

***Mini Keynote Address  
by***

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***at***

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***on***

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**Refer Slide 1: Introduction**

As I'm sure everyone here today knows, the theme of this conference, "*What Works?*" is focussing on evidence-based practice in child and family services.

This morning I would like to challenge the way we currently develop policy to respond to the needs of educationally vulnerable children and young people.

I will also look at some of the evidence which informs our work and explore the national and international findings of researchers striving to identify best practice for educating our children and young people - including those who are most vulnerable.

To some extent, I will adopt mainstream definitions of vulnerability within a human capital policy and practice framework.

As Commissioner for Children and Young People, I can't resist balancing this approach against the constructs young people themselves create about the role of education and work in their lives.

*Because young people tend not to see the place where they work as an extension of their souls, they have, in some cases, found freedom in knowing they will never suffer the kind of heart wrenching betrayals their parents did.*

*For almost everyone who has entered the job market in the past decade, unemployment is a known quantity, as is self-generated and erratic work.*

*In addition, losing one's job is much less frightening when getting it seemed an accident in the first place.*

*Such familiarity with unemployment creates its own kind of worker divestment – divestment of the very notion of total dependency on stable work.*

*We may begin to wonder whether we should even want the same job for our whole lives, and, more important, why we should depend on the twists and turns of large institutions for our sense of self.*

**Vulnerable Young People**

I have been asked to focus on 'educationally vulnerable' young people.

This vulnerability can be brought about by factors such as breakdowns in family relationships, poverty, or homelessness.

**Refer Slide 2: *Jobless Household Rate by country for households with children (OECD – 1996)*<sup>ii</sup>**

These difficulties are often outside young people's control, but impact on their full participation in education and training.

Early school leavers are most likely to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, have a disability, be an Aborigine or a Torres Strait Islander, on child protection orders or homeless<sup>iii</sup>. Pregnant students or students who are parents are also vulnerable groups.

***Refer Slide 3: Figure 1: Queensland retention rates for Indigenous and non-Indigenous year 8-12 full-time students by category of school as of July 2001.***

Create's recent Report Card<sup>iv</sup> on Education for Australia's Children and Young People in Care stated that as of 30 June 2001,

- there were 19,783 children and young people on child protection orders and
- 18,241 in out of home care placements.

***Refer Slide 4: Children and Young People in Care***

It notes that only one state, Queensland, provided data on the educational performance of children and young people in care compared with that of their peers.

It also expressed concern that only 32 of 138 children and young people were consulted in the development of individual education plans.

***Refer Slide 5: Homelessness***

In Australia in 2001, there were 26,060 homeless young people - 1.4% of the youth population. The number of homeless young people aged 12 to 18 increased by 8.4% between 1994 and 2001<sup>v</sup>.

Overall, the Australian homeless population aged 12 to 18 is made up of four groups<sup>vi</sup> - school students, TAFE students, unemployed teenagers and young people in full-time work.

***Refer Slide 6 : Number of homeless young people by education or employment***

By far the largest group of homeless are those who are unemployed.

However, there are more than 10,000 homeless young people trying to complete their schooling in difficult circumstances, without basic living requirements, and largely without financial or other support.

Taking a different point of view, Connell<sup>vii</sup> argues that categorising groups as 'vulnerable' or 'disadvantaged' is arbitrary.

Where is the cut-off point? And how does this cater for those who are members of more than one 'vulnerable' group, for example, those who are indigenous and homeless?

Cut-offs are usually placed so disadvantaged people officially labelled 'vulnerable' represent only a small manageable minority of the population. This has policy implications for the remaining 80-90% not labelled as vulnerable, but may very well have needs that are not met.

In the end, such neat categorisations are inadequate, as are adults' attempts to neatly categorise young people and their lives.

Ball summarises such research:

*Young people constantly reiterate that they do have choices, that luck, hard work and sheer determination are the bases of 'success'....*

*The young people see themselves as individuals in a meritocratic setting, not as classed on gendered members of an unequal society<sup>viii</sup>.*

**Refer Slide 7 : Implications of this evidence for policy and practice**

- Universal, as well as targeted programs, should provide education entitlements for children and young people
- These programs should be coordinated, where applicable, with those providing housing, health and other support options.

**Parallel transitions and multi-dimensional lives.**

If education is one of the processes involved in 'growing up', what else constitutes a rite of passage into adulthood?

Thinking back to what **we** saw as attainment of adulthood, I am sure most of us would agree it was closely linked to autonomy resulting from the transition from school to employment.

But such a definition no longer applies to many of today's young people.

Young people live in a time of change where indicators of adulthood are blurred. "Many of the certainties and much of the predictability of the 'transitions into adulthood' that their parents' generation had enjoyed [are] now items of history and not part of their 'living memory'<sup>ix</sup>."

In fact if the category of youth "exists in the space between biological adult and social acknowledgment or accreditation of adult status<sup>x</sup>", it is currently being extended at both limits.

We are seeing both an earlier onset of puberty, and an extension of the other indications of adulthood<sup>xi</sup>.

For example, the average age at which young people now leave home is heading towards the mid twenties.

**Refer Slides 8 & 9: Present Tension; 2015 Tension**

Today's young people experience a number of transitions in addition to that from school to work or further education.

These can include marriage and partnerships, family life and parenthood.

Others may try to define their independence by engaging in 'adult behaviours' such as substance and alcohol use and sexual activity.

***Refer Slides 10,11 : Personal Priorities***

Dwyer, Harwood and Tyler provide a useful chart of young people's life patterns.

When their data on the personal priorities of over 1400 respondents is considered, it strongly supports the view that a uniform and linear approach in youth policies is unacceptable or inapplicable to most of them.

Young people don't fit into the "linear model of transition from study to work, from dependence to independence, from 'growing up' to 'settling down'<sup>xiii</sup>".

Reporting on the Youth Research Centre's project on young people's pathways through school, post-compulsory education, training and work, researcher Johanna Wyn revealed that young people who **we** might perceive as having restricted chances "still define their lives in terms of choice<sup>xiii</sup>".

They **choose** to leave school or their careers, negotiating alternatives and struggling to control their lives.

They do not always see completing school and having a career as **their** 'pathway' to success.

For the post-1970 generation, success is not restricted to credentials or career promotion; it includes a shift in emphasis on leisure and relationships<sup>xiv</sup>, a valuing of flexibility and horizontal mobility.

*The concept of a linear pathway for young people needs to be urgently rethought; a more apt metaphor might be the idea of a mosaic.*

*Young people ... are required to put all the pieces into place and to find the answers to life's jigsaw using their own devices<sup>xv</sup>.*

**The 'ambitious paradox'.**

We could debate whether young people today really have such choices. Do the constraints and uncertainties they face determine their outcomes?

Dwyer and Wyn's recent research has revealed a number of these constraints and uncertainties, which they call the "ambitious paradox<sup>xvi</sup>".

This uncertainty arises because many of today's young people live in a climate that nurtures ambition.

They have heightened levels of ambition, shaped by increasing credential creep and uncertain future employment prospects.

Many young people are motivated but do not have the skills or understand the increments required to reach their ambitions – they are “motivated but directionless<sup>xvii</sup>”.

Are we giving them enough chances to spread their wings, whether they flounder and try again before soaring to the career heights to which they aspire?

As Bye notes “What appears to replace an acceptance of the notion of pathway is a pervasive self-concept of autonomy, possibility and flexibility<sup>xviii</sup>”.

### **The ‘options generation’ defers commitments.**

Another constraint relates to Stephen Ball's notion that “the present rather than an uncertain future takes on greater importance<sup>xix</sup>” in young people's lives.

Today's youth have learned to **expect** change.

“Being the children of change, change is not much of an issue: it is the air they breathe; it is simply the way the world is<sup>xx</sup>”.

Hugh Mackay calls our young people the ‘options generation’, postponing commitments, waiting to see what tomorrow brings, ‘hanging loose’.

They have lived with high unemployment; they know the jobs they want might not exist when they are ready for them; they do not expect an employer to take them on ‘forever’: they have abandoned a “straight-line approach to work<sup>xxi</sup>”.

*If we are to seriously grapple with the diversity and complexity of youth transitions and the way that they lead to social inclusion/exclusion in the longer term, we need to grasp more holistically the relationships between these different aspects and arenas of youth transition<sup>xxii</sup>.*

For contemporary society, there is no doubt that the **biggest** challenge will be how to prepare young people for an adult life in which the commonly-accepted definition of independence no longer exists<sup>xxiii</sup>.

### **Refer Slide 12: 1999 Report by the Dusseldorp Skills Forum**

The dominant discourse around the education of vulnerable children and young people continues to be in terms of human capital in a deficit policy framework.

The 1999 Report by the Dusseldorp Skills Forum<sup>xxiv</sup> is just one example.

This report highlighted the following facts:

- The estimated lifetime cost (discounted to 1999 terms) to the country of each early school leaver is \$74,000
- Half of this cost is a direct monetary cost, borne partly by the individual and partly by government.

The remaining half is a social cost that falls on the individual, government and the whole community.

- The overall cost to Australia of one year of early school-leavers is estimated at \$2.6 billion.
- Reducing the number of early school leavers would be a sound investment for the individuals concerned, for government, and for the country as a whole. Just on the basis of monetary costs, it is estimated money spent on keeping young people at school would yield a 12.5 per cent rate of return.

The report also takes into account what it terms the 'social costs' of early school leavers.

***Refer Slide 13: Table 2 - Discounted direct monetary costs of early school-leaving]***

The figure of \$2.6 billion<sup>xxv</sup>, which includes social costs, this is clearly huge. And remember, this refers to only one year of early school-leavers.

The loss to the country from next year's early school-leavers will be another \$2.6 billion, and so on.

**Earning or Learning**

This exercise demonstrates why current educational policies promoted by state and federal governments are not driven by a belief in education as a "human endeavour of personal growth (but by)... corporatist economic goals<sup>xxvi</sup>".

The long-term objective is to ensure that all young people complete Year 12, start an apprenticeship or traineeship, start higher education or get full-time employment<sup>xxvii</sup>.

This 'learn or earn' approach assumes there are only two pathways for young people. This becomes in effect an 'exclusive' policy.

The choices are to progress through Year 12 into further education or training or into paid employment.

This approach can be problematic, as noted in the choice biographies earlier<sup>xxviii</sup>. If a young person doesn't want to take either of these pathways, they are disaffiliated.

***Refer Slide 14: Table 3 – Employment and education status of 15-19 year old Australians (Norton 2002)***

However, retention rates in education and training do not negate the risk of unemployment.

Dwyer cites a comparative study of two large longitudinal national surveys in 1993-1994 by the Youth Research Centre for the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET).

The study shows there is little difference between those completing school and those leaving in the ratio between work and unemployment<sup>xxx</sup>.

Finding a job for 'highly skilled' workers cannot be compared with the opportunities for those starting out in their career.

Many experience a convoluted journey from learning to earning.

Those who do find employment are in jobs that are either stepping-stones, or interim jobs on their voyage to career positions.

Many are caught in a cycle of disadvantage because casual employment or volunteer work only leads to more part-time or casual work<sup>xxx</sup>.

Dwyer calls this a "holding pattern" where young people's labour market 'arrival' is deferred.

Dwyer believes that the "mythical mainstream (and the)... disadvantaged minority<sup>xxxi</sup>" are both at risk in terms of their prospects for the future.

Young people are exceptionally resourceful and they often make use of lateral rather than lineal opportunities.

MacDonald agrees that those young people who are unemployed are not necessarily a *wasteful, wasting underclass where benefit dependency and crime are encouraged and work discouraged. ...*

*(T)hose locked out of the formal labour market are remarkably persistent, enterprising and resilient in their search for work and attempt to establish new working lives (which are, as well, marginal and insecure) through more informal economic activity<sup>xxxii</sup>.*

Even students who try against all odds to complete their schooling do not have a linear approach.

They incorporate a range of educational options with 'time out', work or work experience, travel or pursuing other priorities in their lives.

They may return to their original school, move to a new one or even try to complete their studies through distance education.

Although early school leavers can technically re-enter education and training later in their lives, many discover barriers to this.

Goldman and Bradley report that students often make “several attempts to return to school, but eventually give up because of the difficulties with income, unstable accommodation and lack of encouragement and assistance with schoolwork<sup>xxxiii</sup>”.

Other obstacles include past prejudices which make the school reluctant to re-enrol them, the lack of an adult environment for more mature students, the financial constraints of independent living arrangements and funds required for re-entry, and a lack of relevance of schooling to their life experiences.

### **Policy gap**

I believe there is an educational policy gap in Australia brought about by two assumptions.

The first assumption is that our future workforce is predicated on a “knowledge society<sup>xxxiv</sup>”.

This is inconsistent with evidence showing the main growth area in Western labour markets is in the service industries.

***Refer Slide 15: Table 4 - Table 4: Industry distribution of employment in Australia: 1989 – 1999<sup>xxxv</sup>***

The second is that appropriate credentials will ensure an enduring career.

This is also inaccurate because of today’s employment uncertainties, changing job descriptions, the creation of new jobs, the over-qualification of some workers, and people’s multi-directional moves in and out of employment or changing employment status (for example moving from full-time to casual).

### **[Insert Slide 17: Implications for policy and practice]**

- Flexible non-time based education and training programs should be an available option.
- Knowledge and skills acquired through voluntary or service based activities, as well as paid employment should be accepted for education and training accreditation and certification.

**Refer Slide 16: Figure 3: Four domains of worthwhile learning**

<p><b>Experiential Learning</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal growth and development</li> <li>• Personal Career Management</li> <li>• Management of Personal Finances</li> </ul>	<p><b>Generic Skills</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The 49 Common Curriculum Elements (of the QCS Test)</li> <li>• Foundation Literacy</li> <li>• Making Judgments and Decisions</li> <li>• Creating and Producing</li> </ul>
<p><b>Syllabus-based Learning</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Board subjects (as currently designated)</li> <li>• Board-registered subjects (as currently designated)</li> <li>• Other syllabus packages accredited by QSA</li> </ul>	<p><b>Non-syllabus-based Learning</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Worthwhile Learning in the Senior State of Education encompassing eligible learning not located within any of the other three quadrants.</li> </ul>

Many current education, employment and social welfare policies do not acknowledge young people's socio-cultural and developmental backgrounds. Schools do not acknowledge diverse needs.

Policies are constraining students into pathways that make no sense in their world. When groups are sectioned off and categorised as 'vulnerable', programs are developed which target them. These are often based on a deficit model.

Deficit models are fuelled by social researchers who name and count the negatives and are reinforced by media in the form of a "mayhem index"<sup>xxxvi</sup>.

When young people's transitions have hiccups, the response is to design and implement what Benard calls "fix-the-kid"<sup>xxxvii</sup> programs, to reduce or eliminate individual risks and problems.

The analogy is curing disease using 'band-aid' strategies. Such 'therapy' "confers status on those who practise it, protecting us from feeling impotent in the face of overwhelming forces by allowing an often illusory sense of efficacy"<sup>xxxviii</sup>.

But it is possible to look at the big picture and 'gift' all young people with positive experiences, not just those who are 'vulnerable'.

We can move away from deficit models that target young people already determined to be vulnerable to a developmental asset building approach.

This positive approach was developed within an holistic framework acknowledging and promoting "people skills, people resources, trusting relationships, and the strength of

collaborative networks and partnerships, both formal and informal, existing within the community<sup>xxxix</sup>.

It celebrates connectedness and is built on two rationales - the promotion of a community's wellbeing and accumulation of developmental skills.

It moves from a 'victim' to an 'agent of change' narrative. This is **preventative** 'medicine'.

**Refer Slide 18: Asset taxonomy**

The Search Institute<sup>xi</sup> in the USA devised an Asset Taxonomy with three outcomes:

1. Protection - which is a resistance to health-compromising or future-jeopardising behaviour
2. Enhancement - which promotes forms of thriving, has greater positive outcomes, buffers youth against adversity and builds on young people's innate abilities, and
3. Resiliency - which promotes the ability to beat the odds, to be able to 'bounce back' or "recover from the adverse conditions of life<sup>xii</sup>".

Resilience development usually focuses on the individual but can be applied to families or entire communities.

The Search Institute's Asset Taxonomy covers "the basic inputs or raw resources ... young people need to build competence, confidence, connections, and character<sup>xiii</sup>".

One example of this approach is an investigation by Vinson, Baldry and Hargreaves<sup>xiii</sup> which found there were considerable differences in child maltreatment rates in two adjoining neighbourhoods in Western Sydney that were similar socioeconomically.

The area associated with a higher rate of abuse was found to lack familial and community networks or social connectedness.

The researchers suggested that programs to establish community building and connectedness significantly reduced the incidence of child abuse.

The asset-promotion approach requires a community to take responsibility for determining how many assets it possesses, indicating where its strengths lie.

The community then accumulates the assets, 'or building blocks' it does not yet hold and to close gaps.

Family Services Australia's<sup>xiv</sup> table illustrates another way to reframe behaviours using a positive assets approach.

**Refer Slide 19: Table 5 - Positively Reframing Behaviours**

Unruly		Strong willed
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Stubborn	AS	Determined
Unmanageable		Creative
Anger		Sense of justice
Depressed		Unmotivated
Not trying		Discouraged
Hyperactive		Full of life
Selfish		Good ability to look after themselves
Disturbed		Distressed

I would like to take this opportunity to challenge you to think about how our education and training policies and practices for vulnerable young people currently frame them. Which column would they fit into?

An example of broadening context, assets and programs for students at educational risk is provided by the recent Education Queensland policy Building Success Together: which notes:

*... to foster greater integration of schooling and community learning, schools will identify social, cultural, economic and geographic impacts on students, as well as identify the resources that exist in the community.*

*The emphasis in the policy is on the capacity for learning and development, rather than on individual or community deficits<sup>xiv</sup>.*

**Refer Slide 20: Implications for policy and practice**

- Programs should incorporate asset identification and building with a focus on the development of personal and social capital.

**Conclusion**

Over the last few decades, schools have been the whipping boy for economic and social policies and practices.

Student literacy and numeracy levels, retention rates, poverty, bullying, racism and the national GDP are just some of the issues sheeted home to schools.

The word education is now never mentioned without its companion concept – training – the verbal equivalent of an insoluble marriage aimed at producing healthy economic offspring and solving all our socio-cultural problems.

However, I see some signs of a broader acceptance of economic or social responsibility for the wellbeing of our young people by institutions other than schools.

At the national level, this approach is manifested in the appointment of the first Minister for Children and the development of a National Children’s Agenda.

At the research and policy level, there is a flurry of activity in developing indicators of children’s wellbeing, including, but more extensive than, school and training attainment levels.

In practice, there is an emerging consensus that integrated service delivery and wrap-around services need to acknowledge links which impact on, and are affected by, educational opportunities for young people.

The Commission for Children and Young People promoted this approach in its recent submission to Education Queensland on the proposal to ensure all young people aged 15-17 should be in full time schooling, vocational education and training, higher education or work.

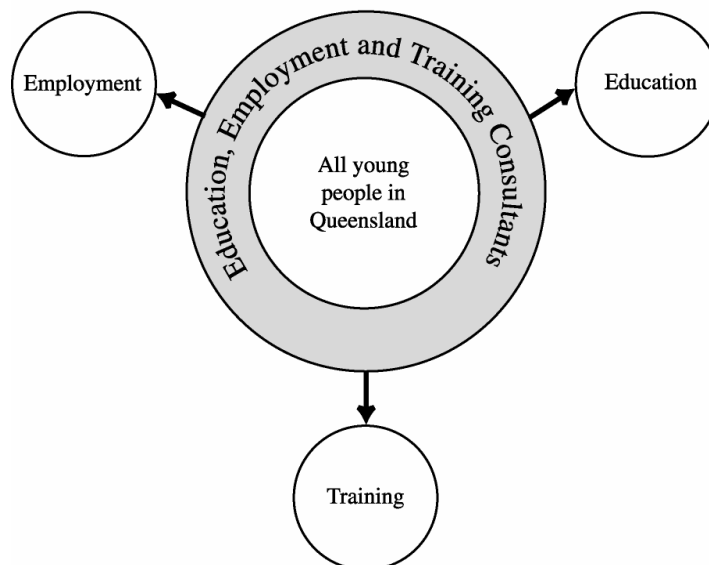
We have recommended the use of consultants to coordinate community-based advice and support services to guide young people between 13 and 18 through the education, employment and training system.

They would be responsible for re-engaging excluded students or early leavers, monitor ‘vulnerable’ young people and provide options for non-participation.

In addition, they would encourage education and training facilities to take into account young people’s diverse and sometimes specific needs and offer career, education and employment guidance.

**Refer Slides 21 and 22 : Figure 4 - Education, Training and Employment (EET) Consultants**

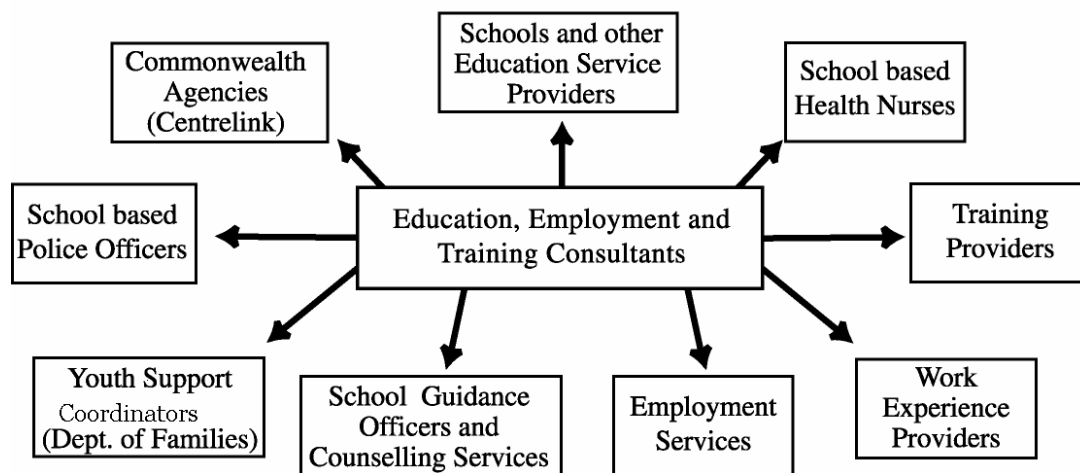
**Education, Employment and Training (EET)  
Consultants - Facilitating Young People's  
Access to EET Opportunities**



These consultants would provide an accessible interface between young people and education, training and employment opportunities, tailoring advice to young people's individual needs.

They would recruit, establish links, integrate and refer support services within the education and social services arenas. The consultant would be located outside the school environment in a 'youth friendly', easily accessible space.

### **Education, Employment and Training (EET) Consultants - Effective links with community services**



A number of overseas policies and programs adopt holistic re-entry programs for early leavers.

Norway 'guarantees' follow-up services designed to guide all early leavers into positive activities or back into education.

Denmark monitors young people who leave school without a qualification and provides strategies to encourage them to complete their education or move into training or work.

The United Kingdom is considering a certificate, awarded at 19 years, which recognises both formal qualifications and informal experiences. These may include voluntary work, arts, sport and music<sup>xlv</sup>.

Two Queensland programs helping young people on their pathways from school to work are:

- Youth Reconnect, in Mornington Island, which has established links across education, training, youth and community services sectors, and between state and territory governments and the Federal Government to deliver a training program for young people as they move from high school to the workforce.

This program is designed to help young people at risk of dropping out of the education system by offering further more relevant education and training to increase their skills and knowledge<sup>xlvii</sup>, and

- A joint initiative beginning in 2003/04 by Education Queensland and the Department of Families to increase Youth Support Coordinators in selected high schools. This is expected to divert young people from homelessness and early school leaving<sup>xlviii</sup>.

Regardless of the policies in place, I believe schools still have a critical role to play in supporting young people who want to continue their education, even if they are undergoing varied and multiple transitions to independent living.

We need to **encourage** and **contribute to** efforts to improve young people's lives in integrated, coordinated and measurable ways.

As a nation, I believe we can no longer rely on point-in-time or politically-expedient initiatives to frame our actions.

Our children and young people need and deserve more.

<sup>i</sup> Klein, N. (2001). *No logo*. London: Flamingo. P271.

<sup>ii</sup> National Education and Employment Forum, 2002, *Bridging the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots': Report of the National Education and Employment Forum (NEEF)*, Brisbane, Queensland: The world Education Fellowship Australian Council Queensland 2002, p. 16.

<sup>iii</sup> Commonwealth of Australia (1994) cited in Dwyer, P. (1997). Outside the educational mainstream: Foreclosed options in youth policy. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 18(1), 71-85. p.72.

<sup>iv</sup> Create Foundation. (2002). *Australian children and young people in care - Report Card on Education September 2002*. Brisbane: Create Foundation. p.5.

<sup>v</sup> Chamberlain, C., & MacKenzie, D. (2002). *Youth homelessness 2001*. Melbourne: RMIT University. p.32.

<sup>vi</sup> Chamberlain, C., & MacKenzie, D. (2002). *Youth homelessness 2001*. Melbourne: RMIT University. p.31.

<sup>vii</sup> Connell, R. (1994). Poverty and education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 64(2), 125-149. p.71.

<sup>viii</sup> Ball, S. J., Maguire, M., & Macrae, S. (2000). *Choice, pathways and transitions post-16: new youth, new economies in the global city*. London: Routledge Falmer. p.4.

<sup>ix</sup> Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.78.

<sup>x</sup> Seig 1996 and Sercombe 1996 cited in National Youth Affairs Research Scheme (2002). *Youth and the future: Effective youth services for the year 2015*. Hobart: Australian Clearinghouse for Youth Studies, p.97.

<sup>xi</sup> National Youth Affairs Research Scheme (2002). *Youth and the future: Effective youth services for the year 2015*. Hobart: Australian Clearinghouse for Youth Studies, p.98 – 99.

<sup>xii</sup> Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.187.

<sup>xiii</sup> Wyn, J. (2001). *Transitions, journeys and marginalised youth* (Occasional Paper 2). Brisbane: Department of Families, Strategic Research and Policy, Queensland Government.

<sup>xiv</sup> Wyn, J., & White, R. (2000). Negotiating social change: The paradox of youth. *Youth & Society*, 32(2), 165-183.

<sup>xv</sup> Spierings (1999) cited in Kellock, P. and Bruce, C. (2000). *A window into the future: Lessons from the jobs pathway programme*. Sydney: Dusseldorp Skills forum. Retrieved 6 August 2002, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.dsf.org.au/papers/ol/jpp0800/jpp2-analysis&findings.htm>, p.28

<sup>xvi</sup> Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.14.

<sup>xvii</sup> Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.14.

<sup>xviii</sup> Bye, J. (nd). *Informal vocational learning experiences of young people*, Working Paper 00.07. Sydney: UTS Research Centre for Vocational Education and Training, p8.

<sup>xix</sup> Clarke (1999) cited in Ball, S. J., Maguire, M., & Macrae, S. (2000). *Choice, pathways and transitions post-16: new youth, new economies in the global city*. London: Routledge Falmer. p147.

<sup>xx</sup> Mackay, H. (1999). *Turning point: Australians choosing their future*. Sydney: Macmillan. p.117.

<sup>xxi</sup> Mackay, H. (1999). *Turning point: Australians choosing their future*. Sydney: Macmillan. p.118.

<sup>xxii</sup> MacDonald (1998) cited in Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.167.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Coleman, J. (2000). Young people in Buten at the beginning of a new century. *Children and Society*, 14. p.241.

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- <sup>xxiv</sup> Spierings, J. (2000). *Youth disadvantage: Some key trends and future policy directions*. National Education and Employment Forum, Brisbane, 7 October 2000.
- <sup>xxv</sup> King, A. (1999). *The cost to Australia of early school-leaving*. October. Canberra: Dusseldorf Skills Forum, p.20.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Dwyer, P., & Wyn, J. (2001). *Youth, education and risk: Facing the future*. London: RoutledgeFalmer. p.191.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Queensland Government. (2002c). *Queensland the smart state: Education and training reforms for the future* (Green Paper). Brisbane: Department of the Premier and Cabinet. p.10.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> "Choice biographies" (Ball, S. J., Maguire, M., & Macrae, S. (2000). *Choice, pathways and transitions post-16: new youth, new economies in the global city*. London: Routledge Falmer. p.62.) involves negotiation of a diversity of options, mixes work, leisure and study, can involve selection, interruption and deferral of courses and may include "tension between option/freedom and legitimation/coercion (Wyn, J. and Dwyer, P. (1999). New directions in research on youth in transition. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 2(1), 5-21, p8.)".
- <sup>xxix</sup> Dwyer, P. (1997). Outside the educational mainstream: Foreclosed options in youth policy. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, 18(1), 71-85. p.81.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Brotherhood of St Laurence. (2002). *Precarious work, uncertain futures: The experience of 25 to 34-year-olds*. Retrieved 6 August 2002, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.bsl.org.au/pdfs/pressuresapr02.pdf> p.5.
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