

Learning to Hope and Hoping to Learn: A critical examination of young refugees and formal education in the UK.

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Introduction

While the 'purpose' of youth work is contested (Williamson, 2015), youth work plays an active role within formal education environments, whilst also engaging young people outside of that formal structure (Bright, 2015). This chapter suggests that youth work is a skill set that is used to build trusting, participatory relationships with young people, wherever they are found; engaging informal education, group work skills and anti-oppressive practice to promote critical, political discussion and action to create change (Curran & Golding 2013). This chapter is set within the context of the UK including reflections on my own practice.

Education's different forms are discussed later in the chapter as education is a powerful social and cultural force in individuals lives. The Rt Hon Nick Gibb (2015) MP (Schools Minister) suggests that "Education is the engine of our [UK] economy, it is the foundation of our culture, and it's an essential preparation for adult life". Formal education, however, is not just about adult life, but is also about engaging with transition and coping with adolescence. Save the Children (2015) highlighted that out of 8,749 refugee children, 99% saw education as a priority, because young refugees perceive education as a place of protection, which improves their well-being, and raises earning potential, highlighting the hope placed in education. However, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2016) reports that young refugees are disadvantaged in education and their needs are often invisible, hope is often stolen. This can be seen within the UK when "implementation of specific support programmes for refugee learners tends to be patchy at best" (Brown & Gladwell, 2016:5). Therefore, this chapter seeks to explore the relationship between politics, media, and the identity of young refugees, which affect both education and hope within the UK; and how youth work can be a

supportive experience, both within and alongside schools in developing hope. The idea and role of hope is critically analysed, the idea of hope is defined as aspirations and desires that seem achievable to the individual, however hope is not confined to individuals and can be affected by social and institutional structures in communities (te Riele, 2009). Young Refugees and their families have hope for their new futures in the UK, often embedded in education. The current UK education system can help develop hope and inclusion for young refugees or, instead, enforce media and political stereotyping.

Power of the Media

Young Refugees can often be represented in the media as people in need, or scroungers of benefit systems providing a deep contradiction, producing a moral panic and negative discourse which shapes public and political debate. White (2015:2) argues that the lack of positive media attention given to refugees is related to this negative discourse, because “decision makers pay attention to the media.” However “independent journalists reporting with care, humanity and professionalism have enormous power to tell stories that create a new path.” (White, 2015:2). This highlights the impact of the media on public and political discourse.

Young refugees are often portrayed in the media with a variety of labels with ‘migrant’ being the most common in the UK (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2015). This can be seen when people use terms covered in the media such as ‘Bogus Asylum Seekers’ (Clark, 2015), or the way ‘migrant’ and ‘refugee’ are used interchangeably (Diedring & Dorber, 2015). This confusing labelling, coupled with a lack of accurate information, encourages an even more confused public debate that is reinforced by social media (Goldstein, 2011).

Youth workers can often also find themselves confused by terms and labels surrounding young refugees influenced by media representation, or treating young refugees as a homogenous group. Therefore youth workers need to be engaging effectively in building trusting relationships with young refugees to explore this, but also working with other organisations to respond and challenge effectively to the different needs of different groups (Adams 2012).

Social Construction of Young refugees in the Media

The media's presentation of refugees has influenced political debate with headlines such as "266,000 asylum seekers stay in Britain illegally" (Whitehead, 2011); of course if they are asylum seekers then they are not here illegally as they have followed a legal process. However, the term 'illegal immigrants' can be another labelling term associated with migration. The mainstream media, affecting policy and public opinion has been seen with other groups – such as Roma – to perpetuating prejudices (Bello, 2012). Refugees have become a scapegoat for political, social and cultural upset. This can be seen where a right-wing party, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), used a provocative poster of refugees saying "Breaking Point", despite the original image being taken in Slovenia (Mitchell, 2015).

Legally, according to the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951, p14), a refugee is someone who has fled a country of origin "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion". Whilst the United Nations has provided a legal definition of a refugee, upon closer inspection, the term evokes a more nuanced debate - what is a well-founded fear? What is the difference between perceived fear and reality? What is persecution? Are the list of reasons limited, and if so what about the other factors such as sexuality? Squire et al's (2017) report, highlighted these issues calling for a change in recognition to the categories that drive people to move. Although updates have been added to deal with some of the issues such as sexual orientation (UNHCR 2012), the original UN Convention's (1951) definition can be seen as somewhat outdated and open to interpretation. It is interesting to note that the concept of an 'asylum seeker' is not introduced or discussed in the convention, adding another layer of complexity to definitions.

The general public, guided by the media, tends to define a refugee less in terms of international law or conventions but more often in a hegemonic fashion, often rooted in racism and fear. Wike, Stokes and Simmons (2016) identified that across Europe, some people believe that refugees increase terrorist activity and negatively affect local jobs, those that held these views were often advocates of right wing political parties. Thus, we see that socially refugees are labelled in different, yet negative ways, leading to 'Media Imperialism' (Fejes, 1981), which sets up a culture of

pushing stereotypical ideologies and hard line policies fuelled by fear. The confusion in terminology and images leads to greater misunderstanding and yet, at its root, “refugee is a bureaucratic identity assigned by outsiders” (Rutter, 2006:27). Thus we see that media labelling reduces young refugees to a stereotypical group with little personal value, this in turn impacts directly on young refugee’s hope of engaging with society that is confused about their identity.

Youth workers can often feel powerless against the giant media corporations but they should be challenging the power of media and calming moral panics created by the media. This often requires Youth Workers to work outside of their local environments and be engaged in more national or even global debate supporting young refugees to gain a sense of hope in a new place (Towler 2015). However, to be able to make a critical response, an understanding of the political discourse of migration is needed.

The UK and migration

The UK is a nation founded on migration, yet, the UK has a long history of colonising other people’s lands, historically presenting other countries negatively, suggesting their populations are odd, different and less human (Said, 2003); this process has enabled an ethical standpoint from which to subjugate, steal and abuse.

These ideologies of the UK being ‘better’ have become culturally entrenched, reinforced by the power of media which has resulted in action. For example Komaromi and Singh (2017) reported that during the referendum campaign the language used by politicians and media led to a significant increase in hate crimes across the UK,

this exclusive nationalism has no doubt encouraged a sort of post-referendum xeno-racism centred on an idea of ‘Englishness’ that is exclusively white and Christian... The demonisation of immigrants as undesirable, sometimes even criminal combined with ongoing Islamophobic scaremongering created an oppositional enemy for Leave voters (Komaromi & Singh, 2017:10).

The political agenda has become the arena of blame, blame directed at the ‘other’, instead of an arena of progress and hope for a better future.

Young Refugees Identity in the UK

Understandably many young refugees choose not to engage with labels, instead taking control around their own definitions of identity:

“Some Young refugees choose not to read UK main stream media due to a lack of language skills or interest, being more concerned with home matters and lost family. Many young refugees that I have worked with, when asked about how they would identify themselves often identified themselves as British; they would show me their clothes to highlight this, or discuss the language they spoke and the music they listened to” (Youth worker).

Ife (2009:216) argues that a balance of positive and negative stories is needed to enable a “sense of hope and a sense of urgency”. However Louw-Potgieter and Giles (1987) suggest the powerful impose identities on the powerless. Therefore, youth workers can respond by supporting young refugees to exercise human agency and critical thinking to challenging societal labels and present positive stories. However some young refugees will sometimes adopt a fake identity through which they portray what they believe is expected of them, but which is often nothing like their real self. Youth workers can respond by providing open access space for positive wellbeing and the development of hope. Also youth work with young refugees should engage in critical theoretical debate on identity and its impact on well-being.

Theory of National Identity

As discussed, British identity is based on its relationship with colonised people and place. Said (2003:1), examining the social construction of the Orient, claims that Europe constructed the identity of the Orient, introducing the concept of the ‘Other’; this established an ideological, social and political difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’. This historical ‘othering’ has led to distinctive labelling which ultimately seeks to separate and divide. Perception of the ‘Other’ is clouded by people’s social and historical position (Hall, 1996), leading to a default labelling response instead of engaging in a critical evaluation of the portrayal of ‘Others’. This theory enables an understanding of the power of the media to influence the perceptions of the ‘Other’.

We see that people are defined by others not themselves, and therefore, constricted by what others think of them. This is the legacy of colonialism – the historical ‘othering’ that feeds in to the present.

Colonialism is domination of an area, both of its people and economy (Kohn, 2012). Bhabha (1992, cited in Childs & Williams, 1997) argues that this domination has led to a superior representation of ‘us’ in relation to ‘them’, laying the foundation for oppression and labelling. Colonised people were forced to adopt British values and culture, while other cultures and ways of living were pushed out of existence (Hill, 2004). This relates to Orientalism, as colonialism became the active subjugation of others’ lands, by a more powerful force, justified by an identity of superiority and entitlement. This stemmed from a discourse of ‘uncivilised countries’ that needed the more powerful to educate them and is a discourse prevalent in British society today. The theory of colonialism explains the perceptions that some people may have of ‘others’, especially, that those who are more powerful should dominate the less powerful.

Agency

Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration can be used to gain further insight into the idea of a national and social identity, arguing that individuals, groups and communities have the power to change, and are not determined by social structure but have the capacity for action. Giddens (1984) suggests that individual and collective agency can create and desist the social structures that are woven throughout society whereas individual and communities devoid of agency are constrained by the social structures of society; thereby, human action both individually and collectively can resist and create change. However, to create change requires power, and an example of the power relationship can be found in the story of an anonymous Somali young refugee (cited in Arbabzadah, 2007:124), “I forget that I was born in Somalia and I am only reminded about it when people ask me where I come from.” Despite the young person’s power to change her life course, the power of others brings her back to be labelled as ‘Other’. Subsequently, Giddens’ (1984) theory, applied by youth workers, offers hope that change can happen at micro- and macro-levels, harnessing the power of human agency and recognising the pliability of structures.

Youth workers can have a significant role to play challenging oppressive social structures alongside young refugees, challenging macro levels of oppressive structures and engaging in political discourse.

Education

Young refugees with constrained choices and limited agency are often defined through the historical and social powers of the host country; these definitions of 'others' influence the education of young refugees and raise the question of how hope is experienced within the British educational system.

Smith (2015) defines education as “deliberate and hopeful. Informed, respectful and wise. Grounded in a desire that all may flourish and share in life”. Nevertheless, the UK Department for Education (2017) describe education as “safety and wellbeing...achieving the best of their ability... prepared for adult life”. Two contrasting definitions of education derives from the philosophical view of how people learn which impacts of delivery. Education can be delivered in a variety of forms, such as formal, non-formal and informal education. Formal education is seen as an organised activity established by a formal system to deliver specific identified learning outcomes, often attached to a certified achievement (Coombs et al, 1973). Non-formal education is viewed as flexible, non-linear and person-centred with a set of clearly defined purposes (Fordham, 1993) with a certified outcome (The Council of Europe 2017). Whereas informal education is “learning that flows from the conversation and activities involved in being members of youth and community groups” (Jeffer and Smith 2005:5).

Youth workers might use non-formal learning, to register outcomes for funders or easily identify learning. For example, a youth group might make pizza with the defined purpose of young people learning about healthy eating. However, the bedrock of youth work is its ability to engage in informal education which allows learning between individuals using a democratic process (Jeffer and Smith, 2005). This is core to relational development as education and conversation are communicative acts (Bright & Bailey, 2015). Informal education's processes of conversation enable learning about life for all those that engage in the process (worker and service user). It is not the delivery of 'correct information', defined by

outcomes, or established by a formal environment. For example a youth worker might organise a non-formal session that meets a funders requirement; but engages young people with informal learning, that might relate to life style, anti-oppressive practice, or cultural heritage. However, youth work that is involved in targeted intervention and focusing on 'vulnerable' young people could "be regarded as contributing to negative labelling of young people" (Coburn & Gormally 2015:200).

Identity and Education

Therefore, in this conflicted world of hostile media portrayal, socially pressured inauthentic identities and attempts to develop new social and personal identities, youth workers as educators should offer hope to young refugees: a hope for a better future, providing opportunities to learn not just academically but culturally and politically. It also provides those who are not young refugees with opportunities to challenge the racist ideologies presented to them. The UNHCR (2016) states that education is pivotal to integration, as it provides a hope of fitting into a new environment and culture; nourishing a hope of developing in work and society and maintaining a hope of a future, of 'normality' and acceptance. This takes a very functional approach, however, youth work is more than a functional approach and should be about transformative change. Hope is often placed upon young refugees in formal education environments because it is believed they will integrate socially at an earlier stage, (Watters 2008), however this 'hope' can place tremendous pressure on young refugees and could lead to ill health (Narchal 2016). Therefore, it is vital for youth workers to recognise the value of individuals to their own education, by engaging in transformational educational processes we might find that we are the ones that change not the individuals we are working with. This is highlighted by:

'Milky had in him all he needed to become all he could be and what he was, was much, much more than good enough. He was beautiful and I could not, with any effort of mine, 'educate' him or make him 'better'. In fact, Milky educated me.' (Belton, 2010:38)

Young Refugees and Formal Education

Young refugees entering formal education in the UK often met many barriers, such as not having the knowledge of the education system's structures and cultures, making education another world young refugees have to enter and adapt to. Young refugees are often subject to labelling and seen in deficit and therefore requiring more work and resources, but this fails to consider the strengths of the young person and the social contributions that can be made. Young refugees are not homogeneous and arrive at education at different points and with different perspectives, dependent on their age, life experiences and educational experiences. Some may have been travelling for a long period of time and not engaged in formal education for several years, others may have been heavily involved in scholarly activity, or educational opportunities may have been limited due to war, poverty, political unrest or social attitudes and expectations. The rigid structure of formal education, however, often cannot provide for such a wide variety of needs, as schools' emphasis is placed on academic achievement over integration and normality, especially with a lack of funding (UNHRC 2016, Rutter, 2003). The UK education system, in the current climate of austerity and marketisation, is focused on the principle of learners achieving the highest academic standard. While many schools try to move away from the view that individuals are empty vessels that must be filled with fixed expert knowledge (Freire, 1993), the structure of the system and its resourcing do not allow for flexible, compassionate and integrated approaches. School might have a 'special centre' which contains young people with learning difficulties, young people with poor mental health, young refugees, young people with behavioural difficulties and other needs who are all treated homogeneously, rather than dealing with individual needs, often due to the lack of financial support (Department for Education, 2015). Walker (2011) suggests that admissions procedures, confusion over financial support and discriminatory policies prevent young refugees from accessing and participating fully in mainstream education, leaving young refugees bereft of key connecting steps for integration.

Youth work can be a lifeline into a culture and society that usually seeks to exclude young refugees. The formal education system should not be responsible solely for educational outcomes, but should be closely linked with social and personal experiences, relationships and achievements (Swann, Peacock, Hart & Drummond, 2012), which are, in turn, linked with the creation of identities. Demirdjian (2012:11)

argues that effective education should be provided by a range of professionals including youth workers, whose approach to informal, non-formal and integrated education provides a counterbalance to formal education and enhances cohesion, however this is closely linked with the idea of hope.

Hope

A positive sense of self is extremely important to well-being (Chase, Knight & Statham, 2008); it influences interactions with others (Jenkins, 2008) and impacts on the sense of hope. The educational experience (in all forms) should involve a building of hope. Many authors within the youth work field do not critically assess specifically the idea of hope; yet its presence underwrites youth work practice. Hope is more than a desire, it is a driving force that creates change; it allows individual's imaginations to take them beyond oppression to challenge injustice, beyond barriers to realise possibilities, and beyond failure to recognise the value of self (Freire, 2014). This hope can be seen in the youth work principles of: social justice, social change, and collective action.

There are many hopes placed upon young refugees from different perspectives. There are hopes that they will learn English and become fully integrated and active citizens (Houghton & Morrice, 2008). Some hope that they will successfully return and integrate to their home country. There is the hope that young refugees place upon themselves to be accepted by society (Chase et al, 2008) and hope for normal progressive lives.

It is true that people who flee accept becoming refugees and experiencing life's uncertainties, but one should not doubt that the same people has high hopes of a better future. (Demirdjian, 2012:23).

However, a lack of hope or destruction of hope can be devastating to a person's well-being; no matter what progress they have made, young refugees can still be viewed to be beyond hope, stuck in a discourse of trauma, or viewed as inferior to others, resulting in limiting the hopes and aspirations of young refugees. Youth work can inspire hope which has an immediate and deep effect on people's personal identity, self-esteem and confidence. Thus there needs to be recognition of youth work

professional power and the affect it can have upon people's identity and hopes for the future and also the role of human agency to create change. Education and identity are closely interrelated and underlying this is the hope that education can provide a better future; however the reality for many young refugees is very different. "It made me understand that a refugee to them was an uneducated, vulgar parasite. I would come across this condescending attitude often in mainstream UK." (Maysia, 2007:170). However, youth work is primed to make effective responses which will now be considered.

Youth work responses

Youth workers can be 'genuine change-makers' by using both non-formal and informal education and a wide range of core skills to enable young refugees to gain hope, to encourage change and challenge oppressive practice within the education system (Salter: 2010:53). Youth work might happen within a school setting, but it might also be an open access provision not formally connected to school that young refugees access. Both of these have a part to play in working with young refugees, and working with non-refugees, challenging oppressive ideals.

Skills of Youth workers

Informal education is different to formal education, as it is not focused on accredited and assessed approaches, prescribed curriculums; and is focused on a value base which starts at where young people are at, is focused on dual learning, and is embedded in relationships (Curran & Golding 2013). Informal education is often based in conversation, Jeffs and Smith (2005:51) argue that youth workers use the skill of conversation to create change and develop hope, te Riele (2009) adds that the development of hope needs to be a collaborative effort, with clear ideas of ownership of hopes. Conversation is a step to forming relationships which are an important factor in young people's lives, affecting positively and negatively individuals' ability to cope, change and adapt. Young refugees starting a new life face many serious challenges to their wellbeing, not least the imposition of identities by some sections of the media. One such imposed identity emerges, especially in the media, from the discourse of trauma, resulting in an attitude of pity (Freedman, 2007). Although trauma is central to many young refugees' narratives, most often do not want to display their stories for all to see as this keeps a focus on trauma instead

of creating a new home and life (Nickerson et al, 2016). Youth workers therefore need to be sensitive and skilled in their conversational approach.

Schools often have large intakes of students receiving induction at the start of the school year which forms a common group identity, but young refugees entering at different times of the school year experience a rushed induction (or none at all) and must integrate into the existing culture of the classroom group (Rutter, 2006). The British educational system has its own culture and therefore can take a long time to navigate (Rubenstein, 2006). This is seen in an example from my practice:

One family raised concerns that the school was not caring for their child. When this was examined more closely it became clear that the school in the family's country of origin sent home a weekly report about the child; however, here that was not the case. Rather than thinking this was a cultural difference, it was seen as the school being racist.

Youth work should use effective group work and open spaces to help fill some of the gaps that are produced by staggered induction and create spaces for cultures to be discussed.

Youth work as a Relational Practice

Effective group work with skilled youth workers plays a central role in enabling young people to develop new narratives. However, if young refugees are not supported in the formation of personal identities, identity may be formed in relation to others, such as racist pupils and irritated over-worked teachers, within an anti-asylum seeking culture. This could lead to a personal identity of destructive rebellion or one of conformity to racism. Trusting relationships provide a safe environment to re-examine identity. One of youth work's principles is the development potential of trusting and safe relationships which are based on respect and a two-way process of learning (Sapin, 2013). These informal, yet professionally circumscribed, relationships allow the exploring of cultural boundaries as they enable an exploration of the young person's world and their development within it (Beck & Purcell, 2010).

Building trusting relationships is not an easy process, especially with individuals whose experiences may lead to a reluctance to trust and suspicion of authority. Therefore workers need to be aware of power, committed to the time required and focused on the young person's development. Many young refugees encounter relationships where they do not think others listen to them requiring extra effort from workers to form positive relationships.

Multi-agency working

Despite the building of trusting relationships with youth workers, individuals must encounter school systems driven by national, local policy and regulations. Many recommendations and suggestions for schools working with young refugees are idealistic, not based in the reality of the working environment, and call on extra non-existent resources. Instead schools are focused on marketization, lacking a focus on individual care (Benn & Downs 2015). Young refugees often arrive with a specific set of needs that schools do not have the resources or skills to support (Doyle & McCorrison 2008). All of this could lead to oppressive working which is based in assumptions. Therefore there needs to be co-operative partnership working with young refugees. Multi-agency working, however, hosts its own difficulties, such as clashes of professional values, power and personalities (Bright 2015). For effective delivery of care there has to be a joint agreement between agencies that young refugees are entitled to a safe, productive working environment to enhance personal development and learning; this means challenging inherent racism and continually reflecting on practice to engage in anti-oppressive work. Youth workers play an essential part within multi-agency teams, valued for their skills in building relationships and advocating for young people.

Even with multi-agency teams, valuable support and information also comes from the communities around the child, such as: the local community, religious community, family network, and school communities. However, communities working together will encounter difficulties created by hostile narratives about cultural diversity and the 'Other' evident in media representations. Despite the desire by individuals to form good community relations, there can be a conflict between an individual's conscious desire for mutual respect and the lengthier process of identity formation which can reflect the racist culture in which the individual develops (Phillips, Simpson & Ahmed,

2008:92). Youth work practitioners can work with community development projects to support people who are wrestling with these concepts, but need to be allocated time to involve the different communities in working to meet the needs of young refugees.

Time is often used in communication and language is often a barrier to engaging different communities and yet is a significant part of identity (Hall, 2002). Being able to speak in one's first language is important to help deal with cultural change (Capstick & Delaney, 2017). However, some young refugees are prevented from speaking their home language while at school, due to a concern about the development of spoken English (Arnot et al, 2014). Youth work responses to this issue can be limited, especially as youth work is based in conversation; however, it is not impossible, as the following example from my practice demonstrates.

One young person who came to our Youth Club couldn't speak English and I couldn't speak their language, but they sat next to me, and we communicated through grunts, signs and drawings. Each session she came back and sat next to me and we engaged with each other and formed a relationship, despite it being several weeks before we could communicate through words.

Youth work and Social Capital

Once language skills develop, building social capital becomes easier. Social capital, the building of reciprocal social contacts for support and development (Kay, 2005), is vital for young refugees as it develops hope for social settlement; (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013). However, young refugees have additional barriers to social settlement, for example, language and cultural difficulties and financial pressures. Social capital is often shattered by the current policy of dispersal which can move young refugees to different towns and schools. Moving can lead to social deprivation and isolation, which in turn affects relationships and self-confidence. For youth workers, who need time to build trusting relationships, this can have a disrupting effect, when young people suddenly vanish, with no trace, this raises serious concerns about their well-being; however, sometimes no information is passed on to youth workers about dispersals.

The foregoing discussion shows why youth workers need to respond quickly, helping young refugees feel welcome and engaging in relationships as soon as possible. They need to make sure there is a plethora of activities so that young refugees can engage with group work, both within their own communities and across others (Wood, 2009). However, youth workers need to be resilient to the changes that happen, making full use of supervision to be able to handle adversities and maintain ethical practice.

Anti-Oppressive Practice

Affecting all of the above practice are the roots of racism, producing fear instead of hope. People who live in fear find it harder to learn and may become disengaged from their, and other, communities (Chase et al, 2008). Anti-oppressive practice is key to good youth work and should challenge inequalities wherever they exist. However, it is harder to tackle indirect, hidden, and institutional racism. Despite this, youth workers need to fight against institutional racism that is infecting thoughts and actions; this involves critical reflective practice (Thompson, 2006). Young people should be encouraged to be involved in highlighting their concerns and making responses, but workers need to also raise these challenges at higher levels, engaging young people in policy making, political and academic conferences and making people's voices heard in institutions and Parliament (Batsleer, 2009).

Youth work is in a unique position to encourage informal learning and the development of trusting relationships. However, youth work in the UK is engaged in internal debate as a profession with a move away from statutory, government-funded youth work to voluntary provisions that rely on short-term funding, due to the UK current climate of austerity which removes government financial support of youth work (Bright 2015). This climate makes work with young refugees harder as it requires long periods of time, commitment and stability; these are often not high on outcomes for funders' lists of priorities. Despite this youth workers engaging in informal learning can provide a valuable service to young refugees. Good formal education paired with active youth work - person-centred working and voluntary participation - can provide an effective and supportive base for change (Demirdijian, 2012). Youth workers need to be engaged not just at an individual, group and community level but also critically at a social policy level in relation to the lack of

resources, poor policies and lack of political will to ensure that integration happens (De St Croix, 2016). Without commitment for change at government and organisational levels, young refugees could continue with poor well-being, lower achievement levels and low levels of hope, despite being active agents in their lives and communities.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored generally the circumstances surrounding young refugees and the difficulty they have in accessing and participating in the British education system. It has argued that the media has affected political and social definitions leading to confusion and homogeneous labelling. There needs to be greater awareness of the impact of incorrect terminology, in the media and by politicians, on public perceptions and this should be corrected by politically active youth workers.

Without political commitment hope in young refugees will be undermined. Education can be a place of hope and youth workers, as informal educators, need to work closely and yet independently with formal education, to enhance the development of hope. Education providers should not be fighting ego wars, but need to be working for the betterment of young people. Through theoretical critique of media and political discourse youth workers can make appropriate responses that seeks to engage with institutions and government. Theoretical analysis which recognises the role of human agency in bringing about change creates the space for action and the need to strengthen human agency in those experiencing inequalities. The role of youth work skills in making effective responses to young refugees has been discussed, recognising the difficulties posed by social pressures and lack of social capital, again highlighting a need for workers to be politically active. Throughout this chapter there has been a focus on hope, how it underpins youth work practice but also its importance in the lives of young refugees. There must be change and youth workers are responsible for fighting for change: failing to do so is to disrespect the profession and disrespect the people we work with.

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