to require both individuals' enduring commitment and (at some point) some kind of structural arrangement that helps support sustainability.

Other support is likely to be needed to navigate the various challenges and barriers that young people face. We explore these in the next section

Enduring commitment to an issue is key

If you are focused on an issue then you tend to be committed to seeing it through. As the Lewisham group noted about Greta Thunberg, *"She has something she believes in. If at first you don't succeed, try again, that's her mind-set".*

For some small-scale local campaign groups, that commitment alone may be enough to drive forwards the change without investing in longer term structure. One aspect of the Campaign Bootcamp model for example is that the key thing is to win the campaign; it doesn't have to be about creating sustainable structures or the start of a lifetime of activism. But for larger, complex and entrenched problems, developing structures to hold and sustain the work will be needed.

In many cases, attention to developing structures will be essential

This is not based on comprehensive evidence, but examples point to a moment arising where informal operations can take groups only so far and some kind of formalisation will be needed.

And this is important because for more intractable or systemic issues, one individual's – or a group's – sustained commitment alone is not likely to be enough, and can be difficult to maintain.

Hence the need to operate to a model that helps build activists' sense of collective power. This helps lock in people's positive feeling of accountability to their community, as well as reinforcing people's sense of themselves as activists, which then motivates action consistent with this identity. This can sustain support in a way that commitment to an issue may not.[37]

We detect that at a certain scale of operating, informal organisations reach the end of the road. They need to find more structured ways to embed accountability, demonstrate legitimacy, build power, and create ways of operating that allow for effective and transparent management of resources.

In some cases, this means groups creating their own structural solutions, as we note above in relation to the different routes that UKSCN and We Belong have been taking:
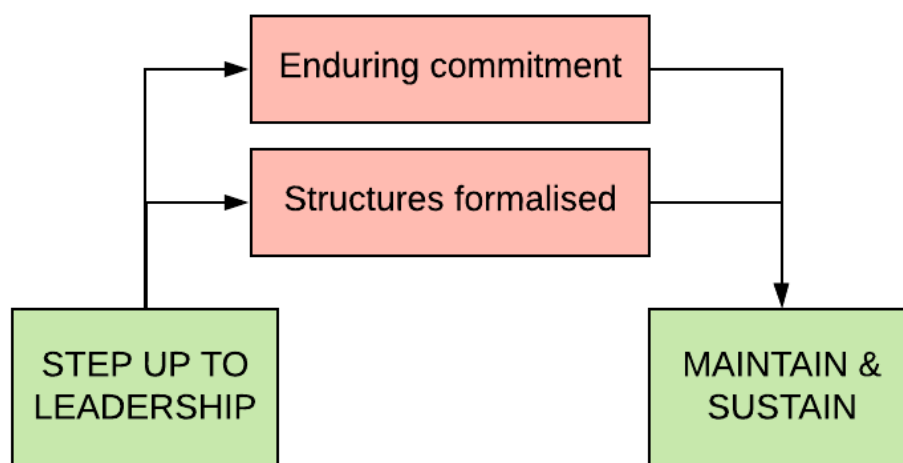
In all pathways, there is a need to pay attention to the leadership 'pipeline'

Sharing and building leadership, especially of young people with lived experience of the issues they are campaigning to change, is key to any future where youth led change is flourishing.

Expanding leadership is a core strategic challenge for all activism, but for young people's activism it has a particular resonance given that a 'pipeline' is essential to maintaining youth leadership over time.

Youth-led campaigns and movements face twin disadvantages. Firstly, group members face life choices that can make sustained activism trickier to continue; moving away to University, for example. Secondly as existing leaders get older, there is a naturally-occurring need for replacements over time.

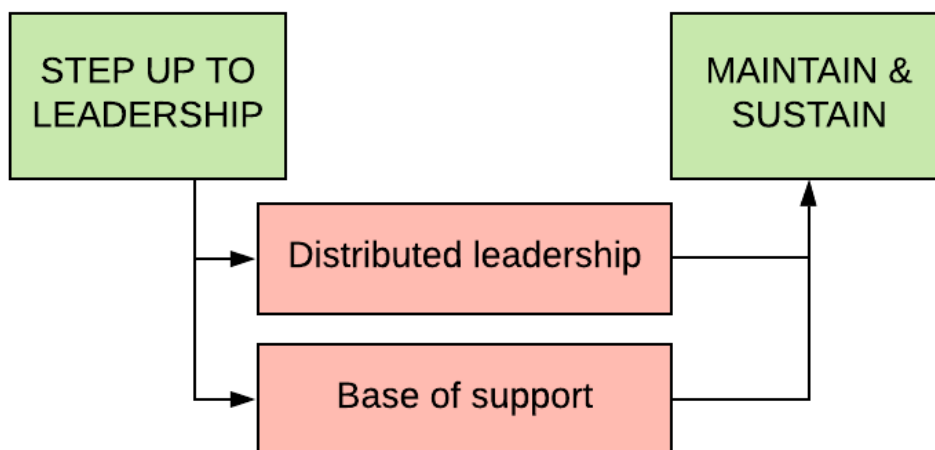[37] Hahrie Han, How Organizations Develop Activists, OUP, 2014 pp144-148

One way to address this is to build leadership into the initial step toward activism. Hence the stress in Hahrie Han's research on laying a relational base from the beginning if the goal is to build distributed leadership.[38] The distinction here is between:

- A mobilising approach, focused on maximising action by making as easy as possible for large numbers to take part, and
- An 'organising' model in which has as its goal building people's capacities to act and take on leadership roles

Consistent with this, as we note above, one way to promote this kind of approach would be by creating spaces where young people can find their own way. But leadership development can happen later in the process, too, if the conditions are right, and given the right focus. Either way, leadership development is not straightforward or quick; it is deeply relational and requires investment to do right.

Mobilising to build a base of support is also key

Alongside an organising approach focused on leadership development, mobilising also plays an important role. Aside from small local groups, any campaign will likely need a broad base of engaged supporters who add their voices to the campaign without taking responsibility for it (such as those who sign petitions, and turn out to protests / events). In youth led campaigning, there is plenty of space for young people to be involved without leading, and this is essential to maintain and sustain energy over time.

11 SUPPORT ACROSS THE PATHWAYS

In the sections above, we explore individual pathways and identify what support might be needed when to encourage and enable young people along them.

---

[38] Hahrie Han, How Organizations Develop Activists, OUP, 2014

Looking across all the pathways collectively, another set of implications, in terms of likely support needed, fall out:

Current training support could be complemented by other approaches

We found that long consecutive day and/or residential training is the main way that support is provided. This can be a fantastic intervention but the model doesn't work for everyone, so it would be good if alternative opportunities were available. Since many cannot access residential or long trainings, the Trust could usefully consider investing in alternatives such as online courses with coaching, evening courses over longer periods with support offered in between, etc.

To avoid constraining young people's horizons, trainings and support should encourage critical thinking in exploring social change history and models, rather than teaching just one approach.

In engaging with decision makers, there is risk of co-option

We heard that, in the Trust's experience, some youth focused organisations operate in a space where the young people they support have opportunities to engage with decision makers, through youth advisory boards for example. However, participation often does not get beyond 'consultation' without accountability or even feedback being integral to the relationship. These kinds of 'invited spaces' (where those with power give notional space to others) may give an illusion of engagement but in many cases they ultimately reveal that access does not equate to influence.

Support to navigate these kinds of opportunities and offers as they arise could be particularly helpful in making sure that scarce resources are used as effectively as possible.

There is a particular need for support around communications

The We Will campaign provides a good example of the need to tread very carefully around how young people might talk about their own personal experiences. The young people involved wanted to talk about the solutions rather than the problem but when one young woman in the group, Molly, spoke about her experience in a Guardian article[39] she was inundated with media requests for interviews. She turned them all down, as she didn't want to become a tokenised example. The group has had thorough media training to prepare them to disclose only what they feel comfortable with, carefully considering how they would feel afterwards when the information they shared would be in the public realm, no longer under their control.

And this example is very much consistent with wider experience:

---

[39] Louise Tickle, Mental Health: The students who helped themselves when help was slow in coming, The Guardian, 12.02.2019

"Many [people with lived experience] highlighted the need to learn how to 'take ownership' of one's lived experience narrative. Specifically, they identified a need to learn how to express and translate it so that they can effectively communicate … on their terms". [40]

Peer support is also likely to be key

Young activists are likely to benefit from peer contact and support. Again, drawing on wider experience of people with lived experience, this is an area flagged as a particular need: [41]

This finding is supported by feedback to our research that links to young leaders from across issue sectors, as well as wider networks, would be useful, but is currently largely absent. There are already alumni networks in existence and these provide valued support to members and to new activists – as Bootcamp's approach exemplifies. But these they are organisation-specific and limited in the sense that available support is determined by the door you entered the activism world through.

Creating a broader network of young activist leaders could bring benefit to current youth led change initiatives, and future social movement networks.

Young people face particular safeguarding and wellbeing challenges

Activism is often a response to particularly challenging circumstances, as an effort to overcome them. Dealing with issues that personally affect you can be particularly difficult, sometimes traumatic. There are some signs (for example amongst the young people involved in the We Will campaign) that it can potentially be a positive experience to be involved in activism. But still, it can be hard. And if you are open to attack that's challenging too. Youth strikers for example a facing a tendency for (especially right wing) media to report negatively on the students' motives, often attributing their actions to a desire to truant rather than a commitment to change. Courses, retreats and resources focusing on wellbeing and tailored for young people could help address these challenges.

For adults supporting youth led change, safeguarding policies concerning the young people involved need serious consideration.

12 SUMMARY OF PATHWAYS

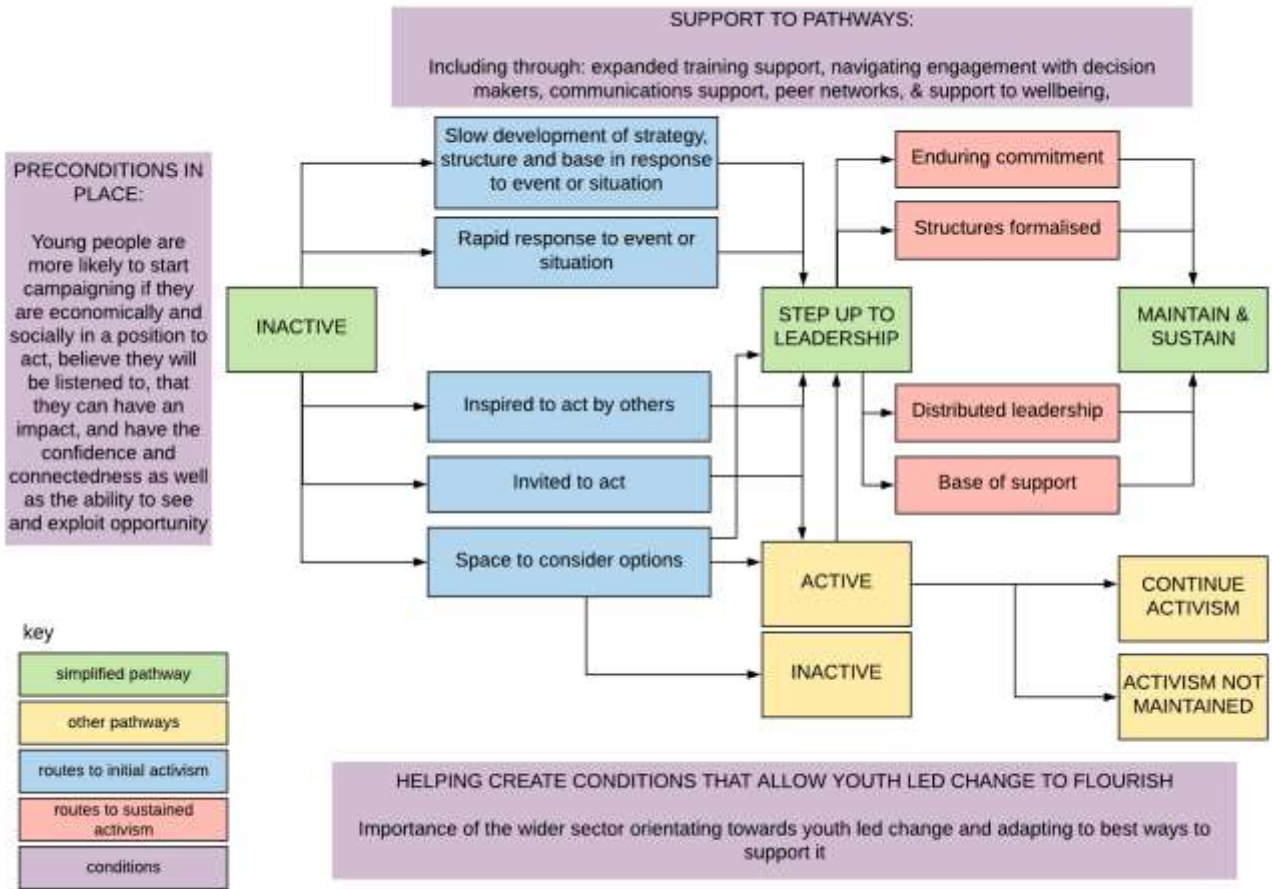Combining all this analysis gives the following picture:

---

[40] Baljeet Sandhu, Lived Experience Leadership, Clore Social Leadership & the Tsai Center for Innovative Thinking at Yale, 2019

[41] Baljeet Sandhu, Lived Experience Leadership, Clore Social Leadership & the Tsai Center for Innovative Thinking at Yale, 2019

Figure 5: Summary of pathways

Strategic implications

13 CHOICES FOR THE TRUST

On balance we advise the Trust against taking either a geographic or issue focus

Agreeing some limits to the Trust's geographic focus when it comes to supporting youth led change could open up the opportunity to have greater impact in a discrete area. It would also make it easier to map and understand the operating context, given the importance of knowing the terrain, and being able to reach the right people: those who are active or who could or should be. Plus, there is an option here to link to the Trust's existing programme funding strand, which focuses on the South of England.

But such a focus would make it harder to address structural issues which may need national or even international interventions, and to link up groups to scale beyond local influence. This is a barrier We Will are encountering, for example, as they seek to exert influence beyond the local level. This reflects the absence of regional or cross-region networks on many issues of concern. Taking a geographical focus would limit the Trust's ability to link up campaigns across the country.

Focusing on support to specific issues could help to focus the programme and would mean that it would be easier (at least in theory) for the Trust to know its field. But separating issues is far from straightforward - as we discuss above, issues are typically entangled. And it is not clear on what basis particular issues would be selected or rejected, given the Trust has no history of issue specialisation, and no specific issue expertise.

There is a case too that what the Trust would lose through lack of knowledge of the landscape of a particular issue, it can gain from the ability to look and make interconnections across issues. It's just a question of taking a different role.

A geographic focus limits the possibility of tackling structural issues at a national level. Taking an issue focus limits the possibility to connect multiple issues which often have the same root causes. Based on this evidence and analysis, we would recommend not introducing issue or geographic parameters.

Support to individuals is best considered in a group context

As noted in the Terms of Reference, the Trust has a particular interest in funding "*individuals and more informal groups*".

Any specific focus on 'individuals' needs careful interpretation in that effective activism requires collective effort. One example highlighting this is 4in10: a campaigning network of organisations working to improve the lives of the four in ten children living in poverty across London, hosted at Children England. In its early days, young people and young parents were supported to campaign on child poverty locally. But to ensure sustainability and maximise impact, support was offered to groups rather than individuals (specifically though schools, youth groups, and a group of young mums involved with their local Sure Start Centre).

In a small number of cases, exceptional individuals may take on a leadership role, without wider support. But they are soon joined by others (if initially successful) and collective effort becomes the driving force for change, even if particular individuals retain a leadership role.

The Trust is already giving thought to supporting young individual change-makers in a parallel process to this one. We expect thinking to evolve from that process and any subsequent pilots, but for now we recommend other support is aimed at groups. Whilst it may make sense to provide support to those taking a leadership role in the group, it's worth reflecting that much existing support is directed to individuals, and that support to groups as groups represents more of a gap.

Identifying individuals not connected to a constituted organisation is also likely to be difficult. The Trust could explore linking with intermediaries, for example through organisations like change.org, to bolster the support they give to young people initiating campaigns. But the Trust would need to be sure (a) whether it could bring something additional to support that may already exist, and (b) whether it's the right priority at this point.

And, as the example of UKSCN reveals, even unconstituted groups may have a shelf-life, in that at a certain scale, some formal structures (backed by resources) are likely to be needed. We don't know how many unconstituted groups there are out there undertaking activism, but it is unlikely to be that many at scale, as it's not straightforward to do without support.

Both issue and leadership sustainability are relevant

In thinking about the external changes being sought, the desire to create sustainability plays out in terms of both:
a) a measurable sustainable win on a particular issue or group of issues (i.e. that an issue is resolved favourably), and
b) sustainable growth in young people's leadership and in the diversity of this leadership (i.e. that there is an increase in the number of young people, and particularly more disadvantaged young people, taking leading roles in activism and that this is sustained over time).

Different organisations prioritise one or the other (or both) of these changes. For example, People and Planet, the University student campaigning network, runs its own campaigns on fossil fuel divestment and sweatshop work conditions. Their success is measured in measurable wins on these

campaign issues, and at the same time the organisation supports groups to scale up and get active with training programmes, whose success is measured in growth of young people's leadership.

In the sector more widely, concrete wins have traditionally been much more of a focus, but in the 'movement moment' we are in, organisations are re-thinking this approach and increasingly looking to build agency and leadership. In youth-focused change, there is much more focus on sustainable growth of leadership and getting young people involved than on issue impact.

There is scope for the Trust to support a range of organisations but based on a probable hierarchy of interest

There is a logic that flows from the interest in supporting and enabling 'youth led change' in terms of the groups and organisations that the Trust (and others) might want to support.

Those that meet the criteria of being focused on 'youth led change' (or working towards that) present as the obvious recipients of support. But those groups/organisation that currently meet one criteria but not both that could be of interest. These are:

- 'Youth development' organisations that may be well placed to develop and support youth led change initiatives
- Change focused organisations that have, or have the potential to develop, youth led programmes or campaigns

In both cases there is scope to encourage a transition – in the former towards 'change' in the latter towards being 'youth led'.

In both cases, there are risks that such a shift will not be meaningful, strategic or sustainable. But there are also benefits (including potentially for the organisations themselves) in creating more integrated programming, and in theory at least supporting these kinds of shifts represents a good way to quickly expand the field.

In simple terms, revisiting the categories laid out in the mapping above (and assuming in each case that they are doing good work), levels of interest and key questions in each case might look something like this:

Table 2: Possible relevance of different organisational and group types

Type	Sub type	Relevance to the Trust	Big question
Youth led change organisations and groups operating at scale	Established	Relevant	Are they pursuing the kinds of change the Trust is interested in?
	New	Very relevant	Is the Trust able and best placed to support?
	Informally constituted	Very relevant	Is the Trust able and best placed to support?

Local youth led change organisations and groups	Formally constituted	Very relevant	Is the Trust able and best placed to support?
	Informal	Very relevant	Are they back-able?
Change focused organisations with programmes and campaigns focused on youth led change	National	Potentially relevant	Can they create and support (and sustain) meaningful youth led programmes?
	Regional/local	Potentially relevant	Can they create, support (and sustain) meaningful youth led programmes?
Youth development focused organisations	National	Potentially relevant	Can they take a strategic approach to change?
	Local/community	Potentially relevant	Can they take a strategic approach to change?
	Combining a change mandate	Relevant	Is the Trust able and best placed to support?
Organisations supporting young change-makers	Youth led	Very relevant	Is the Trust able and best placed to support?
	Focused on young people	Relevant	Is their support to young people consistent with youth led principles?
	With young people as a key constituency	Relevant	Is their support to young people consistent with youth led principles?

Addressing wider barriers that dampen the potential for youth leadership around change to flourish

1) Relentlessly negative portrayal of young people in the media.

These are well documented, from the idea of the lazy soy-latte-drinking millennials to teenagers being painted as criminals. For example, research from think tank Demos found that the words most likely to be used in association with teenagers in six UK newspapers over 10 years were *"binge drinking"*, *"yobs"* and *"crime"*.[42]

This negativity can hold people back. As the Lewisham focus group discussed, this can even come from within the sector itself, in fundraising messages that portray young people as victims. Young people involved in the group discussion felt, and took it as inevitable that they would be, patronised.

And as noted above, in relation to the discussion of young people being inspired by others, there are issue about representation and portrayal in the media and wider culture, highlighting the desirability of reframing the image of (some groups of) young people.

2) Education is not facilitating young people's agency

This was another limiting influence cited in the group discussion in Lewisham:

---

[42] BBC News, Negative stereotypes 'hurting teenage job prospects', February 2014

"Being in school, doing things that go against the rules is always a bad thing … even if you are just standing up for things that are right but it's against the rules, so when it comes to doing something about things when you get older it just feels like 'this is the way it is and how it's going to be' … because it's not taught and it's not encouraged, it can be very disheartening when you feel like you want to make change … you internalise that negativity".

And young people are leaving school without an understanding of social and political change, as Chrisann Jarrett of We Belong found for example:

"When you are at school, you are told that the world is your oyster, that you are the master of your own fate, but that notion of owning everything that happens to you is quite forced – reality is not quite like that. As individuals, everyone has passions and goals and a destiny they want to reach, but we must take a closer look at our social structures to ensure they work for all of us".[43]

Various campaigns to promote citizenship education have sought to address issues around young people's political literacy but based on this evidence, there is still some way to go

3) Political disenfranchisement

We note above how young people are less likely to vote and how this creates a democratic deficit. There are things that can be done and that are being done. For example, groups like Bite the Ballot are encouraging young people to vote, and the votes at 16 campaign is having some success.[44] .

Addressing these wider barriers would bring benefit, but solutions are not straightforward or quick. We think the Trust would better focus on addressing some of the more concrete and defined barriers – but as and when opportunities arise, it would be good to consider initiatives that seek to tackle these broader dynamics.

14 NEED FOR SECTOR WIDE APPROACH

The sector needs to re-orientate to the needs of young people

There is some evidence that younger people are more likely to support causes over organisations. This was the conclusion of research conducted in the US, for example, back in 2013.

"Millennials first support causes they are passionate about (rather than institutions) …[45]

---

[43] Interview with Chrisann Jarrett, London School of Economics and Political Science
[44] British Youth Council, 'New Age for Democracy: 16 year olds to vote in Welsh Assembly elections', Nov 2019
[45] Achieve, The 2013 Millennial Impact Report, Case Foundation

Our experience, and some supporting evidence, suggests that organisations have internalised this sense and (at least until recently) seen young people as falling outside their priority target audience. This then ends up being self-fulfilling. Because there is no meaningful attempt to engage young people, they are not motivated to engage, and then the notion that they are not 'engage-able' is reinforced.

Research into giving in the sector, for example, identifies a strong perception that older audiences are the key demographic but finds that actual evidence of giving patterns amongst different age groups doesn't support this assumption.[46] As the US research quoted above concludes, it's about how you engage:

> *… it's up to organizations to inspire them and show them that their support can make a tangible difference on the wider issue".*

And wider research from the UK aimed at understanding the motivations and characteristics of Millennials concludes in very similar ways:

> *"As a generation, they are unmooring themselves from institutions … But … this easy excuse for not connecting needs to be debunked, and instead institutions need to look at how they increase their relevance and efficacy for Millennials".[47]*

This all indicates that possibilities for organisations to engage meaningfully with young people remain. Groups like the London Renters Union / Acorn for example, which are building organisational power with many young people engaged successfully, show that this is possible. But it requires a different mind-set. Hence the steer to foundations from one interviewee that, *"If you want to do things differently, you have to be willing to act differently".*

This means operating to different ways of working

Prospective funders generally want to see governance structures, financial plans, business plans, etc. That's not much fun to most people, and young people less than adults. As one interviewee described it,

> *"Young people generally want to get stuff done – they are not interested in the infrastructure of organisation".*

This pressure to conform to a model that isn't optimal can at times also make it harder for youth led groups to retain their independence. For example, UKSCN is particularly wary of co-option from any one organisation and is determined to remain student led.

So if funders want to give money and support to young people, it's not a question of applying current models of funding that pertain to established, adult organisations and just distributing funds

---

[46] Barclays Corporate, The Future of Giving: How our donation habits are changing, & what charities can do about it, 2018
[47] Bobby Duffy et al, Millennial Myths & Realities, Ipsos MORI, 2017

to different groups using the same approaches and techniques. New ways of operating will need to be developed, involving:

- More proactive outreach – finding groups where they are and not expecting them to find and come to you. As noted, Campaign Bootcamp invests specifically in this function, for example.

- Operating to different requirements and expectations around reporting, and around what outcomes might reasonably be expected, and over what timescales. This will require acknowledgement – or better a positive embrace – of risk, the need to be speculative, a focus on longer-term change, and being less prescriptive expectations around demonstrating contribution

- Focusing on leadership outcomes as well as issues.

There is a specific need to test and develop different models of constitution

Constituting formally as an organisation takes a lot of energy, and isn't going to be the right approach for many, so the sector must be set up to be able to support other models.

Fiduciary issues make supporting unconstituted groups tricky. But if the Blagrave Trust and/or others are able to offer some support to unconstituted groups directly and to develop structures for others to do this, it could save young people a great deal of time and energy they could then put into making change instead.

Ideally, any structures under which young leaders operate will do the following without sapping to0 much energy from the group:

- Operate to principles that facilitate 'youth leadership' and 'change' focus
- Bolster legitimacy and accountability,
- Ensure basic fiduciary requirements can be met

Based on these criteria, the Social Change Agency's NEST initiative[48] looks like a particularly interesting model to consider as a way of flowing funds through to less formalised groups,

There is opportunity and need to look more holistically at the overall support infrastructure

We have highlighted through this research possible support elements that are currently missing or could usefully be expanded. However, stepping back and looking more broadly at the context, one key absence from the youth led change landscape is any kind of hub - an umbrella organisation or grouping that has a systemic overview of gaps and opportunities.

---

[48] The Social Change Agency, NEST: supporting new movements

Without this, actors – both change makers and those supporting them – will tend to act individually rather than from a movement ecology perspective, which makes it harder to work together or in complementarity ways. Without it, too, changes are likely to be relatively piecemeal and limited in their effects.

Since a key piece of infrastructure is missing, there is a significant opportunity for the Trust – working with others – to put something in place.

So alongside funding to existing and new groups and organisations, we suggest the Trust should invest in efforts to convene and influence the funder community and the wider sector to be more and better oriented towards providing effective support to youth led change

Funded programmes will be important in testing approached and building evidence to support future strategy. But given its relatively small size (and outsized reputation), it's reasonable to think that the Trust is likely to have more impact through its leadership and modelling role than through direct funding. This is consistent with the feedback we heard from Interviewees around need to 'drag' different sectors along. As one interviewee put it, *"It's important to try and create a climate where this work is fundable".*

There is also scope for more collaborative approaches amongst support groups that mirror the 'ecology approach' needed to secure meaningful change. One developing example of this is the US collaborative, the Climate Emergency Fund, which operates as a flexible, responsive, pooled fund.[49]

And ultimately, if funders are genuinely interested in youth led change, the natural end point of such exploration would be to give power over funding and funding strategy decisions to a cohort of young people leading change themselves. This is modelled in participatory grant making by the Edge Fund in the UK, and various other projects in the Edge Funders Alliance across Europe. In the UK Edge Fund, members that are themselves experts by experience make decisions on where funding to address the issues they are affected by should go.

---

[49] Climate Emergency Fund, CEF Grant program

Recommendations

Below we outline steps that could be taken to advance the report's headline conclusion that a sectoral response is needed (rec 1-3). It will be important that the Trust's interventions are complementary to the existing Act for Change Fund. The Trust potentially has a key role too in encouraging new actors to expand interest in this area and work collaboratively in advancing common goals.

Alongside this, we present a menu of practical measures that the Trust and other funders should consider supporting (rec 4 -12).

Towards a sectoral response

Drawing on section 14, we recommend the following:

1) The Trust should proactively encourage a wider shift towards supporting and enabling youth led change

The Trust should operate to a dual role:
a) As implementer, funding youth led change projects and learning from these; but also (more importantly)
b) As a convenor, sharing approaches and learnings, to encourage other funders to shift focus, and instigating wider collaborations to support youth led change at scale

2) Interested actors should develop a more coordinated approach to enabling youth led change

Funders and other support providers should collaborate to establish an umbrella body that seeks to maintain an overview of the landscape of youth led change and that connects actors. This could involve:
a) Brokering connections between social change actors supporting social change more broadly;[50]
b) Supporting youth led change specifically; or
c) Supporting social change on a specific issue of interest (involving actors of all ages) as a pilot, with a view to extending this and linking across multiple issues.

---

[50] The Sheila Mckechnie Foundation is the only organisation operating in this space, but while it offers training, events, research and consultancy, it doesn't act as a hub with membership, brokering and building relationships across the sector. Bond, the International Development umbrella body, as an alternative example, focuses more on building relationships between its members.

We suggest supporting an umbrella body rather than strengthening existing coordination to ensure connections and relationships are brokered systematically, with one central body responsible, to maximise its effectiveness. Other functions of this hub could include building peer to peer support networks and delivering training as per recommendations below.

3)   Funders should explore ways to adapt existing approaches in order to develop good practice in working with young people and youth led groups and organisations

This might mean developing and trialling new approaches, as well as promoting existing initiatives, for example by:

a) Exploring ways to provide support to unconstituted organisations in lean and nimble ways, such as through the Social Change Agency's NEST initiative.
b) Developing more flexible funding practices, with the potential to disperse money quickly, including to individuals and unconstituted groups, and with minimal (or no) reporting against grants, with measures of success appropriate to what the young people themselves want to achieve.
c) Listening to the needs of young people and adapting funding approaches accordingly.
d) Giving power over funding and strategic funding decisions to young people leading change.

A package of measures to support young people stepping up to, maintaining and building leadership

Drawing on sections 9-12, we recommend that funders looking to support and enable youth led change should:

4)   Provide support to young people in the initial stage of activism

a) Offering seed funding, and a rapid support package, to individuals directly affected by injustice who are starting to organise already to challenge it, where a quick response is appropriate and needed.
b) Providing financial support, advice and connections (as needed) to young people looking to develop a more considered response to a particular issue.
c) Supporting initiatives that provide space and support to young people to consider how best to respond to the situation they face.

In all cases, support should encourage early consideration of how to build leadership as well as a broad base of engaged supporters (as needed).

5)   Support initiatives that enhance the visibility and credibility of youth led change

Giving greater profile to youth led change would have the dual purpose of inspiring young people to act (as youth led change becomes more visible), and helping to shift wider perceptions of young people.

One option could be to replicate the NEON Spokesperson network, which has been successful at getting more progressive voices into media through intense training and promotion of graduates to media outlets. A similar model could be adapted and developed for young leaders of change. Another option could be to offer broader media training to young people campaigning, to increase coverage of their campaigns beyond spokespeople.

6) The following categories of groups and organisations are of most obvious interest for support

a) Existing youth led change, in informally constituted groups or organisations (with at least plans to cement youth leadership if this is not fully in place).
b) Groups and organisations providing support to youth led change initiatives (such as training)
c) Youth organisations not currently focused on change but in a strong position to transition
d) Change focused organisations that are not currently youth led but with high potential to support and sustain youth led programmes and campaigns

While category a) is the most obvious place to start focusing attention, since this research has identified that it is currently very limited, investing in organisations in category c) seems the best place to grow to the pool of youth led change.

7) Test and develop approaches to engage people not currently linked to any organisations that might help them lead change

a) Pilot initiatives that invest in outreach aimed at build the agency of the most disadvantaged young people, who are unlikely to be connected to existing groups and organisations. Campaign Bootcamp's Everyday Activism Project is a potential source of learning. While not focused directly on young people, this project has sought to engage marginalised communities to build their agency and to empower them to campaign for change on issues affecting them.
b) Fund and support hyper-local community groups that can credibly support overcoming the barriers that prevent the most marginalised young people leading change.

8) Consider ways to complement existing training offers

Consider ways to fill gaps by supporting the development of alternative formats, to complement the good training that already exists, through some or all of the following:
c) Online training models (building on the kind of support offered by ActBuildChange and expanding this beyond organising).
d) Sessions run at evenings or weekends over a longer period of time.
e) Integrated capacity building training that supports groups collectively rather than individuals.
f) Coaching programmes to give telephone/skype support to groups and/or individuals to find their own solutions to the challenges they face.

Organisations running residential / longer trainings / coaching programmes could be supported to deliver their content in these different formats.

9) Help young people navigate engagement with power holders

Options could include:
a) Commissioning a guide to meaningful decision maker engagement for the sector as a whole, aimed at all those supporting young people to engage with decision makers and also accessible to young people themselves. This would be focused on how to make that engagement meaningful, referencing but not replicating all other relevant advice about lobbying already available in other guides.
b) Developing off-the-shelf training and guidance on building power of young people

10) Provide guidance and support to young people on sharing their stories

Consider commissioning a guide, training plan and/or actual training to address the specific challenges young people with lived experience face, to provide advice around how to tackle these and mitigate risks to young people's wellbeing through disclosure etc. As above, we suggest this is aimed at those supporting young people with lived experience of the issues affecting them but with content also accessible to the young people themselves.

11) Support the creation of peer support networks

The Trust should explore wider opportunities to connect young people across the country working on changing similar issues, and across issues (although outreach would first be needed to ensure that this is designed in the right way to benefit those it is looking to engage). This initiative could link to the wider Lived Experience Leadership agenda.

12) Give support to young people's wellbeing

Courses, retreats and resources tailored for young people could help. The Ulex training centre could be a potential partner here - it has been running flagship sustainable activism training for over a decade and has collaborated with other funders and organisations to develop such resources and trainings.

Appendices

1) Purpose and approach

The purpose of this research was set out in the research agreement:

> *"To inform future strategy and future investment decisions, the Blagrave Trust is looking to understand better how it can effectively support young people to lead change … The Trust is looking to base decisions about the best role it can play around this on a deeper understanding of current practice and provision, as well as future opportunities, and also to ensure that it understands and manages any associated risks".*

The primary purpose of this research is to shape the Trust's strategic approach, but we hope that information emerging from the research will be also useful to other funders and/or young activists.

The agreed research questions were:
- *How can the Trust most effectively support young people's leadership around policy and/or structural change?*
- *What strategic priorities and parameters should the Trust operate to in making choices around who to support and how?*
- *Specifically what are the options, and the advantages and disadvantages, around supporting the constituted organisations and/or individuals and more informal groups?*
- *What are the implications that the Trust needs to take into account in implementing this strategy - around defining and tracking 'success', for example and around managing risks?*

In this report, we set out findings about the current situation - within an analysis of the wider context - and make suggestions arising around possible future strategic options for the Trust and other funder in this area. We have not gone into detail around tracking success and managing risk because many decisions would need to be made by the Trust to set its strategy before we could identify these for the specific approach chosen.

We draw on the following sources:

First phase paper - defining youth led change & exploring key choices
We conducted an initial desk review and discussed key themes with a small number of young people and others with an overview of the 'youth sector' and social change. We produced a paper setting out proposed definitions of what was meant by 'youth leadership' and 'change', explaining our rationale and thinking, and setting out in some more detail what these definitions could mean in practice. These suggestions were then reviewed by those who we initially consulted and by Blagrave Trust staff and amended to take into account feedback received.

This 'first phase' paper also set out a number of choices the Trust would need to make in considering the role it can best play in encouraging, supporting and enabling youth led change. In this report, we revisit those, and other key, choices.

Mapping existing youth led change

Having established some clearer parameters through the definitions, we consulted more widely, to begin to map and understand the current state and extent of youth led change. We explored support available, identified gaps, and considered roles that the Trust could most usefully play. We spoke to young people leading change as well as others supporting their work. We also benefited from having access to previous 'mapping' research conducted for the Paul Hamlyn Foundation as part of the development of the Act For Change Fund. We presented, discussed and developed early findings in a workshop with Blagrave Trust staff.

Input from young people who don't identify as activists

We also held a focus group discussion with a group of eight 17-21 year olds in Lewisham who face disadvantage but are not currently involved in activism, or at least do not self-define as being activists. This was to explore their experiences and ideas around youth led activism, under what conditions wider participation could be encouraged, and how it could best be supported.

Desk based research

Throughout the process we have drawn heavily on existing social change research, listed comprehensively in the Bibliography

Workshopping our findings

We then pulled all findings together and shared them, along with initial conclusions and recommendations, in a workshop with young activists and older staff supporting youth led change.

2) Implications for what is in and out of scope

To explore further the likely implications of our definition of change, we also set out likely conclusions in terms of what would be ruled in, and out, of scope:

Table 2: In scope

Type of change making	Rationale
Reframing concepts in order to influence the debate	Consideration of **the language being used, and how an issue is framed** can be key to actually identifying and focusing on the structural issues at the root cause of a problem.
Fostering community leadership	**Youth leadership at a local leve**l is key to building power.
Connecting people to effect change within and across movements and geographies	**Strengthening connections** builds more powerful movements for change, and helps re-balance where power is held.
Changes to institutions' policies and practices that can contribute to and are supportive of longer term change	The fund will support **young people who are experts by experience** to engage in meaningful advocacy and influencing – towards local or national government or other decision makers. It will not support advocacy by professionals acting on behalf of young people. Incremental policy changes can build confidence and show impact. It will be important that **efforts are supportive of - and making space for - longer term, more radical change**.
Diversifying the voices leading campaigns and voices represented within them	The fund is looking to **build power of more marginalised groups** in campaigns and movements, ensuring those directly affected by issues have increasing power to make the changes their communities need.
Initiatives where there is need and other funders aren't funding	The Trust will look for **gaps not currently being funded**, where initiatives fit with their ideas of effective youth led change making.

Table 3: Out of scope

Type of change making	Rationale
Providing services	The fund's focus is on change through **influence, not through direct provision**. (Influencing service provision would be in scope, but not the delivery itself.)
General 'awareness raising'	'Awareness raising' as a term is too vague and untargeted, and **'awareness' as such is very rarely the problem**. People tend to be aware of problems but have complex reasons for not acting on them - thinking they cannot be

	solved, blaming people who are not actually responsible, and thinking they have no agency to affect them and so on. The fund's focus is on initiatives that more clearly recognise and tackle attitudes, motivations and power structures that prevent change, and expects this to be clearly understood by partners.
Technocratic or 'sticking plaster' solutions	Such solutions tend to **tackle symptoms but not the problems** (e.g. trying to solve global hunger through technology when the problem is actually distribution of food as we already produce enough). The Trust is interested in initiatives that recognise and tackle structural barriers to change.
Initiatives focused on young people's development	The fund's focus is on **external change**.
Co-optation or tokenistic representation	**Engagement with decision makers must be meaningful** - young people's access to power holders should not be conflated with influence. Spaces for meaningful influence means some accountability to the young people engaging.
Well established and well-funded initiatives	As Blagrave is small but fleet of foot, priority will be given to initiatives that have an urgent need and are not currently well funded. For example, the UK Student Climate Network (UKSCN) was in scope at its inception but is now likely out of scope given it is now in a position to attract significant funding from elsewhere.

3) Bibliography

Achieve, The 2013 Millennial Impact Report, Case Foundation

Act For Change Fund, 'Youth Engagement: Mapping the landscape',

Act For Change Fund, 'Learning Framework'

Adams, Natasha & Jim Coe, 'Youth Led Campaigns & Movements', MAP, April 2019

Adams, Natasha, Ecologies of UK Social Movements, May 2019

Alston, Philip Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights

Barclays Corporate, The Future of Giving: How our donation habits are changing, & what charities can do about it, 2018

BBC News, Negative stereotypes 'hurting teenage job prospects', February 2014

British Youth Council, 'New Age for Democracy: 16 year olds to vote in Welsh Assembly elections', Nov 2019

Bulman, May, The Independent, 25.09.2019

Byanyima, Winnie INGOs – it's time for us to go further faster, Devex

Charities Aid Foundation 'CAF UK Giving 2019: An overview of charitable giving in the UK', May 2019

Civil Society Futures: 'The Story of Our Times: shifting power, bridging divides, transforming society' 2018

Civil Society Futures, 'Civil Society in England: Its current state and future opportunity', Nov 2018

Climate Emergency Fund, CEF Grant program

Cullen, Dave, 'Parkland: Birth of a Movement', riverrun, 2019

Curtis, Chris, 2019 General Election – the demographics dividing Britain YouGov

Curtis, Chris, How Britain voted at the 2017 election, YouGov

Dapiran, Anthony, The New Statesman, 01.08.2019

Duffy, Bobby et al 'Divided Britain? Polarisation and fragmentation trends in the UK' The Policy Institute, Kings College London, 2019

Duffy, Bobby et al, Millennial Myths & Realities, Ipsos MORI, 2017

Han, Hahrie, How Organizations Develop Activists, OUP, 2014

Han, Hahrie with Lisa Argyle, 'A Program Review of the Promoting Electoral Reform and Democratic Participation (PERDP) Initiative of the Ford Foundation, 2016

Ingram, Helen et al 'Social Construction and Policy Design' in Sabatier [ed] 'Theories of the Policy Process' 2nd Edition, Westview Press, 2007

Jarrett, Chrisann, London School of Economics and Political Science

March for Our Lives: Mission and Story, 02.10.2019

McAlevey, Jane, 'No Shortcuts', OUP, 2016

Mogus, Jason & Tom Liacas, 'Networked Change: How Progressive campaigns are won in the 21st century' Netchange, 2016

Moyer, Bill, Movement Action Plan, Spring 1987

NatCen Social Research, British Social Attitudes Survey 34, 2017

Renaisi, 'Act for Change Fund: End of Phase One Report', February 2019

Sachrajda, Alice, 'Riding the Waves', Unbound Philanthropy, 2017

Sandhu, Baljeet, 'The Value of Lived Experience in Social Change', July 2017

Sandhu, Baljeet, 'Lived Experience Leadership', Clore Social Leadership & the Tsai Center for Innovative Thinking at Yale, 2019

SNCC Digital Gateway: Learn from the Past, Organize for the Future, Make Democracy Work

Sheila McKechnie Foundation 'Social Power' 2018

Smith, Lianne, 'Overcoming Poverty of Hope', Barnardo's, 2019

The Social Change Agency, [NEST: supporting new movements](#)
Tibballs, Sue, [Devolving Power Brings Its Own Challenges](#), Third Sector Magazine 23.09.2019
Tickle, Louise [Mental Health: The students who helped themselves when help was slow in coming](#), The Guardian, 12.02.2019
Timms, Henry & Jeremy Heimans, 'New Power', Macmillan, 2018
Vaisey, Stephen & Omar Lizardo, 'Cultural Fragmentation or Acquired Dispositions? A New Approach to Accounting for Patterns of Cultural Change' Sage Journals, Oct 2016

4) Interviewees

Amanda Chetwynd-Cowieson - Chair of the British Youth Council

Chrisann Jarrett & Zeno Onokaye-Akaka - We Belong (formerly Let Us Learn)

Frances Bestley - Programme Director Rights Respecting Schools Initiative, UNICEF UK

Graham Gillions - Director, People & Planet

James Edleston - Author of Paul Hamlyn research

Jessica Bool - Youth Strategy Lead, UNICEF UK

Johnny Chatterton, Executive Director, Campaign Bootcamp

Laura Payne - Project Manager, 4in10 The End Child Poverty London project

Ruth Pryce - Senior Grants Manager, Paul Hamlyn Foundation

Rys Farthing - Youth researcher & consultant

Front page photo credit: [Markus Spiske temporausch.com](#) at [Pexels](#)