

The Story of the Youth Club

Dr Lisbeth Lindström
Luleå University of technology
Department of Education
Universitetsområdet Porsön
97187 Luleå, Sweden

Abstract

As a case study, young people visiting youth clubs and similar meeting places in a local council in northern Sweden, was explored in terms of place, space and activities of the club or meeting places and discussed in the perspective of social and cultural transformation. To collect data over a 6-month period, several visits were carried out to the youth clubs and similar meeting places. During the visits, notes and photographs were taken of the physical environment of the clubs. As a theoretical framework, theories of citizenship were used. The following questions are of special interest: where are these meeting places located; what kind of visitors do they attract; what kind of activities do they offer; how do visitors use the space and what kind of citizenship do they support? The results of the study show first that these places are more attractive to boys than to girls. Second, youth clubs and similar meeting places offer many activities for both boys and girls, which are used in a traditional female or male context. Third, those who visit youth clubs and similar meeting places at their leisure time are offered the opportunity of taking an active role in their transition to citizenship.

Keywords: Leisure, transformation, citizenship, youth, case study

Introduction

Young persons' leisure time is directed toward different kinds of activities, such as visiting youth clubs and similar meeting places. Official Swedish statistics show that young people's leisure time is also directed toward different kinds of sports, entertainment and computer and internet activities. Depending on their living conditions, leisure assumes different forms among children and young people. Similarly, participation in different kinds of leisure activities differs among different groups of children and the youth. In general, children and the young living with economically vulnerable groups, such as single parents, foreign born parents and blue collar households have less active leisure time, and as a result their participation in organized leisure activities is low. About 5 % of these young citizens in the local council visit youth clubs and similar meeting places (Lindström, 2008; Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2011).

In Sweden, the local councils are responsible for offering leisure activities to its citizens, including young people. Such activities are, however, not obligatory as those of school and healthcare. Nonetheless, leisure activities are considered as important means in fostering young people into responsible and democratic citizens. The local council's main responsibility is to provide infrastructure and give active support to youth associations. From a historical perspective, local council's investment in young people's leisure time activities increased during the whole of the 1900s. Sports get most of the support through associations, though young peoples' influence in these associations is small. Numerous facilities were created for sports, such as indoor public swimming pools, football grounds and ice rinks. Even so, formalized club activities are still seen as the corner stone of local culture and leisure activities. The prevailing notion is that through associations, young people can be fostered formally and informally into democratic citizens.

From 1990s, it is a common activity of most associations, as well as corporations and foundations, to manage leisure and culture facilities such as youth clubs, meeting places, activity venues, indoor swimming pools and similar facilities. In some areas, local councils have been phasing out their ownership and responsibility for managing camping grounds, downhill running facilities and squash and badminton halls. By examining the statistics from 1997 onwards, one can see that about 47 % of the facilities for leisure were both owned and managed by local councils, 41 % were owned and managed by associations and 12 % were owned by local councils but managed by associations. During 1990 and 1995, budget cuts were made in the leisure sector by approximately 20 %. Commencing from 1995 and until 2002, approximately an amount of 200 million Swedish crowns was spent on the development of youth clubs.

The expenditure of local councils for leisure and culture sector is 2, 5 % of the total budget (Sveriges kommuner och landsting, 2004). In Sweden, it is voluntary for local councils to have a board for leisure and culture activities. Although it is voluntary, 34 % of local councils have a combined board for culture and leisure, 19 % have a board for education and leisure and 10 % have a separate leisure board. Further, 15 % of local councils have chosen another type of organization and 11 % have chosen to handle those responsibilities in the local government board (Svenska Kommunförbundet, 2003).

The history of Leisure activity as prevention

By the early 1900's, the focus was not only on seeing the young people as a disturbing factor in society but also on their fostering. A child protection agency was established by the Swedish government to have better control over children and youths' leisure time. The so-called working houses (arbetsstugor) were first established to wean away young children off the streets and to give them adequate schooling and education. The aim was to help them grow up into responsible citizens by encouraging them to learn some occupation and discipline. After the Second World War, young people once again came under focus but from a somewhat different perspective. People were upset over young people's wild behavior. They were dancing and listening to jazz music, which was viewed as evil.

The steps taken were intended to foster young people into responsible and well-behaved citizens. The folk movements' youth sections and other actors were considered important, and the government invested its support in these associations. By tradition, the authorities looked at the associations' activities as a way of preventing crime and idleness (Bjurström, 1998, 2000; Olson, 1992). During the 1950s, local council youth clubs were established to organize the youth who were not interested in the membership of associations. Young people were believed to have different preferences and those who had an expressive leisure style were the potential visitors to open leisure activities (Blomdahl, Claeson, & Borgelin, 1989). This group was also in need of local councils' youth clubs as an alternative to commercial options which they could not afford and to the increasing use of drugs in society as reported by researchers. In this way, the importance of youth clubs increased and the need for educated leaders was identified. With the support of government allowances, education of leisure leaders was established at some folk high schools in Sweden (Ardström, 2001; Havström & Svenneke Pettersson, 2007, 2008; Laxvik, 2006; Mattsson, 1986).

In the late 1980s, there were about 1, 500 local council centers in Sweden most of which were run by the local council. Youth clubs were seen as local social meeting places and as a complement to cafés and card rooms. The youth clubs were also supposed to counter commercial leisure services. During 1980s, professionalization of leisure sectors continued. Leisure activities for young people were started in collaboration with schools, social services agencies and the police (Gunnarsson, 2002; Lindström, 2006).

The youth leaders who had relevant training became a forceful group managing the change of youth clubs into places where young people could develop into positive, proactive citizens, rather than being seen as simply a homey place free of drugs. This type of work was reinforced by the EU proclamation of the World Youth year in 1985 (Statens offentliga utredningar, 2000). The government allocated funds to many projects for developing democracy at youth clubs. Havström and Svenneke Pettersson (2008) report that, during 1980s, several democratic projects were carried out at the youth clubs. Young people learned about democratic values through participation in democratic forums and decision making, and by planning and carrying out activities by themselves. By organizing different events for young people, for example peace festivals and cycling for peace, young people were made aware of societal matters and the possibility of influencing people.

During 1980s, civil servants initiated and carried out campaigns for increased local democracy in some of the suburbs of Sweden (Mattsson, 1986). A method called "arbetsboken" (literally meaning *workbook*) was used by which people could formulate their opinion and offer suggestions regarding their local areas (Tebelius, 1998). The involvement of youth clubs opened up new ways of looking at the views held by young people and their influence on the local society. Different measures were taken to provide forums where politicians and young people could meet, wherein the youth could submit their questions and demands directly to the politicians. During 1990s, almost every local council formed some sort of youth assembly to have a direct channel to the young people in the local council and to know their needs and expectations (Sörbom, 2003). In Sweden, national conventions were held for the youth during the whole decade but later they were discontinued as the participants did not formally represent anybody except themselves.

The first EU youth convention was held in Brussels in 2002 (European convent, 2002).

What are Open Leisure activities for youth?

The most characteristic feature of the local council's youth clubs (*fritidsgård*) and similar meeting places is that the leisure activities should be open for everyone whenever he/she wants to visit the club. The term "open leisure activity" is used here to refer to the way of running the youth clubs, which was developed during 1940s. Jensen, the head of Linköping's youth clubs and public yards (*hemgårdar*) developed a method, called the open line (*den öppna linjen*), to give the young people on the streets free access to different activities and opportunities for a free dialogue (Jensen, 2009/1949). This idea still prevails and as such youth clubs, youth houses and similar meeting places no longer require a membership card or registration. Admission to these meeting places is free to all young people, 13-25 years of age. It is free for young people to come and go, and there are no demands to 'do' things. They can just hang around or take part in offered activities, such as table tennis, parlour games and so forth. The visitors may start activities out of their own interest of forming a film club or making an outdoor trip. In the local councils, there are also clubs for younger children below 13 years, which are called free time clubs (*fritidsklubb*). When the word youth leader (*fritidsledare*) is used, what is meant is civil servants who work with open leisure activities at youth clubs and similar meeting places. Open leisure activities are sometimes run and organized by the local councils, while at other times they are organized by organizations or associations and run with funds from the local councils.

Within this environment, a special pedagogy developed, characterized by participation, dialogue and empowerment. Ardström (2001), who writes about management in open leisure activities, argues that the most qualified pedagogical mission is to work with young people at youth clubs and similar meeting places. Havström and Svenneke Pettersson (2007, 2008) also point out that this is a qualified pedagogical mission, which needs reflection and methodological efforts from educated staff. In their investigation, they found a connection between the educational level of the staff and their positive work with democracy at youth clubs. Laxvik (2006) declares that it is not a matter of social work but of meeting the young people on their own terms. Thorn Wollnert (2003) shows that leadership for young people is not about therapy. They state: "It is important to get away from an attitude that was predominant some decades ago. Today one works with an operation which is fostering, strengthening and focusing on what is positive" (Thorn Wollnert, 2003, p. 53) in young individuals.

Havström and Svenneke Pettersson (2007, 2008) further argue that developed and well-functioning democratic methods have a lot to offer the visitors at the club. Young citizens will have a chance to develop their talents and interests, strengthen their self-confidence, and find fellowship. By arranging their own leisure activities and putting their mark on them, they develop their skills and self esteem.

Theories of Citizenship

A citizen may be described as a member of a political community or a state who has certain legal, social and moral rights, duties and responsibilities. Citizenship is a political concept with a variety of rights and responsibilities in a given political community. These rights and responsibilities change over time because of social struggle, economic change and shifts in governing ideology. The idea of citizenship is built on people's equal value and equal opportunity to participate in and influence public activities. Even though citizenship can mean different things in different nations, it also has a broader sociological and historical meaning that is universal (cf. Marshall, 1950; O'Connor, 1993; Peterson, Hermansson, Micheletti, Teorell, & Westholm, 1998). Inglehart (1997) and Giddens (1991) state that young citizens participate in society with "self-actualizing" or "self-reflexive" involvements in personally meaningful causes guided by their own lifestyles and shifting social networks. A portfolio with skills for citizenship has been identified to be able to show mutual respect to others, to have social awareness, to assume self-responsibility, and to have good self-confidence and self-worth (Hall, Williamson, & Coffey, 2000).

Hemingway (1999) argues that attributes such as participation, open communication, autonomy, trust, cooperation and development are necessary for a well functioning participatory democracy. This can be developed in the leisure sector. Gibb (2002) talks about learning as a social and developmental process that can take place outside an organized and structured context and about learning from different sources. Individuals can learn from their mistakes by doing, by coping, by experimenting and by opportunity grasping.

Similarly, Biesta, Lawy, and Kelly (2009) state that young people learn at least as much about democracy and citizenship through participation in a range of practices as they learn from officially prescribed and formally taught matters. They further state that the teaching of citizenship needs to be supplemented with a more thorough understanding of the ways in which young people actually learn in the communities and practices that make up their everyday lives. Colardyn and Bjornavold (2004) define informal learning as learning that results from daily life activities related to work, family, or leisure. Chell and Athayde (2009) claim that attention is now being paid to how non-formal activities can be a source of learning and skill-development. These activities can broaden young people's experience and provide opportunities for learning within communities. Smith, Lister, Middleton, and Cox (2005) claim, "The fluidity of young people's self-identity suggests that the transition to citizenship is negotiated throughout the life-course" (p. 426). Their conclusion calls for a conceptually comprehensive view of citizenships through which young people's status as "real citizens" can be better understood.

Aim, Method and Research Design

The aim of this study is to discuss youth clubs and similar meeting places for youth in a local council in the northern Sweden. Of particular interest have been the topics of exploring and discussing the location of these clubs and places, together with the facilities they offer, and understanding how the space and facilities are utilized in the perspective of youth transformation and citizenship. The aim boils down to addressing the following questions: (i) Where are these meeting places located? (ii) What kind of visitors do they attract? (iii) What kind of activities do they offer? (iv) How do visitors use the space and (v) What kind of citizenship do they support? The case study was conducted in an area that had 13 local councils in the county council of Norrbotten in the northern Sweden. The county council had about 240, 000 inhabitants and the local council about 73, 000 inhabitants. This particular local council in the county council of Norrbotten was chosen because of its many meeting places for young people and its location in the northern Sweden. The research covered five youth clubs, one house of youth and one meeting place for youth in the chosen local council. In 2009, about 12, 699 young people, 13-24 years old, were residents in the local council. Their opening hours were Tuesday-Thursday, 18.00-21.00 and weekends 18.00-23.00.

The meeting place was about four kilometres outside the city center close to a compulsory school and a sports auditorium. The area includes both housing estates and houses, but no companies or factories in the neighborhood. One of the youth clubs was a few kilometers outside the city center, close to the compulsory school in a separate building. Close to the youth club was a center for citizens, including children and young people, who have come as refugees to the local area. The refugees include families who have already been granted asylum and people of different ages and gender who are hoping for asylum.

Another youth club was a few kilometers from the city center. It was in the center of the residential area and was directly connected to a compulsory school, some grocery stores and a sports hall. The youth club had many rooms and open areas for the use of visitors. Some of the areas were used in the afternoons and shared with the nearby compulsory school.

A third youth club was in the center of a building, which accommodated a compulsory school too. This youth club had a lot of space for its visitors. The staff has to walk between the different rooms that are a part of the youth club and can not see the spaces used of the youth between them.

A fourth youth club was 30 kilometres from the city center and more than one kilometre outside the city limits. In the center, one can find a sports hall, a swimming pool, a few stores and the bus station. The youth club was housed in an old building, and close to the youth club was a small sports hall. Its facilities, equipment and building give the impression of the sports hall being old and worn. Therefore, it cannot be used by the visitors to the youth club.

A fifth youth club was about five kilometers outside the city center. It was in the center of the residential area and was directly connected to a compulsory school, a grocery store and a sports hall. The youth club had many rooms and open areas for their visitors' use.

The house of youth was in the middle of the local council's city center in a 3-storey building. Its location close to stores, sports centers and transport facilities suggests that it had visitors from all over the local council area. One could find a music room, a movie room and a living room on the first floor, or the basement, a large living room, a smaller room and a kitchen on the second floor (at the entrance to the House of youth), and , three small rooms, two large rooms and a kitchen on the third floor.

To collect data, several study visits were made, over a 6-month period, to all the meeting places of this case study. Each visit was several hours long, and photographs were taken of the physical location and environment of the places, together with their facilities and equipment. Notes were taken on the number of visitors, the use of facilities and space, their accessibility to visitors, the possibility to integrate visitors, and availability of space for participation. The researchers' own reflections were tape recorded after each study visit. The photographs were selected and analyzed from theories of citizenship and perspectives of youth transformation, leisure and gender. The photographs were placed on different maps marked with the following queries: (i) Where are these meeting places located? (ii) What kind of visitors do they attract? (iii) What kind of activities do they offer? (iv) How do visitors use the space and (v) What kind of citizenship do they support? Finally, the research notes and reflections were analyzed in relation to the photographs.

Youth clubs, leisure, social and cultural transformation

The social construction of space and place by the youth is complex and multi-layered. Their ability to develop citizenship and contribute to social and cultural transformation depends on the public space, in this case the youth club, house of youth, or the meeting place. Life experience of public spaces involves testing social dependence and independence, agency and control.

This study can give some clues about the meeting places that attract the young people and the activities they choose to participate during their leisure time. In other words, it gives an idea of their lifestyle choices. It also enables one to understand if these meeting places can provide for the development of young people's citizenship and for their participation in the ongoing social and cultural transformation.

The presentation of results that follows is structured on the research questions: (i) Where are these meeting places located? (ii) What kind of activities do they offer? (iii) How do visitors use the space? (iv) What kind of visitors do they attract, and (v) What kind of citizenship do they support?

Where are these meeting places located?

In the local council, the priority is to ensure that open leisure activities contribute to the participation of the youth in finding answers to the questions that concern them. The target group for such activities is the age-group of 13 years and older.

The present results show that the local council has invested in more meeting places for the youth than what their population warrants. The youth clubs and similar meeting places are generally located in the suburbs close to a school, a library or a sports hall. Most of the clubs were located in buildings that were 20-30 years old as parts of school buildings or as separate buildings close to the school, except for one which was newly built in an old bishop farm. Most of them had large space for the use of their visitors, and also they were accessible to more or less all the interested people because of the location of the clubs in different parts of the local council's geographical area. The nearby schools are informed of the clubs through local council's website, as well as face book. Most of the places were physically accessible to all and some even to disabled visitors by virtue of their being on the ground floor. One of the places was on the second floor with no elevator facility and another along the suburban periphery, somewhat away from the means of transport. In another place, the activities were in the basement which had no elevator as a result of which it was difficult for the youth leaders to contact all their visitors. All the places were accessible to all visitors, free of charge without any membership. It is often the same youth, the so called frequenters, who visit the facilities again and again. One could see that the youth club often became the visitors' 'home' or 'their' club. The visitors formed groups and subgroups, each group functioning in exclusion of the other.

What kinds of activities are offered?

The common activities at youth clubs and similar meeting places were billiards, table tennis, playing cards, computer games, baking, playing music or watching movies or TV. The common "girls' activities" were drawing, painting and baking, and "boys' activities" playing billiards or table tennis. Billiards or table tennis was often played in a controlled form, most often with other boys. It is not unusual that this was the only activity in which they were participating during their visits. In fact, their visits were motivated by the opportunity they get to play billiards. It was a controlled and regulated activity. Nearly every meeting place and youth club had chosen to have billiards and table tennis. The ambition of the staff was that the youth should organize their activities in such a way as to satisfy their needs and expectations.

Sometimes, especially during spring and autumn when the weather is congenial to stay outdoors, the number of visitors at the youth clubs and the meeting places can be less than the number at other times of the year. Many visitors frequent the youth clubs just for talking with friends and staff. Although they can do other things, many were interested in going to those places just “to be” there. This case study shows that visitors were invited to participate, but they were not always interested; some visited these places just to “hang around” or to talk with other visitors and/or staffers. At some meeting places, different events were arranged twice in a year. On some days/evenings, they were open only for either girls or for boys. These “just for girls” events enabled the girls to exchange notes about different things, such as hair-do, make up, clothing, sex, and norms and values. Sometimes, they could even go on excursions for skiing or swimming. On “just for boys” special days or evenings, the arrangements depended on individual’s life perspective and needs, and were built on the young persons’ orientations, values and skills. It allowed them to assume the role of key actors in their own transition and integration with the society.

Sometimes there were talks and discussions about common interests such as politics, welfare measures or other routine societal issues. Some of the discussions were even philosophical dealing with young people’s conception and philosophy of life. Although they sometimes discriminate the visitors, at other times staff and visitors talk about values and norms. Sometimes, one could even hear discussions concerning ‘how to behave’ or ‘about being female or male’. Research bears witness to the fact that it was possible to overcome all difficulties in dealing with different groups of visitors. Working as a youth leader amounts to accepting advice from experts regarding questions, which are too complex to handle. Several visits to the youth clubs bear out that working as a youth leader at youth clubs and similar meeting places is much more complex than working, for example, as a teacher. In Sweden, it is legally binding for young people to attend school. At youth clubs, young people come, go and stay of their own free will and in their own interest. Should they find that participation in the activities of the youth clubs, or meeting their staff and visitors, was not to their interest, they would probably not go back to the clubs.

How do visitors use space?

The use of space by boys seems to be more controlled than that by girls. Every youth club aspires to have equipment that can attract and fulfill visitors’ needs. The staffs are often both male and female, though of different age groups and experiences. The equipment commonly seen in the youth clubs includes TV games, computer games, musical instruments, TV sets, playing cards, material for movies, parlor games, and creative activities like graffiti and painting. Although the youth clubs focus on having facilities that attract both female and male visitors, the visitors turn out to be mostly males.

It can be argued that some activities are traditionally for males and some for females. Boys generally play billiards or table tennis and girls engage themselves in baking, painting or talking with other visitors. The so called Café group is seen at every place of this case study. In the Café group, visitors can decide about the availability for sale of small dishes, soft drinks and sweets at the Café. According to a visitor of the youth clubs, most of the members of the Café group are girls. One can also note that it is not unusual for the girls to be more involved in planning than are the boys although they constitute a minority among the visitors. The activities in which girls are more involved include mountaineering or other adventures.

Watching movies or playing cards is what boys and girls sometimes do together. Another common activity is decoration and design of the facilities. It is very common that visitors have decorated the walls with graffiti, pictures, and paintings. Visitors could also choose the color of carpets, curtains and other details of design and decoration.

What kind of visitors do Youth Clubs and similar meeting places attract?

There seems to be a notion that visitors prefer manual activities, such as painting, drawing, cutting and pasting, which are mostly done by girls. And again the physical use of space by boys seems to be more controlled than that by the girls. Although the broad ambition is to have facilities that attract both female and male visitors, nevertheless most of them are males. Boys often come with boys and stay with them during the visit. Most of the visitors are frequenters and it is not unusual that visiting clubs is their only interest. Several of the youth clubs and other such meeting places attract young people from other countries, who generally come with their friends in a group, stay together and play billiards. However, some of the visitors from countries, such as Afghanistan, Iraq or Somalia, often come alone. Some of the abroad coming visitors have been waiting for a decision on the admissibility of their stay in Sweden. Others have been living in the area for several years.

At some of the places, different events are arranged twice in a year. There are days/evenings where they are open only for girls or for boys. These special times just for girls give possibilities to talk about things like how to do their hair or make up, about clothes, sex, norms and values. Sometimes they also have the possibility to go on excursions, such as skiing or swimming. Special days or evenings for boys are also arranged. These arrangements start from the individual's life perspective and needs, and are built on the young persons and their subjective orientations, values and skills. It allows them to take a role as key actors in their own transition and integration. This case study indicates that youth clubs and similar meeting places can be important places for a transition to citizenship and integration.

Conclusions

The outcome of this research has given some clues about the meeting places and activities chosen by the young people to spend their leisure time, i.e., about their lifestyle choices. It has also given an insight into what these meeting places can provide for the development of young people's citizenship and transformation. The social construction of space and place by the youth is complex and multi-layered. The potential of developing young people's citizenship and their social and cultural transformation depends on the public space, in this case the youth club or the meeting place. Life experience of public spaces involves testing social dependence and independence, agency and control.

This study reveals that youth clubs and similar meeting places can be important places for young people's social and cultural transformation. The research findings substantiate the contention of Biesta et al. (2009) that young people can learn about democracy and citizenship through participation in a wide range of activities at youth clubs and similar meeting places and from officially prescribed and formally taught matters. That explains why visitors from school, who mistrust their school system, are the most frequent visitors at the youth clubs. Colardyn and Bjornavold (2004) also argue about informal learning from leisure or daily activities. This study confirms the view of Smith et al. (2005) that visitors negotiate their citizenship during their visits. Although the staff members try to stretch the boundaries between the visitors and to encourage their interests, more often stereotypical behaviors still dominate. It is argued here that, to some extent, the available space for activities often seems to have been used in ways that segregate boys and girls.

For a critical review of the issue at hand, some questions must be raised. First, only 6-10 % of the young citizens in the local council, mostly boys in the age group of 13-25 years, visit the clubs, which means that 90 % of the young people have chosen not to visit the youth clubs and similar meeting places. The social and cultural transformation of these young people will naturally be different from that of the young people who choose to attend youth clubs and similar meeting places. Second, should society be satisfied with having established space for young people in the form of youth clubs and similar meeting places where mostly boys stay or "hang around", playing ping pong and billiards, then this study clearly indicates that youth clubs and similar meeting places can be important places for the development of young people's citizenship and their social and cultural transformation. Research shows that these places have more to offer for the development of young people's citizenship in relation to the ongoing social and cultural transformation in society. Young people can learn democracy through participation in different activities such as managing the Café or arranging excursions. They can also learn from talks and discussions about routine questions of daily life, the welfare system or politics. It is suggested that these possibilities must be taken seriously by those who are concerned with the questions raised, that is, in this case, the local politicians.

References

- Ardström, B. J. (2001). *Att vara ledare i öppen verksamhet [To be a leader in open leisure activities]*. Stockholm: Fritidsforum.
- Biesta, G., Lawy, R., & Kelly, N. (2009). Understanding young people's citizenship learning in everyday life. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 4(1), 5.
- Bjurström, E. (1998). Den moderna ungdomspolitiken och ungdomars fritidskulturer [Modern youth politics and young people's leisure cultures]. In O. Zetterberg (Ed.), *Fritid i ny tid [Leisure in a new time]* (Vol. S. 67-98). Stockholm: Sober i samarbete med Stockholms stads kultur- och idrottsförvaltning.
- Bjurström, E. (2000). Ungdomskultur som stil [Youth cultures as lifestyle]. In L. Berggren (Ed.), *Fritidskulturer [Leisure cultures]*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Blomdahl, U., Claesson, Å., & Borgelin, M. (1989). *Fritidsgården : dess besökare och framtid [Youth clubs: their visitors and the future]*. Stockholm: Forskningsenheten, Fritid Stockholm.

- Chell, E., & Athayde, R. (2009). The identification and measurement of innovative characteristics of young people: development of the Youth Innovation Skills Measurement Tool.
- Colardyn, D., & Bjornavold, J. (2004). Validation of Formal, Non-Formal and Informal Learning: policy and practices in EU Member States1. *European Journal of Education*, 39(1), 69-89.
- European convent. (2002). The European youth convent Retrieved Marsch 12, 2009, from www.register.concilium.eu.in
- Gibb, A. (2002). In pursuit of a new 'enterprise' and 'entrepreneurship' paradigm for learning: creative destruction, new values, new ways of doing things and new combinations of knowledge. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 4(3), 233-269.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*: Stanford Univ Pr.
- Gunnarsson, F. (2002). *Verksamhet utan avsikt? : en debattskrift om öppen ungdomsverksamhet och kommunala prioriteringar [Activities without intentions? : a debate publication about open leisure activities and priorities by local councils]*. Stockholm: Svenska kommunförbundet.
- Hall, T., Williamson, H., & Coffey, A. (2000). Young people, citizenship and the third way: a role for the youth service? *Journal of youth studies*, 3(4), 461-472.
- Havström, M., & Svenneke Pettersson, D. (2007). *Fritidsledares tysta kunskap*. Stockholm: Fritidsforum.
- Havström, M., & Svenneke Pettersson, D. (2008). Främjande metoder i öppen fritidsverksamhet. [Fostering methods in open leisure activities]. In G. Holmgren (Ed.), *Mötesplatser för unga - aktörerna, vägvalen och politiken. [Meeting places for young people's - the actors, the choices and politics]*. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen.
- Hemingway, J. (1999). Leisure, social capital, and democratic citizenship. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 31(2).
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization. Cultural, political and economic change in 43 societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jensen, H. (2009/1949). Den öppna linjen [The open line]. *Fria tider*, 2, 14-15.
- Laxvik, T. (2006). Slutrapport. Utredning fritidsgårdar i Luleå. [Final report. An investigation of youth clubs in Luleå local council]. Stockholm: Fritidsforum.
- Lindström, L. (2006). *Fritidssektorn : en statlig utmaning [The field of leisure - a governmental challenge]*. Luleå: Luleå tekniska universitet.
- Lindström, L. (2008). Nya utmaningar väntar fritidspolitikerna. [New challenges for leisure politics.]. In G. Holmgren (Ed.), *Mötesplatser för unga - aktörerna, vägvalen och politiken [Meeting places for young people's - the actors, the choices and politics]*. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen.
- Marshall, T. H. (1950). Citizenship and social class. *Cambridge*, 11, 28-29.
- Mattsson, M. (1986). *Det goda samhället: fritidens idéhistoria 1900-1985 i ett dramatiskt perspektiv [The good society. The idea of leisure 1900-1985 in a dramatic perspective]*: RSFH's förlag.
- O'Connor, J. S. (1993). Gender, class and citizenship in the comparative analysis of welfare state regimes: theoretical and methodological issues. *British journal of Sociology*, 501-518.
- Olson, H. E. (1992). *Staten och ungdomens fritid: kontroll eller autonomi? [The government and youth and their leisure time. Control or autonomy]*. Arkiv för studier i arbetarrörelsens historia.
- Peterson, O., Hermansson, J., Micheletti, M., Teorell, J., & Westholm, A. (1998). Demokrati och medborgarskap. Demokratirådets rapport 1998 [Democracy and citizenship. Report from the democratic assembly 1998]. Stockholm: SNS förlag.
- Smith, N., Lister, R., Middleton, S., & Cox, L. (2005). Young People as Real Citizens: Towards an Inclusionary Understanding of Citizenship The paper is based on the project 'Negotiating Transitions to Citizenship' (L134 25 1039), funded by the Economic and Social Research Council as part of the 'Youth, Citizenship and Social Change' programme. *Journal of youth studies*, 8(4), 425-443.
- Statens offentliga utredningar. (2000). *En uthållig demokrati! : politik för folkstyrelse på 2000-talet : Demokratiutredningens betänkande [A sustainable democracy. Public governance in the 2000s]*. Stockholm: Fritzes offentliga publikationer.
- Svenska Kommunförbundet. (2003). *Vem tar hand om kultur och fritid i Sveriges kommuner? [Who takes care of culture and leisure in Swedish local councils?]*. Stockholm: Svenska kommunförb.
- Sveriges kommuner och landsting. (2004). Kultur- och fritidssektorns kostnader, 2004 [The cost for the culture- and leisure sector, 2004].
- Sörbom, A. (2003). *Den goda viljan : en studie av ungdomspolitik i nio kommuner [The good will. A study of youth politics in nine local councils]*. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen.
- Tebelius, U. (1998). Self-organisation through community work; A new concept for leisure workers? *World Leisure & Recreation*, 40(2), 41-45.
- Thorn Wollnert, C. (2003). *Att arbeta med kultur och fritid : en studie av professioner i förändring*. Stockholm: Svenska kommunförb.
- Ungdomsstyrelsen. (2011). *Fokus 10 : en analys av ungas inflytande [Fokus 10 : an analysis of youth influence]*. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen.