

The state and voluntary sector in austere times: 10 years of National Citizen Service

Sarah Mills¹ and Catherine Waite²

¹ Geography and Environmental Science, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leicestershire LE11 3TU.

² Environmental and Geographical Sciences, University of Northampton, Northampton, NN1 5PH

Abstract

In this paper we examine the latest chapter in the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector in the UK. We present an analysis of the UK Government's 'National Citizen Service' scheme and map the landscape of youth services over the past decade. Drawing on interview data with delivery providers of the programme, and key government and policy actors, we explore the new geographies NCS has created and reflect on the wider implications of this programme in austerity Britain.

Introduction

It has been 10 years since the UK Government formally launched the voluntary youth programme National Citizen Service. During that time, over 600,000 teenagers have taken part in NCS in England and Northern Ireland, a scheme whose mission is 'to inspire generations of citizens through a shared experience that develops character and bridges social divides' (NCS, 2021). As a four-week programme, young people engage in adventurous outdoor activities and a social action project in their local community to 'fast track their futures'. Independent evaluations have documented the positive impacts of NCS (Ipsos MORI, 2014), which now holds a Royal Charter, but the scheme has also provoked fierce critique over its value for money (Local Government Association, 2018; National Audit Office, 2017).

NCS is a significant case-study for many reasons. Our project on the geographies of NCS has examined the 'brand' of youth citizenship it promotes through youth volunteering (Mills and

Waite, 2017a) and its focus on ‘social mix’ to fix ‘Broken Britain’ (Mills and Waite, 2018), set within a wider ‘character agenda’ for children and young people (Mills, 2021). As a scheme, National Citizen Service connects to important ideas explored in this journal about making (young) citizens and the scalar geographies of citizenship formation (Anderson et al. 2008; Huckle, 2015) but in a programme outside the classroom and formal educational curriculum (Pykett, 2010). The example of NCS also matters as a topic for critical geographical enquiry because it represents the latest chapter of the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector in the context of youth services. As NCS reaches the milestone of a decade, it is an opportune moment to reflect on these important new geographies, specifically on the state and voluntary sector in austere times.

Geographies of Austerity and Youth Services

The last decade has been a noteworthy period of social and economic change in the UK driven by austere policies in response to the global financial crisis, resulting in intersecting inequalities (Greer Murphy, 2017; Farnsworth, 2021). As many scholars have demonstrated, the geographies of austerity go far beyond fiscal policy and shape everyday lives, homes, and families (Hall, 2019; Stenning, 2020; Hitchin, 2021; Horton, Pimlott-Wilson and Hall, 2021). We recognise and condemn the cuts to public service investment in austere times: for example, in housing and welfare (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar 2019) that has fuelled the rise of food banks (May et al. 2020; Denning, 2019) and the funding cuts to public libraries (Norcup 2017; Hitchin, 2021), museums (Morse and Munro, 2018) and the focus of this specific paper, youth services and youth work (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Horton, 2016; Davies, 2019).

The impact of service withdrawal for children, youth and families over the past decade has been well acknowledged by scholars and activists (Horton 2016; Hall, 2019; Horton, Pimlott-Wilson and Hall, 2021; McKendrick et al. 2014; Lambie-Mumford and Green, 2017; Davies, 2019). This landscape has shaped young people’s identities in austerity Britain and how they anticipate their futures (McDowell, 2012; Pimlott-Wilson, 2017), connecting to longstanding work and themes in children’s geographies (Yarwood and Tyrrell 2012). Set within this important context, this paper focuses on a youth programme that has, by sharp contrast, grown during this period of austerity.

‘Good principle, bad timing?’: NCS as the new kid on the block

On the one hand, NCS represents one of the biggest ever state investments in a stand-alone youth programme, with over £1.3 billion pounds of investment to date. Yet on the other hand, there have been clear tensions surrounding its favoured place in an age of austerity compared to the decimation of local youth services and youth clubs (Davies, 2019; de St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2020).

As early as June 2011, the summer that NCS formally launched following a pilot, the Education Select Committee asked whether it was a ‘good principle’ but ‘bad timing’ (House of Commons, 2011). Average public spending to UK youth services fell by 27% between 2010 and 2012 (Butler 2013) and these cuts have intensified and deepened ever since. On the 10-year anniversary of riots in a number of English cities, *The Guardian* reported that £372 million had been cut from the national budget for youth services between 2011 and 2019/20, a 73% decrease when adjusted for inflation (McIntyre, Duncan and Siddique, 2021). The growth and development of NCS during this period, as the ‘new kid on the block’, is therefore important to recognise and it has ultimately tarnished its early development and buy-in from key actors.

Rather than using local authorities to universally deliver NCS, the state also chose not to collaborate with traditional voluntary sector organisations such as The Duke of Edinburgh scheme or The Scouts or Girlguiding. Indeed, the state created a short-term summer-based competitor to these longstanding providers of outdoor education and personal development, and the statutory youth service. NCS has been a youth programme driven from the heart of government by several key champions, rather than a swell of popular voluntary support or grassroots activity. The scheme was initially housed in the Department for Education but transferred to the Cabinet Office and is now managed day-to-day by ‘NCS Trust’, who both oversee contractual partnerships and promote the programme. NCS Trust are a not-for-profit community interest company, however the programme retains oversight from the civil service via the Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport.

In practice, the NCS programme has been managed and delivered by a range of different regional providers that includes private sector partnerships, businesses, NGOs, voluntary organisations, charities, social enterprises, not-for-profits, and further and higher education providers. The state essentially created a marketplace for the delivery of NCS through a

competitive tendering and bidding process, which has also created regional disparities in the NCS experience. This landscape of provider contracts has created new geographies of youth services, which are important to map because they represent the latest chapter in the relationship between the state and voluntary sector, to which we now turn.

Geographies of the Voluntary Sector and the Shadow State

The place of the voluntary or third sector has been vitally important in recent years for understanding the dynamics of public sector cuts and neoliberal governance (Meegan et al. 2014), often manifest as ‘austerity localism’ (Featherstone et al. 2012). Voluntarism has operated as a key mechanism to fill the gaps of state withdrawal (Clayton, Donovan and Merchant, 2016) as part of a broader ‘progressive localism’ (Williams, Goodwin and Cloke, 2014). Furthermore, the past decade has been a period of change for the voluntary sector in terms of uneven local government spending (Clifford, 2021). Indeed, an increasingly professionalised yet precarious voluntary sector is itself not immune to spending cuts and challenges in austere times. These dynamics have compounded in recent years with former Prime Minister David Cameron’s ‘Big Society’ vision (Featherstone et al. 2012; Mohan 2012), within which NCS was originally framed (Mycock and Tonge, 2011).

NCS is a unique case-study though, in that rather than the voluntary sector filling a gap where the state has withdrawn, this is a state-funded programme that relies on the voluntary sector (in part) but via a new neoliberal competitive marketplace. Here, different actors compete in a space that has traditionally been the arena of state-funded local youth clubs and services, or grassroots voluntary youth movements.

In many ways, the above development of NCS can be seen as another example of ‘the shadow state’, a term coined by Jennifer Wolch thirty years ago through her ground-breaking study on the role of the non-profit and voluntary sector in the US and UK. She illustrated how this sector delivered public services, filling in the gaps of service withdrawal, yet where the state often still funded, or certainly exerted authority over, voluntary organisations. Since then, geographers have examined the development of the shadow state as a ‘para-state apparatus’ (Wolch 1990: xvi) that has impacted the independence of the voluntary sector and wider social welfare systems in various countries. This sub-field has moved ‘out of the shadows’ (Fyfe & Milligan 2003) to capture wider geographies of voluntarism in diverse contexts (Milligan, 2007; Skinner and Power 2017) and the relational geographies of the

shadow state (Trudeau, 2008, 2012; DeVertauil, Power and Trudeau, 2019). Research has also charted the increasing professionalisation of the voluntary sector within a contested landscape of corporatist and grassroots organisations (Yarwood 2011). Jones and Royles, drawing on the example of youth governance in Wales, recently argued that ‘we must ultimately accept that the shadow state is constructed in different, sometimes contradictory, ways. The meanings ascribed to it are mutable, flexible and context specific.’ (2020: 42). In this vein, we now turn to a more detailed examination of NCS drawing on interview data from regional and local providers including social enterprises, businesses, charities, and notably voluntary organisations.

This article addresses two key aims drawing upon our recent research. First, we examine the landscape of ‘winners and losers’ NCS created via a new marketplace, revealing a mixed geography of service provision that has led to benefits and challenges for the voluntary sector. Second, we outline NCS’ favoured place as a major investment in times of austerity, during which youth services via local authorities have suffered financial cuts. In doing so, we demonstrate how NCS has reconfigured the state-voluntary sector relationship in the context of youth services. This discussion contributes to debates on geographies of youth work in times of austerity (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Horton, 2016; Davies, 2019) and on the wider relationship between the state and voluntary sector (Wolch 1990; Trudeau, 2008; DeVerteuil et al. 2019; Jones and Royles, 2020).

The data presented in this paper is primarily from 23 semi-structured interviews with former and current NCS delivery providers, as well as analysis from 8 interviews with key architects and policy actors. These interviews formed part of a wider ESRC research project that explored the state’s motivations behind, the voluntary sector’s engagement with, and young people’s experiences of, NCS (Mills and Waite, 2017*b*). The provider interviews primarily focus on the ‘winners’ of this youth sector landscape, given participants represented organisations that held current or recent NCS contracts. However, the interviews captured several challenges by both current and former providers, which develops our understanding of the key debates outlined above.

The NCS Marketplace

This section reveals the landscape of winners and losers NCS created via a new marketplace, as well as examining the motivations and experiences of NCS providers. NCS operates through regional delivery providers (RDPs), some of whom deliver the NCS programme

themselves, and others who decide to sub-contract out to ‘local delivery providers’ (LDPs). RDPs bid for fixed-term contracts via a procurement and tendering process and our research identified two types of organisations that bid for RDP contracts since 2011. First, those who felt NCS chimed with their existing aims and mission; and second, those who extended or ‘stretched’ their aims and diversified their business model to compete. These contracts have led to the emergence of a competitive and unequal geography of provision, as well as ‘new players’ in the delivery of youth services, much to the dismay of established youth workers.

Although a grants-based model is now commonplace within the voluntary sector, the more formalised procurement process of NCS via the civil service, with 50% of core funding as a pre-payment and 50% as payment by results for meeting recruitment targets, was a concern to many voluntary organisations wary of the financial risk. As such, several larger businesses and organisations, some without histories in youth work, were successful in securing RDP contracts. Ultimately, smaller charities and voluntary sector organisations have been ‘squeezed out’ from the large RDP funding because of financial precarities. As one interviewee explained:

‘because we’re a small organisation...there isn’t the same opportunity to influence what’s happening...that’s you know just as a result of the size of the contract and how it’s structured, the financial risk is too much for us to be at that level.’

Smaller organisations that had managed to secure at least one contract as an LDP spoke of the stress of bidding and their lack of expertise in grant-writing, or the cost of buying in that expertise. Cashflow issues were mentioned by several interviewees, for example:

‘we’re a charity, we don’t have big financial backing, we have a very small reserves pot, the cashflow situation with NCS is horrendous...So we couldn’t go for an RDP level because we don’t have that amount of cash behind us to fund everybody else’s cashflow issues as well...it’s great to be part of something that potentially has such a sea change of how teenagers are in our society. So that’s really good. The biggest downside is the complications of working in the contract.’

Interestingly, some of the smaller charities interviewed talked about how these new players from the business world often ‘shielded’ the voluntary sector by taking the hit as RDPs on large financial losses. Indeed, due to the financial risks, in the early days of NCS, several organisations entered into consortiums to take the ‘plunge’, as one provider described.

Many regional and local providers utilise established networks of youth work organisations, essentially their own “supply chains” as one participant stated. NCS on the ground quickly became reliant on the voluntary youth sector for its knowledge, expertise, credibility, and access to young people. Many partners reflected on the value of being part of consortia given their inexperience in this process, but it is clear austerity (ironically) also hampered direct delivery of NCS, as one participant explains:

‘2011 was the start of the really intense cuts, so that affected, that actually decimated the youth work provision in [the city], which we were hoping to rely on...So that was really bad.’

As another organisation explains, their motivation for engaging with NCS was actually to try and maintain funding to smaller providers in the face of other cuts:

‘Primarily we came into this to throw the money back into local authority and voluntary sector organisations, we were not in it to...directly deliver ourselves.’

It is clear though that NCS represents a much longer trajectory of instability and precarity for the voluntary sector, as one organisation explains:

‘We used to be destabilised in a different way, when local authority used to be the route really for all the funding, for all sorts of things, up until the Coalition Government really... Most of our contracts came through the local authority...and then we suddenly came into NCS...so it’s a tricky one to balance but it’s a good opportunity’

There is no denying that NCS and its core activities echo or replicate the (now greatly reduced) work of local authority youth clubs, but through short term seasonal ‘bursts’ rather than year-round provision. It is however entangled with these struggles and at times these services ‘appear’ within the NCS infrastructure, as one provider states:

‘we’ve got quite a lot of local authority youth services in our supply chain as well, so it was all about making sure the money devolved as far down as it could to keep, you know, to keep it at grass roots.’

Perhaps surprisingly, one provider interviewed even went as far as saying that NCS was a lifeline in austere times that ‘kept them afloat’:

‘I guess really NCS has been a lifeline for the organisation because ... because of the austerity and because of the lack of funding, if it wasn’t for NCS at the level it is, I’m not sure that the organisation would look like it does now.’

Furthermore, our interviews revealed that the NCS model forced some new ways of working, creating opportunities and challenges. All RDPs (whether corporate or voluntary sector) we interviewed had diverse experiences of NCS contracts. Several organisations discussed the benefits of this model and sharing expertise:

‘It’s been the most fantastic learning experience for us as an organisation. I think it’s been a brilliant experience for all the partners, we’ve all learnt something from each other, everybody but everybody has brought something to the table, which has been wonderful.’

Many participants though spoke of the challenges involved and the difficulties of upscaling and meeting targets, particularly within rural regions, as well as the ‘bureaucracy and structure we’ve had to work with.’

The state’s role in creating a new marketplace is crucially important for understanding how NCS is reshaping the wider voluntary youth sector. For example, our research has identified an increasing competitiveness in relation to securing residential centre access. For some campsites that are aimed primarily at schools, NCS is a new income stream for the quieter school holidays. However, for those outdoor centres who usually host other voluntary youth organisations, NCS is a big player and has the capital to buy bed space far earlier in the calendar year, creating knock-on effects and tensions in the wider sector, as a provider reveals:

‘I mean he’s [NCS procurement manager] been booking kind of 15,000 bed spaces a year, and so has a pretty good kind of buying power and is able to kind of really develop the market through that process.’

Furthermore, since the advent of NCS, the wider voluntary youth sector has been under more pressure to demonstrate its impact and evidence the quality and legacy of its work, as they seek to compete and survive in this landscape (de St Croix, 2018, de St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2020; Jones and Royles, 2020).

Overall, NCS has created opportunities for the voluntary sector to bid for new contracts during austere times in the face of wider state cuts to youth services. However, voluntary sector organisations and charities have only secured a piecemeal slice of the wider NCS pie. The state has then overly relied on the voluntary sector for its local expertise and recruitment of young people onto the NCS programme, yet many of these organisations do not have the cashflow to secure or maintain the most lucrative regional contracts. The effects of this

government-funded programme for other voluntary organisations outside of its infrastructure are not just financial, as they now operate within a more competitive space driven by a wider impact agenda.

One response from NCS to some of the critiques explored in this paper has been to increase the number of LDPs and work with a wider range of smaller charities and organisations in local areas. Another response to these tensions has been a structural attempt to depoliticise NCS, for example moving it out from UK Government and the civil service and into the community interest company NCS Trust, outlined earlier. NCS Trust also now act as an RDP themselves in some regions. As a state actor explained in an interview, the feeling was that:

If it is run by an independent organisation, they can get support from the wider public in a way that the Government couldn't do, from businesses, from the wider voluntary sector, in a way that Government just couldn't do.

However, the claim from this government official that NCS is now 'politically neutral', and even independent, is hard to reconcile with the reality that it is ultimately and intimately still tied to a state project (Authors, 2018) and one that impacts the voluntary sector. Once described as the 'fastest growing youth movement of its kind in the world', its future is in jeopardy.

Conclusions

As it enters a second decade, NCS is currently under the spotlight with its own financial pressures and recruitment challenges in the context of COVID-19 (Delahunty, 2021), as well as the shadow cast by David Cameron's legacy (Cohen, 2021a, 2021b). It remains however the UK Government's central investment in youth services and youth social action. These tensions are compounded as there is yet another delay to the launch of a promised Youth Investment Fund from UK Government, a '£500m fund to boost youth work provision across England' (Hayes, 2021). At this milestone moment for NCS, the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector will be crucial in determining either its future success or eventual demise.

For geographers, the example of NCS reveals the increasingly blurred boundaries between the state and voluntary sector in austere times. The UK Government has sought to mimic the

traditional role of voluntary youth organisations in launching NCS, whilst simultaneously creating a competitive environment in that space with a new funding stream generating winners and losers in an already precarious sector, attracting new players to this landscape. Although our research has revealed clear benefits for a range of organisations involved in NCS, and that ultimately the state is indebted to smaller charities and organisations for many of the scheme's achievements, our findings have also captured tensions and challenges within its infrastructure and the wider sector.

Our analysis of NCS demonstrates how this contested landscape has been reconfigured over the past decade. We have shown that the state can enrol and entice actors from the voluntary sector within its own vision and apparatus of governance, even to the extent that some organisations conceive of the programme as a 'lifeline' in austere times, articulating gratitude to the very same state which enacted dramatic fiscal cuts to local authorities and youth services. As such, NCS offers a distinctive realignment of both the state and voluntary sector, advancing our conceptual understandings of the relational 'shadow state'. This is an increasingly complex and interdependent relationship, demonstrated by this latest chapter in the histories and geographies of state-funded youth services and the voluntary youth sector.

[Box]

We offer the following questions for geographers and geography educators as prompts for further discussion and debate on themes raised in this paper:

- What (if any) are your own experiences of NCS? What are your experiences of other acts of volunteering, social action, and citizenship?
- Have you observed any other changes between the state and the voluntary sector in your local area? Consider sites and settings such as libraries, museums or foodbanks and how the debates on austerity highlighted in this paper connect to 'changing places'.
- What are the wider geographies of youth work, youth organisations and youth volunteering in other national contexts?

References

Anderson, J., Askins, K., Cook, I., Desforges, L., Evans, J., Fannin, M., Fuller, D., Griffiths, H., Lambert, D., Lee, R., MacLeavy, J., Mayblin, L., Morgan, J., Payne, B., Pykett, J., Roberts, D. and Skelton, T. (2008) 'What is geography's contribution to making citizens?' *Geography*, 93, 1, pp. 34-39.

Butler, P. (2013) 'If only cuts to youth services were fantasy', *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/apr/30/cuts-youth-services-fantasy>

Clayton, J., Donovan, C., and Merchant, L. (2016) 'Distancing and limited resourcefulness: Third sector service provision under austerity localism in the north east of England' *Urban Studies*, 4, 1, pp. 723-740.

Clifford, D. (2021) 'Disparities by deprivation: The geographical impact of unprecedented changes in local authority financing on the voluntary sector in England' *Environment and Planning A* <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211034869>

Cohen, D. (2021a) 'David Cameron's legacy of failure' *The Independent* <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/david-cameron-national-citizen-service-b1822327.html>

Cohen, D. (2021b) 'Youth leaders criticise 'totally disproportionate' funding handed to David Cameron's failing legacy project' *The Independent* <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/david-cameron-national-citizen-service-b1826574.html>

Davies, B. (2019) *Austerity, Youth Policy and the Deconstruction of the Youth Service in England* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Delahunty, S. (2020) 'Mark Gifford: "The NCS wants to be a collaborative partner, not a competitor"' *Third Sector* Available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/mark-gifford-%E2%80%9Cthe-ncs-wants-collaborative-partner-not-competitor%E2%80%9D/management/article/1698563>

DeVerteuil, G., Power, A., Trudeau, D. (2019) 'The relational geographies of the voluntary sector: disentangling the ballast of strangers' *Progress in Human Geography* 44, 5, pp. 919-937.

Denning, S. (2019) 'Voluntary sector responses to food poverty: responding in the short term and working for longer-term change' *The Voluntary Sector Review* 10, 3, pp. 361-369.

de St Croix, T. (2018) 'Youth work, performativity and the new youth impact agenda: Getting paid for numbers?' *Journal of Education Policy* 33, 3, pp. 414-438.

de St Croix, T., McGimpsey, I. and Owens, J. (2020) 'Feeding young people to the social investment machine: the financialisation of public services' *Critical Social Policy* 40, 3, pp. 450-470.

Farnsworth, K. (2021) 'Retrenched, reconfigured and broken: the British welfare state after a decade of austerity' *Social Policy and Society* 20, 1, pp. 77-96.

Featherstone, D., Ince, A., Mackinnon, D., Strauss, K., & Cumbers, A. (2012) 'Progressive localism and the construction of political alternatives' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37, 2, pp. 177-182.

Fyfe, N. and Milligan, C. (2003) 'Out of the shadows: exploring contemporary geographies of voluntarism' *Progress in Human Geography* 27, 4, pp. 397-413.

- Greer Murphy, A., (2017) 'Austerity in the United Kingdom: the intersections of spatial and gendered inequalities' *Area* 49, 1, pp. 122-124.
- Hall, S.M. (2019) 'Everyday austerity: Towards relational geographies of family, friendship and intimacy' *Progress in Human Geography* 43, 5, pp. 769-789.
- Hayes, D. (2021) 'Minister commits to youth investment fund but focus will be on 'innovation'' *Children & Young People Now*. Available at: <https://www.cypnow.co.uk/news/article/minister-commits-to-youth-investment-fund-but-focus-will-be-on-innovation>
- Hitchin, E. (2021) 'The affective life of austerity: uncanny atmospheres and paranoid temporalities' *Social & Cultural Geography* 22, 3, pp. 295-318.
- Horton, J. (2016). 'Anticipating service withdrawal: young people in spaces of neoliberalisation, austerity and economic crisis' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41, 4, pp. 349-362.
- Horton, J., Pimlott-Wilson, H. and Hall, S. M. (2021) (eds) '*Growing Up and Getting By: International Perspectives on Childhood and Youth in Hard Times*' Bristol: Policy Press.
- House of Commons Education Select Committee (2011) '*Services for Young People – Third Report*' London: UK Parliament. Available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmeduc/744/74410.htm#a26>
- Huckle, D. (2015) Putting global citizenship at the heart of global learning: a critical approach, *Geography*, 100, 2, pp. 76-83.
- Ipsos MORI (2014) '*National Citizen Service 2013 Evaluation*' Available at: <https://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/publications/1692/National-Citizen-Service-2013-Evaluation.aspx>
- Jones, R. and Royles, E. (2020) 'The state, civil society and the shadow state: Analysing three vectors of relationality' *Geoforum* 114, pp. 40-48.
- Lambie-Mumford, H., and Green, M. A. (2017) 'Austerity, welfare reform and the rising use of food banks by children in England and Wales' *Area* 49, 3, pp. 273-279.
- Local Government Association (2018) '*LGA - National Citizen Service funding should be devolved to local youth services*' Available at: <https://www.local.gov.uk/about/news/lga-national-citizen-service-funding-should-be-devolved-local-youth-services>
- May, J., Williams, A., Cloke, P. and Cherry, L. (2020) 'Food banks and the production of scarcity' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 45, 1, pp. 208-222.
- McIntyre, N., Duncan, P. and Siddique, H. (2021) 'Conditions that led to 2011 riots still exist today, experts warn' *The Guardian* Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2021/jul/30/conditions-2011-uk-riots-still-exist-today-experts-warn>
- McDowell, L. (2012). 'Post-crisis, post-fordist and post-gender? Youth identities in an era of austerity' *Journal of Youth Studies* 15, 5, pp. 573-590.

- McKendrick, J. H., Horton, J., Kraftl, P., and Else, P. (2014) 'Bursting the bubble or opening the door? Appraising the impact of austerity on playwork and playwork practitioners in the UK' *Journal of Playwork Practice* 1, pp. 61-69.
- Meegan, R., Kennett, P., Jones, G. and Croft, J., (2014) 'Global economic crisis, austerity and neoliberal urban governance in England' *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 7, 1, pp. 137-153.
- Milligan, C. (2007) 'Geographies of Voluntarism: Mapping the terrain' *Geography Compass*, 1, 2, pp. 183-199.
- Mills, S. (2021) *Mapping the Moral Geographies of Education: Character, Citizenship and Values* London: Routledge.
- Mills, S. and Waite, C. (2017a) Brands of Youth Citizenship and the Politics of Scale: National Citizen Service in the United Kingdom, *Political Geography* 56 (1): 66-76
- Mills, S. and Waite, C. (2017b) *National Citizen Service: A Geographical Approach* Loughborough University ISBN: 978-1-5272-1279-4
- Mills, S. and Waite, C. (2018) From Big Society to Shared Society? Geographies of social cohesion and encounter in the UK's National Citizen Service, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography* 100 (2): 131-148.
- Mohan, J. (2012) 'Geographical foundations of the Big Society' *Environment and Planning A* 44, pp. 1121-1129.
- Morse, N. and Munro, E. (2015) 'Museums' community engagement schemes, austerity and practices of care in two local museum services' *Social & Cultural Geography* 19, 3, pp. 357-378.
- Mycock, A. and Tonge, J. (2011) 'A Big Idea for the Big Society? The Advent of National Citizen Service' *The Political Quarterly* 82, 1, pp. 56-66.
- National Audit Office. (2017) 'Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General: Cabinet Office and Department of Culture, Media & Sport - National Citizen Service' HC916, Session 2016-17, 13 January 2017. Available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/National-Citizen-Service.pdf>
- NCS (2021) 'About NCS' Available at: <https://wearencs.com/about-ncs>
- Norcup, J. (2017) 'Educate a Woman and You Educate a Generation' *Performance Research*, 22, 1, pp. 67-74.
- Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2017). Individualising the future: the emotional geographies of neoliberal governance in young people's aspirations. *Area* 49, 3, pp. 288-295.
- Pykett, J. (edited by) (2010) Designing identity: exploring citizenship through geography, *Geography*, 95, 3, pp.132-142.

- Skinner, M., & Power, A. (2017). Voluntarism and the voluntary sector. *The International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology*. Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg0732>
- Stenning, A. (2020) 'Feeling the squeeze: Towards a psychosocial geography of austerity in low-to-middle income families' *Geoforum* 110, pp. 200-210.
- Trudeau, D. (2008) 'Towards a relational view of the shadow state', *Political Geography* 27, pp. 669-690.
- Trudeau, D. (2012). 'Constructing citizenship in the shadow state' *Geoforum*, 43, 3, pp. 442-452.
- Wolch, J. (1990) '*The shadow state: government and voluntary sector in transition*' New York: The Foundation Center.
- Wilkinson, E. and Ortega-Alcázar, I. (2019) 'The right to be weary? Endurance and exhaustion in austere times' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 44, 1, pp. 155-167.
- Williams, A., Goowin, M., & Cloke, P. (2014). 'Neoliberalism, Big Society and progressive localism' *Environment and Planning A*, 46, 12, pp. 2798-2815.
- Yarwood, R. (2011) 'Voluntary Sector Geographies, Intraorganisational Difference, and the Professionalisation of Volunteering: A Study of Land Search and Rescue Organisations in New Zealand' *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 29, pp. 457-472.
- Yarwood, R. and Tyrrell, N. (2012) 'Why children's geographies?' *Geography*, 97, 3, 123-128.
- Youdell, D. and McGimpsey, I. (2015) 'Assembling, disassembling and reassembling 'youth services' in Austerity Britain' *Critical Studies in Education* 56, 1, pp. 116-130.

All URLs last accessed 13/08/2021