

Supporting the Transition to Adulthood

By Adam Nichols



Introduction

"Adulthood is the acknowledgement that the world is like a children's playground on a much larger scale."

Young person's response to Young Adult Trust research project October 2006

The Young Adult Trust aims to give every young person in Britain a sense of purpose, optimism and belonging. We are developing innovative approaches to support young people's transition to adulthood.

The Young Adult Trust is all about action and we are already getting our hands dirty as we create a range of practical activities to develop confident, independent and community-minded young adults. However, we also want to build an evidence base to support our passionate belief in a supported and structured transition from childhood to adulthood.

This publication explains our initial thinking, and outlines the work we will be doing to ensure we can make our case persuasively and credibly.

The first section focuses on Adulthood and the Law, examining the links between age and adulthood and outlining the ways in which age is used to confer adult status within our legal system.

We then move on to discuss Rites of Passage to Adulthood, particularly looking at other countries and cultures to find out how they support young people's transition process.

The final section presents the results of a major piece of research commissioned by the Young Adult Trust to look at Young People's Views of Adulthood.

We conclude each section and the publication itself with some conclusions and key actions for the Young Adult Trust.

If, as the young person quoted above believes, adulthood is like a children's playground, the Young Adult Trust is there to push the swing higher, to make the roundabout turn faster, and to catch young people when they fall. I hope you will join us on what promises to be an exciting and challenging ride.

Adam Nichols
October 2006

Some facts about young adults

Last year, more than 1.5 million Britons thought about moving house to escape young people hanging around, and 1.7 million avoided going out after dark for the same reason IPPR

92% of young people yearn to buy their dream home

The Observer, 28th May 2006

39% of Britons would avoid a confrontation with young people for fear of physical attack IPPR

Young people aged 16-24 are the most likely age group to volunteer in their community

Home Office Citizenship Survey 2005

The UK has the highest teenage pregnancy rate in Europe Fairbridge

80% of young people expect to marry and have children and 82 per cent believe family is important The Observer, 28th May 2006 Over 1 million 16-24 year olds are not in education, employment or training Fairbridge

In 2006, 96.6% of 16-18 year-olds who took A-levels received a pass, with nearly a quarter achieving A grades DfES

In September 2005, there were 8,689 young adults aged 18 to 20 in prisons in England and Wales
Social Trends, 2006

90% of young people believe politicians do not treat them as equals YouthNet

Young people are half as likely to vote as older age groups – only 37% of 18-24 year olds voted in the 2005 general election

Electoral Commission

Adulthood & the law

Our laws stipulate the age at which we allow people to do things that are traditionally considered 'adult'. This age-related legislation provides young people with an important signal of society's view of adulthood.

Acknowledging the important role played by the state in shaping perceptions of adulthood, the Young Adult Trust is conducting an analysis of age related legislation, both in the UK and internationally. We want to see if our legal framework is logical and consistent, and understand whether it provides a coherent message to young people about our society's view of adulthood.

Should we link age with adulthood?

Young people develop and mature at different rates, both physically and mentally. Gender, environment and genetics all play an important role.

During adolescence, most boys and girls reach adult height and weight, although there is considerable variation in when this occurs. Some girls begin to develop as early as age nine, although it is more common for puberty to begin at 10 or 11 and for girls to grow most quickly at age 12. Almost all girls will have begun puberty by 13. Full sexual maturity is usually complete by 16. Most boys begin to develop by the age of 14, and are usually sexually mature by 17 or 18^1 .

It is worth noting that physical maturity begins at an earlier age today than it did a century ago. For example, girls begin menstruating at a considerably younger age than did their counterparts in the early 1900s. These changes can be explained by improvements in nutrition, general health, and living conditions.

Mental maturity also occurs at a wide range of ages and stages. In fact it could be argued that it is even more open to external influence, and therefore even more variable, than physical development.

This divergence in the ages at which young people mature, and the wide range of factors affecting development, seems to suggest that arbitrarily linking age with legislation may be a mistake. In particular, applying different age limits to different laws seems to be fraught with danger. But how does the LIK deal with this issue?

The UK position

In common with most other countries around the world, age is an important point of differentiation within the UK legal framework. Although the 'age of majority', when young people officially become adults, is deemed to be 18, many laws confer adult status at different ages.

Table 1 outlines some of the main pieces of age related legislation in the UK.

10+

· Age of criminal responsibility

14+

- Get a part time job
- · Order soft drinks in a bar
- Be held in secure accommodation if convicted of a serious criminal offence

15 +

- Work up to eight hours on a Saturday
- View, rent or buy a 15-rated film
- Be sent to a young offenders institute if convicted

16 +

- Have the right to give consent to medical, dental and surgical treatment
- Leave school
- Be entitled to free full-time further education
- · Have sex, gay or straight
- Claim benefit and obtain a National Insurance number
- · Apply for legal aid
- Drink a beer or a cider with a meal in a pub or hotel
- · Ride a moped

(16 + cont.)

- Work as a street trader and sell scrap metal
- · Choose a doctor
- Work full time
- Join the armed forces (with parental agreement)
- · Move out of the family home
- Rent accommodation (but a guarantor is required)
- · Access school records
- · Pay for prescription charges
- · Order a passport
- Receive a probation order if convicted of a criminal offence
- · Buy premium bonds
- · Fly a glider
- Get married (with parental consent)
- Buy cigarettes, rolling tobacco, cigarette papers and liqueur chocolates

17 +

- Drive most types of vehicles
- Apply for a private pilot's licence for a plane, helicopter, gyroplane, hot air balloon or airship
- Be interviewed by the police without an adult present, and be given a reprimand or a warning
- Become a blood donor (with parental consent)
- Own a weapon

18+

- Vote and stand in local and general elections
- Serve on a jury
- Go to jail if found guilty of a criminal offence
- See original birth certificate if adopted
- Make a will
- Be an organ donor
- Get married without parental permission
- View, rent or buy an 18-rated film
- View, rent, or buy pornographic material
- Buy fireworks
- Place a bet in a betting shop or casino
- Open a bank account
- Ride a motorbike above 125cc
- Buy an alcoholic drink in a pub or a bar
- Pawn goods in a pawn shop
- Have a tattoo
- Drive lorries between 3500kg and 7500kg

19 +

 No longer entitled to free full time education at school

21 +

- Apply to adopt a child
- Supervise a learner driver
- Apply for a range of licences to fly commercial transport aeroplanes, helicopters, gyroplanes and airships
- Drive vehicles over 3500kg

Table 1 demonstrates the complex legal position in relation to age. Although the main ages of transition are at 16 and 18, the 'ladder of entitlement' ranges from 14 to 21. In addition, almost every age-related measure is governed by a different piece of legislation. There is no overall definition or 'sense check' to ensure age consistency when new legislation is passed.

Whilst age may be considered to be a blunt instrument for creating laws, it would clearly be impossible to legislate without some recourse to age. However, it is still legitimate to ask why certain activities are deemed to be acceptable at a younger or older age. For example, we can own a firearm at 17 but we are not allowed to open a bank account until we are 18. We may join the armed forces and possibly give our life for our country aged 16, but we may not make a will until we are 18. Is this logical?

International Comparisons

Table 2 illustrates how other counties deal with age related legislation. We can see that there is little consistency in terms of the ages at which young people are deemed to be ready to undertake 'adult' activities.

	Drink beer	Drink spirits	Drink wine	Buy cigarettes	Vote in elections	Drive a car	Married (heterosexual)	Consenting sex (hetero:	Consenting sex (homos	Eligible for prison	Smoking canabis	Military (compulsory)	Military (voluntary)
UK	18	18	18	16	18	17	18	16	16	18	В	Α	16
Austria	16	16	16	16	18	17	18	14	18	18	В	18	16
Belgium	16	16	16	16	18	18	18	16	16	18	18	Α	16
Czech	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	15	15	18	В	Α	18
Denmark	16	16	16	16	18	18	18	15	15	18	В	18	18
Finland	18	20	18	16	18	18	18	16	16	18	В	18	18
France	16	16	16	16	18	18	18	15	15	18	В	Α	17
Germany	16	18	16	16	18	18	18	16	16	18	В	18	18
Greece	18	18	18	С	18	16-18	С	15-17	17	18	В	18	18
Holland	16	18	16	16	18	18	18	16	16	18	18	Α	20
Hungary	18	18	18	18	18	17	16	14	14	18	В	Α	18
Ireland	18	18	18	18	18	17	18	17	17	17	В	Α	17
Italy	16	16	16	18	18	18	18	14	14	18	В	Α	18
Norway	18	21	18	18	18	18	18	16	16	18	В	18	16
Poland	Α	Α	Α	18	18	18	18	15	15	17	В	17	17
Switzerland	16	18	16	16	18	18	18	16	16	18	В	20	17
Austrailia	18	18	18	18	18	16-18	16	16-18	16-18	17	В	Α	16
Japan	20	20	20	С	20	18 1	16-18	313-18	13-18	С	21	Α	18

A None

B Illegal

C Information not available

These substantial differences in how countries deal with age related legislation might be explained by national differences in the rate at which young people mature. However, it seems more likely that decisions are made based on cultural mores rather than an objective analysis of when young people are ready to take on adult responsibilities. This point is further demonstrated by Asda's recent decision to adopt a voluntary policy of restricting sales of knives and tobacco to over 18s.

Whilst subjective public opinion will always be an important driver for policymakers, this evidence at least suggests that there is no objective reason for different activities to be legal at different ages, and that we could consider reviewing our approach to age and the law in the UK.

Conclusions and key actions for the Young Adult Trust

The transition to adulthood does not occur overnight, and there is no universal milestone age when maturity can be said to have been reached. Therefore, whilst we must accept age as a flawed but necessary legislative tool, there seems little logic in setting arbitrarily different ages for different areas of adult responsibility. It might be better to settle on a more simplified and universally applied legal definition of the age of maturity.

This would at least provide clarity about our expectations of young people as they reach adulthood. The existing inconsistencies create confusion and give ambiguous messages to young people about their status as children or adults in our society.

This is particularly pronounced in the UK where there is no other societal recognition of adulthood, meaning that the only formal cue is the law.

The Young Adult Trust will therefore:

- Explore in more detail the age-related legislation currently on the statute book in the UK
- Examine ways in which age-related legislation could be made more uniform
- Examine how the legislative process could achieving greater uniformity, including measures to ensure that all future legislation takes account of any changes
- Examine the approach of other countries and national and international legal agreements which may limit the UK's approach to age related legislation
- Initiate a national debate on whether early adult status could be linked to a demonstration of maturity and responsibility

Rites of passage to Adulthood

Since the dawn of human civilisation, rites of passage ceremonies have been present in almost all cultures across the world. In more recent times, these rituals have tended to decline in importance in most Western societies. However, they retain their importance in many countries and faiths.

The Young Adult Trust is examining formal rites of passage in a range of settings. We want to explore whether a new rite of passage process could support the transition to adulthood for young people in the UK.

We have started to research the traditions of other countries and cultures, and some of our initial findings are presented below.

State customs

Spain

The *Quinceañera*, a celebration of a girl's 15th birthday, marks the transition from childhood to womanhood. The celebration traditionally begins with a religious ceremony. A reception is held in the home or a banquet hall. The festivities include food and music, and in most, a choreographed waltz or dance performed by the *Quinceañera* and her court.

In more recent times the ceremony has been increasingly observed by other events that focus more on the *Quinceañera*'s wishes, for example world travel. The *Quinceañera* is also widely practised in Latin America and Latino communities in North America.

Japan

Seijin shiki is the Japanese coming of age ceremony held annually in January. The age of majority is 20 and the Seijin shiki covers all those who will reach this age during the current school year. The ceremony is generally held in the morning at local city offices and all young adults who maintain residency in the area are invited to attend. Government officials give speeches, and small presents are handed out to the new adults. After the ceremony, the young adults often gather in groups and go to parties or go out drinking.

Australia

In the Australian Citizenship Affirmation ceremonies, people can renew and affirm their commitment to their country by taking a pledge of allegiance that is already sworn by immigrants awarded citizenship. The ceremonies are open to anyone, are voluntary and have no legal effect.

They are normally held during local events or on days of significance to Australian citizenship, such as Australia Day in January, when people with an affinity to the country but who are not citizens can also participate³.

Malaysia

Circumcision is a much-heralded rite within the Muslim community in Malaysia. The coming of age arrives between the ages of 12 and 15. The holy months of Syaaban, Zulhijjah and Muharam are considered as auspicious months for this ceremony to take place. It is also normal for the

circumcision rite to be performed in conjunction with a wedding, headshaving ceremony or when the study of the Quran has been completed. Before the ceremony can take place. the boy has to cleanse himself. He is then dressed in his best attire and is carried to a stage where he will face an ornamental arrangement of turmeric-stained rice grains. This is believed to offer him courage. He is served a drink - air tolak hala - which has been blessed with Quranic verses as a preventive measure against infection. The mudin then performs the circumcision

Religious Customs

Christianity

In some Christian traditions, generally Catholic and Anglican, Confirmation is the ritual by which a young person becomes an official member of the Church. Confirmation also bestows the Holy Spirit upon the confirmed, and in some churches is received concurrent with baptism or first communion.

The age of accountability is the age at which a child is old enough to understand the moral consequences of their actions and can be held accountable for sins. Though it does not correspond to a particular age for every person, due to differences in personal and psychological maturation, it is sometimes set down arbitrarily as 12 or, in the Catholic Church, 7.

Judaism

Judaism has the well known ceremonies of *Bar mitzvah* for boys around the time when they turn 13. For girls, the less commonly practiced *Bat mitzvah* occurs at 12 years old, acknowledging that girls mature slightly ahead of boys. Judaism recognizes that these ages coincide with puberty, which in past times made them eligible for marriage.

Hinduism

Many Hindus perform male coming of age ceremonies like *Upanayana*, *Janov* or *Bratabandha*.

These ceremonies have variants depending on the caste, the culture and the country. The *Upanayana* is akin to the *Bar Mitzvah* in Jewish culture. The ceremony varies from region to community, and includes reading from the Vedas and special mantras and *shlokas*.

Girls (prepubescent until married) do not have an equivalent ritual passage. However, some follow the annual Monsoon Austerity Ritual of Purification by not eating cooked food for one or two weeks, depending on their age. This is known as *Goryo* or *Goriyo*.

The United Kingdom

Unlike the examples outlined on the previous pages, there is no formal ceremony or ritual observed for the transition to adulthood in the UK. The standard approach is generally to have 'a big night out' and get so drunk you don't even remember the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Another important part of the ritual is to have an extremely embarrassing moment that people will hold against you for years to come - for example, passing out and vomiting in the toilets at a posh restaurant. The coming of age is celebrated either at 18, which is the legal age of majority, or at 21, the more traditional age.

There are a number of major events which may be seen as signalling adulthood. These include finishing school, leaving home, graduating from university, buying a house, getting married and having children.

However, since these events may occur at any age between 14 and old age (or, for many young people, not at all) they cannot be considered as a universal milestone.

In recent years the government has floated several ideas for formal ceremonies marking the transition to adulthood. In 2005 it was reported that citizenship ceremonies for all 18 year olds might be introduced, in which

they would take an oath of allegiance to the Queen, listen to speeches and receive certificates to mark their coming-of age as British citizens⁴. In 1999 there was a discussion about holding high school graduation ceremonies for 19-year-olds, based on the American model⁵. Nothing came of either idea.

Conclusions and key actions for the Young Adult Trust

In anthropological terms, the sheer pervasiveness and longevity of rites of passage ceremonies and rituals suggests that they must be a deeply rooted part of the human development process. This in turn points to the potential for a contemporary rites of passage programme that encapsulates UK cultural values to play a major part in supporting young people's transition to adulthood.

The Young Adult Trust will therefore:

- Conduct more detailed research into rites of passage systems in other countries and cultures
- Develop a formal and of ceremonial 'rites of passage' element to our work, ideally involving the wider community

Young People's views of adulthood

So far, we have discussed the different ways in which adult society recognises young people's development from childhood to maturity. However, the Young Adult Trust feels it is crucially important to understand the views and experiences of young people themselves of this critical point in their lives.

To this end, in October 2006 we commissioned YouthNet to conduct a piece of research to gather young people's opinions and ideas about adulthood. Over 300 young people from all parts of the UK participated, and the results of this survey are presented here.

What makes someone an adult?

"I know not everybody goes to university, and some people finish fulltime education or leave home at 16 or earlier, but for me the experience of going to university will feel like the end of childhood, the start of a new life: that of an adult."

"I think it happens at different stages for different people related to different incidents. For example when I cook and clean at home and look after my brothers and sister I feel very adult like especially when also working two part time jobs and managing my own money. But then when my own parents told me they were splitting up,

I felt very much like a child; acting immaturely and feeling the need for affectionate parents rather than being independent. It also depends a lot on hormones!"

"I think it is just mainly based on a certain level of maturity. For me, I was 20 and I was still a kid in the head, but after my son was born a week before my 21st birthday I have taken leaps and bounds growing up, and 2 years later I feel more of a man than ever."

"So many 'adults' aren't adults."

"No matter what age I get to I still don't really feel like an adult."

"The acknowledgement that the world is like a children's playground - petty squabbles and otherwise included on a much larger scale."

"The thing that made me feel adult was buving a dishwasher. I think that being an adult isn't about a certain thing - its about when 'adult' things become mundane and boring and part of your life - not even exciting things but more stuff like paying bills, going on holiday, buying household items. Plus when you start looking at teenagers and you start sounding adult when you talk about what they are doing and you can see why your parents acted in the way they did towards you when you were a teenager because looking at today's teenagers you would tell them exactly the same thing."

"When they can think logically for themselves, and make educated decisions, based on what will be beneficial for themselves, others, their community, and society, rather than making rash decisions such as stabbing someone because they made you look stupid in front of someone you fancied."

"Adulthood is having lots of worries that you didn't even bother about when you were younger."

"Adulthood is when you feel exactly the same on the inside but on the outside your skin texture has changed, you have wrinkles and your hair is going grey."

"I am an 'adult', I am in a long term relationship, I have been working since the age of 14 and I am about to become a parent, yet I am still seen as a child in some peoples eyes, whereas I have been treated as an adult by others for years."

"I think teenagers are growing up too fast and trying to look too old and get away with so much. I'm 16 but still look like I'm 12 but I'm beginning to think it's great."

"I think that the law should clearly set the age of adulthood as one age like just 16 or 18 for everything because it's really confusing otherwise." "I think there needs to be reconciliation between the age you literally become an "adult" (i.e. no longer a 'teenager') and when society treats you as such. There seems to be a period of four or five years after leaving teenage years where you are in some kind of limbo between, or thrust headlong into responsibility. It would be better if we could make the transition smoother for as many people as possible."

"It means having a laugh with mostly everything that comes your way. If you can't do that, then you should watch more Monty Python."

"You can no longer get away with everything Iol!"

"You're an adult when you realise how much tax is stolen from you every month by a corrupt governing elite, and when you get used to it and s top being angry."

"Sex."

Age & adulthood

We asked people at what age they think people become adults, and at what age society treats people as adults.

Respondents own views ranged from 14 to 45 years old, with an average of 19.3 years. When asked about society's behaviour, responses ranged from 13 to 50 years old, with an average of 21.02 years – almost one year and nine months later than

respondents feel people become and adult. This clearly demonstrates a difference between people's own perceptions of adulthood and the way they feel society treats them.

We also asked young people about their views of age related legislation, and their responses are summarised in Table 3 - **How old should you be to do the following?**

	Drive	Vote	Sex	Married	Cigarettes	Alcohol	Army	Adult Films	Fireworks
Under 16	1%	1%	12%	0%	2%	4%	0%	8%	1%
16	20%	35%	53%	14%	13%	21%	23%	31%	9%
17	42%	7%	6%	4%	3%	10%	3%	7%	3%
18	29%	45%	26%	58%	57%	50%	54%	49%	45%
19	1%	1%	0%	2%	1%	2%	1%	0%	3%
20	2%	2%	1%	9%	4%	2%	3%	1%	5%
21	3%	8%	1%	12%	11%	11%	14%	4%	30%
Over 21	0%	0%	1%	2%	8%	1%	1%	0%	4%
Average age	17.34	17.47	16.43	18.37	18.34	17.69	18.24	17.22	19.95
Actual age	17	18	16	16	16	18	16	18	18

This table shows the distribution of respondents' suggested lower age limits for various activities. The average age in each case is highlighted in red where the suggested age is higher than the current legal age, and in where the suggested age is lower than the current legal age.

Interestingly, in most cases respondents believe that legal minimum ages should rise:

- The current campaign for votes at 16 does not seem to be supported by the majority of young people

 only 36% are in favour of reducing voting age to 16 or below.
- The increasing hostility towards smoking is shared by young people.
 85% would raise the age at which smoking is legal from 16.
- Perhaps thinking about the rapid increase in divorce during their lifetimes, 86% would raise the minimum age for marriage.

Preparation for Adulthood

We asked young people how prepared they felt for the various responsibilities of adulthood. Their responses are illustrated in Table 4 (below).

Even though these figures are high, experience suggests that young people's actual level of preparedness may be even lower, since 'unconscious incompetence' is frequently masked by bravado. It is often the case that young people's confidence actually declines after going through a personal development programme of the kind being developed by the Young Adult Trust, since they have a better idea

of what they don't know and where they need to develop further. The responsibility for which young people feel least prepared is parenthood. Only 5% of respondents said they felt totally prepared to be a mum or dad, despite the fact that 80% of 16-25 year olds expect to marry and have children, and 82 per cent believe family is important⁷.

The fact that only 20% feel totally prepared for adulthood in general suggests that the development of the Young Adult Trust will be welcomed by young people.

Table 4
I do not feel totally prepared...

to be a parent	95%
to move away from home	69%
to be in a log term relationship	71%
to work for a living	67%
to manage my own money	61%
to vote	49%
for adulthood in general	80%

We also asked young people to suggest how adulthood could be formally acknowledged. A large number of respondents suggested a public ceremony and certificate or letter from the Head of State.

"It would never happen but to go through some series of tests and experiences that you would have to pass to be classed as an adult."

"A badge so that people can stop looking down their nose at you because you are young."

"A brief period of non military national service (2 months maybe) followed by a ceremony and presentation of some kind of token."

"18th birthdays are usually acknowledged as important milestones anyway. It doesn't have to be formal... just special. The fact that people DO consider their 18th to be a really special occasion suggests that socially we are acknowledging adulthood."

"Personally, I'd quite like to be sent into the wilds to fend for myself for a couple of nights with just like a blanket, a knife and some matches - but that's not everybody's cup of tea."

Conclusions and key actions for the Young Adult Trust

The large and diverse response to this research demonstrates that young people have strong views about adulthood and the ways in which their transition is supported.

We feel that we have only really scratched the surface, and we want to do more qualitative work with young people to increase our understanding of their needs and inform the development of the Young Adult Trust's practical activities.

The Young Adult Trust will therefore:

- Conduct further, more qualitative, research with young people on their attitudes to and experiences of adulthood
- Use the pilots of the Young Adult Trust programme to gather the views and recommendations of young people.

Summary of key actions

Adulthood and the law

- Explore in more detail the age related legislation currently on the statute book in the UK
- Examine ways in which age related legislation could be made more uniform
- Examine how the legislative process could achieving greater uniformity, including measures to ensure that all future legislation takes account of any changes
- Examine the approach of other countries and national and international legal agreements which may limit the UK's approach to age related legislation
- Initiate a national debate on whether early adult status could be linked to a demonstration of maturity and responsibility

Rites of passage to adulthood

- Conduct more detailed research into rites of passage systems in other countries and cultures
- Develop a formal and ceremonial 'rites of passage' element to our work, ideally involving the wider community

Young people's views of adulthood

- Conduct further, more qualitative, research with young people on their attitudes to and experiences of adulthood
- Use the pilots of the Young Adult Trust programme to gather the views and recommendations of young people

We will also...

- Analyse current government spending on 'solving the problem' of youth.
 We are particularly interested in the benefits and criminal justice systems, since we believe some expenditure in these areas could be put to more positive use
- Research and demonstrate the benefits of personal development, building on work of the wide range of organisations already working in this field and incorporating our own experiences with the Young Adult Trust pilots.

About the author

Adam Nichols is the Chief Executive of Changemakers and the Young Adult Trust's Research and Development Advisor.

Following several years of local and national youth activism, Adam began his career as a Community Organiser with the Trades Union Congress, focusing on work with young people. From 1999-2001 he was a Programme Manager at the National Union of Students, the largest youth organisation in the world. In 2001 he moved to the Careers Research and Advisory Centre to set up InsightPlus, a national (and later international) accreditation scheme for young people's work experience. He joined Changemakers in 2004.

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

- 1 www.bupa.co.uk
- ² www.thesite.org
- ³ Daily Telegraph, 20th January 2005
- ⁴ Daily Mail, 21st January 2005
- ⁵ Daily Telegraph, 20th January 2005
- ⁶ The average suggested age for smoking is skewed by the number of respondents who think smoking should not be allowed for under 40s. 20 people suggested an age of 80 or over, presumably because they believe smoking should not be allowed at all. We have disregarded these people to arrive at the average suggested age of 18.
- ⁷ The Observer, 28th May 2006

