WORK PACKAGE 4:
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS

TASK 4.1:
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS AND POLICIES AND STRATEGIES OF LOCAL ACTORS

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Introduction

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The aim of this report is to emphasize the role that local stakeholders play within 11 analyzed countries in designing and implementing policies and social programs envisaging a better social and economic integration of disadvantaged young people in order to improve their quality of life.

The report is mainly based on 11 qualitative case studies done in the 11 countries involved in the project (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, Scotland, Spain, and Switzerland). All the case studies done had a common framework of analysis provided by a common report structure. As expected, even following a common framework there are significant particularities within the case studies, but also significant commonalities. The common structure foresaw:

- to tackle the methods used in data collection,
- a description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth,
- to focus on the particular problem(s) and related policies and practices and
- to highlight participation, social innovation, the informational bases for judgment of justice (IBJJ),

allowing us to identify in a participative way what kind of inequalities and disadvantages matter to young people and what kinds of public action should be set up.

The task of analyzing the social support networks and policies and strategies of local actors covers a diversity of concrete policies and practices that rose around and is set up on specific problems concerning disadvantaged youth. However, a common challenge across this diversity of policies and practices concerned the process of construction of the target groups/problems as defined and framed in public discourse and policy objectives since this determines to a large extent the scope and content of policies. This implied that the local analysis had to take into account two perspectives: a) the top down policies, in which the construction of target groups and development of policies often starts from an institutionalized perspective, in such that young person’s non-participation in institutionalized frameworks is problematized; b) the bottom up dimensions in an attempt to answer to the question “to what extent is the perspective of young people represented through participative processes in the informational basis of judgment of justice?”

Driving questions, issues and perspectives …

In order to prepare a solid answer and evidences to these challenges, it is necessary to rise up fundamental (innovative) questions on how we can better accomplish our goals in a capability approach perspective.

In a broader perspective, the analysis of the local social support network had to be done in relation to institutionalisation (seen as a social process), paying attention to eventual significant grade of divergence / differentiation in the level of institutionalization among the various case studies. Exploring the various types of local networks (community based – formal/ informal; institutional-policy based etc.), the case studies attempted to find anchored answers to questions like “in what way are the ‘youth claims’ raised, strengthened, degraded, dismissed?”; “how correlate the institutional top-down strategies with the bottom-up community-based initiatives?”
Specifically, the eleven analyses of local social support networks aim at:
- deepening knowledge on the relevant youth policy stakeholders and their social and institutional embeddedness in disadvantaged urban areas;
- including and highlighting the perspective of young people, of third sector and institutional stakeholders and of community agents for the informational basis of youth policy, seen from the perspective of the Capability Approach.

The authors of this report carried out “analyses of social support networks and policies and strategies of local actors” in 11 areas - defined as vulnerable - in the 11 partner countries (Vienna, Simmering – Austria; Ghent – Belgium; Svendborg – Denmark; Agen – France; Bielefeld – Germany; Milan and Naples – Italy; Amsterdam, New West - the Netherlands; Bucharest, Ferentari – Romania; Edinburgh – Scotland; Valencia, Quart de Poblet - Spain, and Lausanne - Switzerland). This deepened analysis of local actor policies and strategies helps to identify main stakeholders in youth policies and their implementation (such as social welfare organisations and broader social policy institutions, local government, etc.) as well as key factors of social deprivation and social inclusion in specific areas, such as urban environmental policy, housing facilities, leisure time possibilities etc. To make the interplay of different actors in local policy implementation visible, the authors identify actors on the macro level such as stakeholders in decision making processes; actors on the meso level implementing policies including institutional actors and third sector actors; and finally those affected by social policy programs and their perspectives, values and aspirations and explore their operational entanglement and cooperation.

The analysis of local social support networks includes perspectives from “above” and perspectives from “below”. Existing policies and social programmes focusing on deprived young populations have been examined. Controversies and gaps in these policies to successfully fight social exclusion and disadvantages (defined as a lack of available opportunities) that marginalised groups of young persons experience on the local level were analysed. In addition, the young people affected and "targeted" by social policies had the opportunity to turn to account their experiences, ideas and aspirations how to tackle inequality and social exclusion. In addition to the perspective of young people, the case studies explored the perspectives and approaches of key figures in the area (social workers, community workers, policy makers, etc.) on the capabilities of young people in relation to overall social policy aims.

These interviews aim to understand the current state of affairs from the viewpoint of local stakeholders. This analysis has been carried out by applying different methods such as:
- document analysis;
- problem-centred interviews with young people and other stakeholders;
- focus groups with young persons (in similar circumstances) and with other stakeholders.

Targeting the disadvantaged youngsters group in relation to policies means that the case studies do not represent a simply allocation/ focus to a specified (sub)group, but it was more specific about contextualization. As such, the case studies explored the significant issues of local settings and political will – how they were/are designed, who influences the set up process and agenda setting, the degree of formal / informal influences and of discretion. In the process of construction and contextualization of the target group(s) the focus was also on “legitimate” and “illegitimate” / “avoidable” and “unavoidable” inequalities. As such, the (youngsters’) disadvantage was perceived and analysed as a multidimensional and not only a policy related concept, considering youth policy in its broadest sense, investigating social, educational and urban policies in relation to young adults and how they affect and target the
situation of youth. Local welfare systems are subsidiaries of a wider national welfare system, comprising the main “institutional tools” of this one, as well as “local tools” (strategies, programs, partnerships etc.) that aim to put to good use the local resources in solving the local issues. As it was underlined, in poor neighborhoods (such as in Romania / Bucharest-Ferentari) the local welfare system embraces also informal / shadow / grey features, taken into account as part of the local non-institutional strategies of (temporary) problem solving and how these „informal“ / „less-institutionalized“ strategies contrast with the more „highly-institutionalized“ ones. Another direction of analysis was to juxtapose the “hard” youth policies (educational, labour-market programs and social assistance services) and “soft” youth policies (open structures and programs which express participation and life-world oriented approaches) and to look if and how they match, correspond or conflict.
1. GERMANY – Local social support networks analysis in Bielefeld (by Thomas Ley)
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Abstract

The case study analyses the local welfare system of Bielefeld with a special emphasis on the perspectives for and from young adults. The paper serves for a local (policy) contextualisation as well as preparing the ground for participative research. The study will especially focus on a so-called “disadvantaged area” with its own specificity, historical and social development as well as in contrast to other areas; as disadvantaged areas are in the focus of local policy, the political selection of these areas are presented. The vulnerability of young adults will be illustrated by statistical indicators, in particular the need of social benefits, the labour market positions of young adults as well as the situation of school leavers in Bielefeld (chapter 4). As “disadvantaged youth” are partly tackled in urban policies, social policy, labour market policy (transition sector), educational policy, youth welfare and (shortened) youth work (esp. youth clubs), there exists no youth policy “of a piece”. Insofar the analysis will focus on the intersectional relations of these policies and evaluate them from a young person’s perspective (Chapter 5).

Formal modes of participation (chapter 6) and different forms of social innovation (chapter 7) within this area are briefly introduced and described; finally their contrariness will be discussed for further research. The paper will conclude with some ideas concerning the ongoing research on the informational basis of judgements of justice. This IBJJ can be discussed in 3 steps: firstly the political and discursive construction (and their combination) of the “disadvantaged area” and the “disadvantaged youth”; secondly the construction of needs (for help) will be elaborated and thirdly which offer(s) seem to be suitable for young adults from a professional perspective (chapter 8).

1.1 Introduction

The German case study analyses the local welfare system of Bielefeld with a special emphasis on the perspectives for and from young adults. The paper serves for a local (policy) contextualisation as well as preparing the ground for participative research.

- Special Focus with regard to the area:
According to the economic development in Bielefeld some of the areas in Bielefeld are supposed to be ‘disadvantaged areas’. Among these so-called ‘disadvantaged areas’ are districts in the inner city centre as well as in rather suburban areas. 5 urban areas were selected taking recourse to statistical indicators from a small scale monitoring system.¹ The study especially focuses on the inner city area and there again on a district called “Ostmannturnviertel”; it is one main residential environment in the inner city area of Bielefeld with a total population of 7113 inhabitants. It is target of different political ambitions and programmes.

¹ This statistical selection was especially based on high rates of children (up to 6 years), elderly people and birth; single parents households; people in need of social benefits (in particular families); unemployment, migration.
The vulnerability of young adults is illustrated by statistical indicators, in particular the need of social benefits (and their labour market positions). In comparison to the municipal average (11.4%) the rate of persons in need of social benefits is considerably higher (16.9%). Compared to other age groups and the municipal average especially the high rates of youngsters from 15 to 17 years in need of social benefits are striking.

**- With regard to local policies:**
The chosen area was and is target of different political ambitions and programmes. As “disadvantaged youth” are partly tackled in urban policies, social policy, labour market policy (transition sector), educational policy, youth welfare and (shortened) youth work (esp. youth clubs), there exists no youth policy “of a piece”. Insofar the analysis focuses on the intersectional relations of these policies and evaluates them from a young person’s perspective:

1. There is no decisive urban policy which either aims directly at improving the situations of young adults or explicitly involving young adults in urban development projects. But it is beyond controversy that these measurements have an impact on the environment of young adults.

2. The rather community-orientated social policy is addressing all inhabitants; a particular focus on and the involvement and perspective of youth is as well lacking. An explicit addressing and handling of poverty (risks) cannot be observed; it rather seems to be a de-thematisation and a focus on daily life aspects. Anyhow this hints to the fact, that social policies (at least in the area of basic social care and hence as part of right-based or economic interventions) seem to be rather fixed and it seems to be common that social innovations are more ecologically orientated or concerning pedagogical interventions.

3. The school policies on a local level are quite dodgy: The municipality is very cautious and somehow reluctant because of a decline in pupil enrolment and vague funding. The governing body of the school are more and more market-oriented and in an endeavour to increase school quality and the number of pupils. The justice orientated initiative called “One school for all” has to assert itself in these micro politics of merocratic perspectives on non-selection, market orientation and pruned budgets. Parents and their children become a political football within these antagonistic interests.

4. Concerning the labour market position of young people, the access to vocational training (especially in the dual system) is the main dividing line on the labour market. Not only the above mentioned inequalities in the school system but as well the insufficient training positions on the apprenticeship market are not only characteristic for the situation (and the expansion) of the transition sector, they are relevant to all efforts within this context.

5. On the level of youth work (youth policy in a narrow sense), basic disagreement can be found between open youth work, which is more oriented towards personal development and social integration, and job-orientated youth social work, where a shift towards employability can be observed. Nowadays especially open youth work seems to be under pressure because of extended schooldays, consumeristic (and/or non-pedagogical) alternatives and no obligatory funding in times of municipal financial crisis.²

Youth policy faces the ambivalence that on the one hand political responsibilities are not clear cut (there is no youth policy “of a piece”) and on the other hand every policy field can influence the situation and opportunities of young people (i.e. urban policy). Furthermore there exists no genuine (and holistic) youth reporting in Bielefeld, which tries to cope the

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² Noteworthy, while urban and social policies exert themselves for a gentrification and revaluation of this district, one can observe that there is much less effort in youth and school policy. This comes along with the blind spot in youth policy in general. Quite remarkable is that every policy has its own geographical sections/segments and figurations and therefore a common (statistical) assessment and informational basis of the situation of young adults is hard to reach.
different spheres of action, which affect young adults and hence maps the challenges and tasks for young adults in general and for a youth-friendly community. Young adults are perceived as the population group “somewhere in between”. A perspective on societal conditions of growth (which are shaped by forms of institutionalisation and situated conflicts) or a decisive perspective on unequal conditions is not captured.

1.2 Methods

This paper is firstly based on official statistics and reports from the municipality:
- The Social report of the city of Bielefeld (Lebenslagen & soziale Leistungen, Stadt Bielefeld 2013) is focusing on all issues of local welfare which the municipality is delivering or taking the responsibility for, such as: child care, elderly care, welfare benefits
- The Learning Report of the city of Bielefeld (Kommunaler Lernreport der Stadt Bielefeld 2012) tries to span all phases of lifelong learning, such as: Early childhood education, the general school system, vocational training, non-formal education, i.e. language and integration courses, artistic and cultural offerings
- The Child and Youth Promoting Plan of the city of Bielefeld (Kinder- und Jugendförderplan 2011-2014) declares the funding, structure and principles of open youth work in Bielefeld (as well as school social work). Open youth work does not mean necessarily public funded (although it is usually public funded and delivered from private bodies) but open in a sense that everybody can participate and is not forced to do so.

All these reports were analysed according to their “youth relevant issues” and how they address “disadvantaged”.

Secondly, documents from current policies and programmes were analysed, such as:
- Urban policies (i.e. integrated urban development concept 2010-2015)
- Youth policies (i.e. activities in youth clubs, youth welfare, youth work associations)
- Social policies (i.e. community work, social benefits)
- Active Labour Market Policies (i.e. measurements in the transition sector)

Thirdly, several expert interviews (see below) and a focus group delivered contextual knowledge for the policy analysis, such as:

| Regional/local government policy makers | 3 |
| Community Work organisations | 1 |
| Employment support service providers | |
| Citizen’s bodies (e.g. youth parliaments/councils) | |
| Youth work organisations | 4 |
| Think tanks (governmental and non-governmental) | |
| Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising) | |
| Young people | 1 |
| Other types of organisations | 1 |
| total | 10 |

*Table 1: Number and Differentiation of Interviews*
While there are numerous descriptive statistics and established networks of social services, the core of analysis tends to professional patterns of interpretation of the „disadvantaged youth“, their needs & their „insufficient participation“ and hence the informational basis of judgements of justice considering the youth (in policy and in professional practice).

1.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/ disadvantaged youth

We will first contextualise the city of Bielefeld on the basis of statistical indicators and then focus on the heterogeneous inner city area as well as on policies in disadvantaged areas.

1.3.1 General description of Bielefeld

Bielefeld is part of the federal state North-Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), which has the highest number of inhabitants in Germany (1/5 of the German population is living in NRW: 17.8 Mio. in 2010). In contrast to other cities in NRW, Bielefeld is a so-called “Flächenstadt” meaning that it has more space than e.g. the regional capital Düsseldorf although the population density is only half of the Düsseldorf population. Thus it is a rather rural city because many villages around Bielefeld were incorporated in the last centuries. The population of Bielefeld has slightly grown from 2010 to 2012 (+0.5%) and now there are 327,097 inhabitants, while the federal state average of NRW has slightly declined in the last years. The growth of the Bielefeld population is diverse along the age range. A high population growth can be recorded in the age group from 50-65 (+1631 persons). The numbers of the younger age groups remained more or less constant:

- 13.77% of the Bielefeld population are under 14 years (n=45,032); in the group of children under 6 years this number has been declining around 0.6% and now stands at 17,550.
- In the age group from 15-17 years 3% of the Bielefeld population belong to this age group (there was a population growth of +270 persons; n=9896).
- 9.1% of the population is aged from 18-24 years (n=29,647).

In Bielefeld every third person (32.9%) has a migration background; a number that is above the federal state average (23.3%). Most of them are living in the inner city area (n=26,399). The number of persons in need of social benefits is decreasing in Bielefeld (from 12.3% to 11.4%) although this number is still slightly higher than the average in NRW (11%). The number of households in need of social benefits is declining as well (Lebenslagen & soziale Leistungen, Stadt Bielefeld 2013).

1.3.2 Focus on the inner city area

While the whole population of Bielefeld has grown, this development is even more intense in the inner city area. In comparison to others the inner city area is the most densely populated area with 77,051 inhabitants. The inner city centre is an area said to be in constant transition. Experts assume that there is a continuous population movement. Due to these constant movements the population in the inner city area is diverse; compared to other areas of Bielefeld there is the highest number of persons with a migration background (it is sometimes called a “quarter of arrival”).

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3 Due to lower birth rates the population in NRW is constantly turning older. Among this population around 23.3% have a migration background: Comparing different age groups this rate is varying: Especially in the group of children and young people up to the age of 18 years the migration rate is considerably higher (36.9%) than the federal state average. Households in NRW are getting smaller and turning into one- or two-person-households. In 2012 the average number of persons living in a North-Rhine-Westphalia household was 2 persons. Around 11% of the population is in need of social benefits. In the group of children and young people up to the age of 18 years this rate is getting even higher (16.9%).
In the inner city area there is also a high amount of people in need of social benefits; nearly 1/3 of all people in need of social benefits are living in the inner city area (30.8%), although only 1/4 (23.5%) of all Bielefeld people live in the inner city area. Besides individual-related data the composition and status of households is a main criterion for social reporting: Compared to other areas, the inner city area has the highest number of households (44,143); this is ¼ of all households in Bielefeld. The households in the inner city area are rather small. In the city centre there is the highest number of one-person households, the most households with only one child and 25% of the households with children are single-parents. The number of households with children grew immensely in the last years (+3.9%) although the municipal average is below the federal state average.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of households</th>
<th>Bielefeld</th>
<th>Inner city area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-person households</td>
<td>73,698 (45.6%)</td>
<td>25,815 (58.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with children</td>
<td>24,512 (15.2%)</td>
<td>4,599 (10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Families with one child</td>
<td>11,108 (6.9%)</td>
<td>2,216 (5.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Families with two children</td>
<td>9,525 (5.9%)</td>
<td>1,691 (3.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Families with three or more children</td>
<td>3,879 (2.4%)</td>
<td>692 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single-parents with children</td>
<td>6,383 (4%)</td>
<td>1,758 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Type of households in Bielefeld and the Inner city area

1.3.3 Disadvantaged areas as a focus of local policy
According to the economic development in Bielefeld some of the areas in Bielefeld are supposed to be ‘disadvantaged areas’. Among these so-called ‘disadvantaged areas’ are districts in the inner city centre (eastern city centre Heeper Fichten, Ostmannturnviertel) as well as in the rather suburban areas of Bielefeld (Sieker, Baumheide, Sennestadt). These 5 urban areas were selected taking recourse to statistical indicators from a small scale monitoring system (out of 91 statistical areas within the city district) In 2008 (and again in 2011) within a municipal programme called “Urban development & social balance” (Stadt(teil)entwicklung des sozialen Ausgleichs). This statistical selection was especially based on high rates of
- children (up to 6 years), elderly people and birth,
- single parents households,
- people in need of social benefits (in particular families),
- unemployment, 
- migration.

Being aware that these are statistical selections, a special attention in the analysis will be drawn on the political and discursive construction of the “disadvantaged area” and the “disadvantaged youth” and their needs for help (We will come back to this at the professional construction of needs within the analysis of a focus group).

1.3.4 Special focus on the Ostmannturnviertel
The ‘Ostmannturnviertel’ is one main residential environment in the above mentioned inner city area of Bielefeld with a total population of 7,113 inhabitants. It is target of different political ambitions and programmes (see chapter 5).
There is a rate of 2.15% of young people at the age of 15-17 years. This rate is slightly below the municipal average in Bielefeld (3%). The rate of young people aged 18-24 years is considerably higher\(^5\) (15.38%) than the municipal average (9.10%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>0-14</th>
<th>15-17</th>
<th>18-24</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bielefeld</strong></td>
<td>45032</td>
<td>9896</td>
<td>29647</td>
<td>327.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ostmannturnviertel</strong></td>
<td>719</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>7113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Östliche Innenstadt</strong></td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>20702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sieker</strong></td>
<td>1093</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>5501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baumheide</strong></td>
<td>1392</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>7.796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sennestadt</strong></td>
<td>2058</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>14476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3: Children and young adults in the so called disadvantaged areas*

The area is characterized by a high rate of people in need of social benefits. In comparison to the municipal average (11.4%) the rate of persons in need of social benefits is higher (16.93%). Regarding the rates of people in need of social benefits, there are differences between age groups and households:

The rate of families in need of social benefits is higher (17.70%) than the municipal average in Bielefeld (10.8%). Beside the families in need of social benefits, especially young people are to a great extent affected by social benefits: Among the young people aged 15-17 years 43% are in need of social benefits; compared to the municipal average (17%) this rate seems to be extraordinary. The slightly elder young people aged 18-24 years are also in need of social benefits, but their rates are not as high as in the younger age group. The youngsters at the age of 18-24 years are almost as highly affected by social benefits (10.79%) as the municipal average (11.2%).

As mentioned in WP3, youth disadvantage is predominantly understood in terms of ‘NEETs’ and subsequently nearly all programmes and measurements are framed within a school-based and employment-centred transition regime (and it is no matter of the area). Youth poverty is merely measured and evaluated as a high rate of dependence from social benefits.\(^6\) All in all, the above mentioned figures and the derived political ambitions point to the assumption that the dependence on social benefits is one main issue in local affairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range</th>
<th>0-14</th>
<th>15-17</th>
<th>18-24</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Total quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bielefeld</strong></td>
<td>9997</td>
<td>1682</td>
<td>3320</td>
<td>35167</td>
<td>37289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ostmannturnviertel</strong></td>
<td>295</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1259</td>
<td>1204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Östliche Innenstadt</strong></td>
<td>923</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>3379</td>
<td>3512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sieker</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>1512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baumheide</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2066</td>
<td>2260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sennestadt</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>2362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4: Children and young adults in need of social benefits*

\(^5\) This might be affected by the fact, that the Ostmannturnviertel has a lot of student residences and is popular for young people.

\(^6\) Parents are generally obligated for alimony until the age of 25 years of their “children”. Young adults won’t get their own social benefits (until they have not been employed); insofar a family will collectively receive social benefits (so called “Bedarfsgemeinschaft”: community of members of a household in need of benefit; ALG II: Social Code 2) and young adults are obliged to live at home (until there are no serious problems in living together). Insofar financial independence (from family) can only be realized by a job (and even no vocational training).
Compared to the municipal average (32.9%) the migration rate in the Ostmannturmviertel is higher (44.14%). This also becomes apparent in the vibrant migrant scene in this area, as there are four different mosques, two parents’ clubs, and three cultural clubs. A differentiation of migration background and age is not compiled in the local social reporting.

There will be a special focus on the Ostmannturmviertel in this case study (and it will be the focus of participative research in Work Package 5) because of its
- urban transitional status/area in upheaval - somewhere between gentrification and segregation. It is located between industrial wasteland, shopping areas and public housing (as there is a lot of urban revitalisation around the quarter, the question will be how these affect the quarter and its inhabitants),
- heterogeneity, concerning for example the migration status, generational status and social standing,
- apparent social problems (such as prostitution and drug usage in public spaces as well as consumption room),
- “pretended” inadequateness for young people growing up in the district (less playing areas and the conspicuousness of the mentioned social problems),
- paid “political attention” - as there are several policy areas coming together (i.e. urban, school, social policies see below).

1.3.5 Labour market positions of young adults in Bielefeld

Concerning the labour market position of young people, the access to vocational training (especially in the dual system) is the main dividing line on the labour market. The current youth unemployment rate is slightly higher than the “normal” unemployment rate, but in fact most of the vulnerable young adults find themselves in the transition sector within pre vocational training measurements. Moreover young adults are only counted as unemployed, if they are “really” looking for employment and not if they are looking for vocational training, which have their own statistics (But this separate vocational training statistics cannot be regarded in relation to the disadvantaged areas.).

Youth unemployment
In September 2013 the total unemployment rate in Bielefeld was 9.3%, for youngsters until 25 years it was 10.1% (We will consider the dates from September, as in this month the statistics of the Vocational training market come up.) Among all unemployed people there is a rate of 11.1% (1788) for young people from 15 to 25 years in September 2013. 1.8% (312) of them is in the age range from 15 to 20 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth unemployment among all unemployed people</th>
<th>Youth unemployment among the age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from 15 to 25 years</td>
<td>1788 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among them 15 to 20 years</td>
<td>312 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-25 years 10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-20 years 8.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5: Youth unemployment in Bielefeld*

The current data regarding unemployment rates in relation to the disadvantaged areas are from December 2012.
Table 6: Youth unemployment rates in comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRW</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bielefeld</td>
<td>15.816 (7.80%)</td>
<td>14,701 (6.80%)</td>
<td>1.502 (9.5%)</td>
<td>1.463 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostmannsturmviertel</td>
<td>597 (8.55%)</td>
<td>558 (7.84%)</td>
<td>79 (13.2%)</td>
<td>62 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Östliche Innenstadt</td>
<td>1566 (7.66%)</td>
<td>1407 (6.80%)</td>
<td>127 (8.11%)</td>
<td>115 (8.17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sieker</td>
<td>496 (9.00%)</td>
<td>434 (7.89%)</td>
<td>52 (10.48%)</td>
<td>43 (9.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baumheide</td>
<td>632 (8.18%)</td>
<td>630 (8.08%)</td>
<td>66 (10.44%)</td>
<td>70 (11.11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sennestadt</td>
<td>724 (5.02%)</td>
<td>764 (5.28%)</td>
<td>67 (9.25%)</td>
<td>83 (10.86%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Vocational training places in Bielefeld

Vocational training places
In the reporting period the supply and demand of vocational training places is – not only now but at least since the 80s - unbalanced, hence the number of vocational training places in relation to the applicants is not sufficient.

While there were 2752 applicants in the reporting period (2013/14), there were only 2135 vocational training places. Summed up there is a rate of 78 vocational training places per 100 applicants. Compared to the previous reporting period this rate was even slightly increasing (69/100 in 2012/1013) but in comparison to the second last reporting this rate was rather decreasing (84/100 in 2011/12) (see table below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational training places (reporting period)</th>
<th>2013/2014</th>
<th>2012/2013</th>
<th>2011/2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2135</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>2146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual vocational training places</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>1778</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External vocational training</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocational training places per applicant</td>
<td>0,78</td>
<td>0,69</td>
<td>0,84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, the number of applicants for a vocational training place in Bielefeld was constantly increasing in the last years, due to double graduation classes, the popularity of the dual system and due to decreasing numbers of vocational training places in general (2012/2013: 2689; 2011/2012: 2552). In the reporting period 2013/2014 there are school leavers from the reporting period (1308) as well as school leavers from the previous years (1428) in search of a vocational training place. That hints to the problem of unplaced applicants. The number of unplaced applicants for a trainee place in the dual system has risen so drastically since the end of the 1990s that there are as many young people in the transitional system as in the regular school-based or in-company vocational training.
If we are regarding the educational and vocational pathways of school leavers in Bielefeld (lower secondary school, secondary school, school for special needs), this becomes obvious again. There is data from 2009, where 1368 pupils left school. They are all registered in the local transition management institution and accompanied; one year after 595 young adults and two years after nearly 20% (263 young adults) are still under observation and in different measures.

### Table 8: Applicants for vocational training places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applicants for vocational training places</td>
<td>2752</td>
<td>2689</td>
<td>2552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School leavers in the reporting period</td>
<td>1308</td>
<td>1208</td>
<td>1077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School leavers in the previous years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• in the previous year</td>
<td>1428</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>1467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• in earlier years</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown destination</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9: Destinations of school leavers (school year 2009/2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destinations</th>
<th>Total number (30.09.2009)</th>
<th>Total number (30.09.2010)</th>
<th>Total number (30.09.2011)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>school</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocational training</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre vocational training</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in (counseling) process</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1368</strong></td>
<td><strong>595</strong></td>
<td><strong>263</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

thereof:
- female: 630
- male: 738
- migration background: 53%

### Table 10: Destinations of school leavers (school year 2010/2011)

Concerning statistics of School leavers (lower secondary school, school for special educational needs, compulsory school) from 2009/2010 the picture nearly remains the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destinations</th>
<th>Total number 30.09.2010</th>
<th>Total number 30.09.2011</th>
<th>Total number 30.09.2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual vocational training</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-school vocational training</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External vocational training</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-based pre-vocational training</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical pre-vocational training</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary work</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the (counseling) process</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International supporting class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>1316</strong></td>
<td><strong>489</strong></td>
<td><strong>211</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
school leavers in Bielefeld dates from from the school year 2011/2012 (lower secondary school, secondary school, school for special educational needs, compulsory school) but up to now with no data of their educational and vocational pathways

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destinations</th>
<th>Total number 30.09.2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual vocational training</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-school vocational training</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External vocational training</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School-based pre-vocational training</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical pre-vocational training</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary work</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the (counseling) process</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International supporting class</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>1996</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Destinations of school leavers (school year 2011/2012)

The dual system is still an influential and powerful institution; it is regarded as the ‘silver bullet’ for the transition from school to work. An exception to this is the growing number of school-based training courses, especially for occupations in the social, educational and health sectors. Nevertheless, the high share of young people in this dual training system has decreased markedly in the last decades. While in the past, dual training could absorb 80% of the total applicants, this has now gone down to 65%. Hence, this long-lasting and powerful institution is not the ‘safe haven’ for young people’s transition anymore, but is becoming fragile and is increasingly being questioned.

We argue that this constitutes a systematic injustice, the causes of which are to be found in the structure of the transition sector. This injustice severely limits the possible effects of institutional and pedagogical efforts.

1.3.6 The construction of poverty and disadvantaged youth

According to the expert interviews and the group discussion disadvantages of youth are mainly described as missing opportunities on the labour market. Anyhow social work which is not explicitly focused on employability is in a tricky situation, how to handle and address disadvantages, making poverty explicit (and risk shameful situations) or taking it for granted (and return to common aspects).

In addition, there seem to be different ways of making poverty invisible. As the professionals describe: Youngsters know how to market themselves and are working on their image as they got the time and effort of trying to make their vulnerable situation invisible (i.e. they have one going-out dress with brand clothes; trying to show that they are part of). This hints to the interactionist idea of the cultivation of one's image (Goffmann) as well as to the concept of “Wertigkeit” (see below, which is often related to material aspects and places), which means significant, distinguished and respectable.

But as well there might be more implicit ways where they try to stay in their “secure” area to avoid public (and shameful) situations. That might link to the observation that young people’s self-efficacy and self-belief constantly alternate and sometimes in a diffuse manner in respect to different situations (cf. Düker/Ley 2012): They might feel as victims of social inequality,
but as capable makers of their future as well. They are still expecting to be ‘socially included’
and be able to live a good life according to what they perceive as social standards, although
they might have felt and experienced misrecognition (due to racism, ability etc.).
Anyhow it will be part of the next research steps how youngsters cope with disadvantages –
having in mind that these issues are tricky to handle.

1.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

The chosen area was and is target of different political ambitions and programmes. We want
to briefly recapture them and evaluate them from a young adults’ perspective. As Berthey (in
this volume) states: “Working on a policy area implies working on a bouquet of rights and
services instead than on a single program.”

1.4.1 The construction of the disadvantaged area

Within local policies disadvantaged areas are predominantly understood in relation to high
rates of people in need of social benefits (in particular families), unemployment, sometimes
even migration and children or elderly people (see above).
Concerning the expert interviews and the group discussion segregation is a dominant issue
when disadvantages and inequalities are territorialised. Anyhow the area in focus is more
evaluated as an urban area in upheaval which might be affected from gentrification. It is
assessed as an attractive area close to attractions from the city, consumerist areas etc.10
Anyhow the area in focus is only partly discussed as disadvantaged, “still some work to do”
but mainly empowering people and showing “that it is worth living in the district”.

1.4.2 Concerning urban policies

Urban development is one main sphere of influence (and responsibility) of local affairs. The
municipality created a framework called “integrated urban development concept” which
analyses economic (as well industrial) and demographic changes and identifies “areas of
observation and action”. There are two areas in the city centre (northern city district, Bethel)
as well as three in the rather suburban areas of Bielefeld (Sieker, Sennestadt, Brake). These
areas are similar to the areas which are target of the mentioned social policies but actually
they are not the same. While urban policies encompass industrial and business locations,
social policy focuses on residential environments and other statistical information.

Subsequently detailed concepts of these five areas set up different measurements for urban
restructuring and social cohesion (which as well serves as a project proposal for public
financial subsidy). Hence, within this broader concept a special concept for the northern city
district (“integrated urban development concept northern city district”; period 2010-2015;
funded from national and regional aid) was elaborated; again with a deeper analysis of
economic and demographic changes and a setup of several measurements. The
aforementioned Ostmannurturmviertel was and is target of a few measurements, as it is one of
the main residential environments. The whole concept entails 41 different measures, such as:

- Measurements for restructuring, reusing revitalization of urban spaces, i.e.
  - Development of new residential quarters

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10 One central issue of disadvantaged areas within the group discussion is the reification of poverty in „ugly“ houses, namely tower blocks in
rather bad conditions. That points to the discussion, which was raised from Langdon Winner already in 1980: “Do Artefacts have politics?”
Tangible artefacts, including the built environment and other material-spatial arrangements, embody „social” (that is „power”) relations. But
the question would as well be if these are just (still powerful) images of poverty which are ascribed in housing conditions.
Revitalization of old industrial quarters
- house front restorations [co-financing for homeowners]
- conversion of a youth club into a community centre [prearranged]

- Measurements for development of public spaces, i.e.
  - Refurbishment/ Redevelopment of a central park (Kesselbrink)
  - Greenbelt settings
  - Revitalization of “town entrances”

- Measurements for management, Involvement & public relations, i.e.
  - Funding of neighbourhood management (including professional conferences)
  - Free Micro budgets for institutions and inhabitants
  - Building Culture Project “Learning to see” (SehenLernen)

- Measurements for social issues and cohesion, i.e.
  - Building a multifunctional accommodation for social issues (Kulturhof) [prearranged]
  - Social work Projects with Mothers (Strong Mothers - Active Neighbourhood)
  - Social work Project “Handling of non-employed periods” for long-time unemployed (Umgang mit erwerbsfreier Zeit)
  - Partnerships for new local economy
  - Enlargement of kindergarten places

There are no decisive projects which either aim directly at improving the situations of young adults or explicitly involving young adults in urban development projects. But it is beyond controversy that these measurements have an impact on the environment of young adults.

1.4.3 Concerning social policies

As mentioned above, in 2008 (and again in 2011) the municipality initiated a programme called “Urban development & social balance” (Stadt(teil)entwicklung des sozialen Ausgleichs) in 5 urban areas, which is conducted from the social welfare office. But in fact it is rather a soft than a hard policy. It is generally community-orientated and entails a self-evaluation, rearrangement and occasionally an expansion of social services. Furthermore it tries to strengthen community work and the cooperation of social services. In this respect a district’s professional conference was established which aims at collaboration, evaluating needs, discussing current policies, problems and ideas as well as initiating local events.

Insofar this policy is rather aiming at professionals who are working in the district and the overall aim seems to be an immaterial upgrading of the quarter (which is often named in expert interviews: “showing that it is worth living in the district”).

Although the community work is project-funded by urban policies - within the subgroup of social measurements - it is properly and daily understood in terms of low-threshold social work and social policies. The community worker (1 half time position) is addressed as organiser of the district’s professional conference, editor of the district’s newspaper “Centre Point” and all in all as a partner for administration, inhabitants and other social services.

All in all this policy and practice is addressing all inhabitants; a particular focus on and the involvement and perspective of youth is lacking. An explicit addressing and handling of poverty (risks) cannot be observed; it rather seems to be a de-thematisation and a focus on daily life aspects.

Anyhow this hints to the fact, that social policies (at least in the area of basic social care and hence as part of right-based or economic interventions) seem to be rather fixed and it seems

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These areas are similar to the areas which are target of the aforementioned urban policies but actually they are not the same. While urban policies encompass industrial and business locations, social policy focuses on residential environments and other statistical information.
to be common that social innovations are more ecological orientated or concerning pedagogical interventions (see i.e. the social projects in urban policy “Handling of non-employed periods” for long-time unemployed).12

1.4.4 Concerning school policies
The basis of the German educational system is the general four-tier school system, made up of Hauptschule (lower secondary school), Förderschule13 (school for special needs, not exceeding lower secondary school), Realschule (secondary school) and Gymnasium (grammar school). The early selection for secondary schools after grade 4 of primary school has been repeatedly criticised because of its selectivity and the resulting lack of equal opportunities. Furthermore, inequalities are not compensated but reinforced in educational and vocational settings (cf. for example Otto/Rauschenbach 2008).

The school infrastructure in Bielefeld consists of 49 primary schools, 15 schools for special needs, 9 lower secondary schools, 10 secondary schools, 5 compulsory schools and 11 grammar schools. The pupils in Bielefeld are distributed to these schools as following (2010/2011):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School form</th>
<th>Number of pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>11.944 (31.63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School for special needs</td>
<td>2.297 (6.08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary school</td>
<td>2.408 (6.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>5.232 (13.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar school</td>
<td>10.672 (28.26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory school</td>
<td>5.214 (13.81%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>37.767</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Distribution of pupils to school forms in Bielefeld

After grade 4 the pupils from primary school have to change to one form of secondary school. The decision is taken by the parents and accompanied by a recommendation from the primary school teachers.

In the city of Bielefeld currently 40% of the pupils change to the Gymnasium (grammar school), 30.9% go to the Realschule (secondary school), 23.6% attend the Gesamtschule (compulsory school) and 5.5% go to the Hauptschule (lower secondary school). In the variation in time, you can see that the number of pupils in the lower secondary school are dramatically decreasing while the number of pupils in the other schools are increasing.

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12 According to Kaufmann (2012: 1297ff) a differentiation of divergent forms of intervention in public action can serve for analysis of different policies, instruments, measurements in the national welfare regime: (1) Right-based interventions, (2) Economic interventions, (3) Ecological interventions and (4) Pedagogical interventions.

13 As most of the pupils who do not manage to get any lower secondary school certificate come from schools for special needs, Radke and Gomolla highlight the “institutional discrimination of this type of school” (2007).
From 2006 to 2010 the pupils’ qualification in general was getting higher and especially the number of pupils doing their A-levels was increasing (from 30.3% in 2006 to 35.6% in 2010). Although there are still pupils leaving school without a certificate, this rate has been declining in the last years (2006-2010) from 6.7% to 4.8%. (see table below).

### Table 13: School certificates from 2006-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School certificate</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No certificate</td>
<td>258 (6.7%)</td>
<td>239 (6.0%)</td>
<td>191 (4.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary school</td>
<td>209 (5.4%)</td>
<td>171 (4.3%)</td>
<td>147 (3.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>569 (14.8%)</td>
<td>528 (13.1%)</td>
<td>399 (10.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar school (A-levels)</td>
<td>1167 (30.3%)</td>
<td>1294 (32.6%)</td>
<td>1412 (35.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the observed area Ostmannturmviertel there are three schools: one primary school (Josefschule), one lower secondary school (Lutherschule; which is actually in the process of closing in Summer 2014) and one secondary school (Luisenschule). Compared to other primary schools in Bielefeld the Josefschule is said to have a very high social burden and the lowest number of pupils who are going to attend the Gymnasium after grade 4 (Lernreport 2012: 33f)

Due to decreasing numbers of pupils the school policy in the municipality (and in Germany in general) is under pressure. Currently it cannot be guaranteed that every school can be retained and the first schools were already closed (see the lower secondary school called Lutherschule above).

Despite these general tendencies the federal school policy pronounced/brought up a progressive pilot programme called “Primusschule” [Schulversuch zur Erprobung des Zusammenschlusses von Schulen der PRIMarstufe Und der Sekundarstufe; pilot programme for practical proving of a fusion of primary and secondary schools], where new forms of schooling should be tried out. It is somehow a combined primary and secondary school with
the general aim of building up a non-selective (as well integrative), multi-class modelled, community-based and justice-orientated institution.¹⁴

In Bielefeld an initiative called “One school for all” – which was founded in 2001 because of non-integrative classifications in primary schools – adopted this idea, did and still does a lot of publicity and tries to win parents over for their idea (Currently they are in need of an official sign-up list, where parents proclaim to take this school, intending that the municipality is then thinking about setting up such a school). Notwithstanding such a non-selective conception of a compulsory school is not self-evident and is scrutinized in merocratic times; where the choice of schools seems to be part of class struggles. Anyhow, there is a secondary school in the district (Luisenschule) which is very active und is regarded as successful (already got some rewards and could massively increase the number of pupils in the last years); especially the school management is in fear and already sent out a public letter of complaint because this new initiative could take the wind out of these established sails.

All in all school policies on a local level are quite dodgy: The municipality is very cautious and somehow reluctant because of a decline in pupil enrolment and vague funding. The governing body of the school are more and more market-oriented and in an endeavour to increase school quality and the number of pupils. The above mentioned initiative “One school for all” has to assert itself in these micro politics of merocratic perspectives on non-selection, market orientation and pruned budgets. Parents and their children become a political football within these antagonistic interests.

1.4.5 Concerning labour market policies
Concerning the labour market position of young people, the access to vocational training (especially in the dual system) is the main dividing line on the labour market (see WP3). Not only the above mentioned inequalities in the school system but as well the insufficient training positions on the apprenticeship market are not only characteristic for the situation (and the expansion) of the transition sector, they are relevant to all efforts within this context. The problem of young people without apprenticeship or employment has resulted in increased efforts to create structured local transition management. On the local level of the case study, the town council decided to build up a ‘Local Transition Management Institution’ (LTMI) in order to establish one institution where all measures are monitored. The LTMI serves as a single point of contact (‘one-stop-shop’) for young people with difficulties in the transition from school to work with the goal of structuring the landscape of funding bodies, clarifying the transitional pathways and improving the vocational perspectives of adolescents and young adults. Insofar, this local transition management pursues two basic aims: firstly the creation of a coherent local structure of support and secondly, the constant and conceptually coherent guidance and individual counselling of young people in their transition process. In this respect, the LTMI delivers individualised programmes which aim at agreeing with each young adult on his or her own personal (regularly updated) support plan. The ideal of the LTMI aims at providing a constant transition counsellor until the young adult’s integration into the labour market.

1.4.6 Concerning youth work (as part of non-formal youth policies in a narrow sense)
Youth welfare is funded and managed on the level of municipalities and another main and longstanding sphere of action of local affairs.

¹⁴ This is quite similar to an old idea and school from Bielefeld called Laborschule (originated from Bielefeld’s educational science).
Youth welfare in Germany not only integrates different forms of care - e.g. residential homes, foster families – but as well youth work. State-led "child and youth work" always emphasizes its main principle of voluntariness and claims to balance disadvantages. It can be differentiated in three big areas:

1. open youth work (§ 11 SGB VIII „Offene Kinder- und Jugendarbeit“): in Bielefeld exist 17 open youth clubs, 7 institutions of mobile youth work, 1 girls’ club, 2 adventure playgrounds.
2. youth association work (§ 12 SGB VIII „Jugendverbandsarbeit“): This comprimises the funding of jobs (especially managing stuff) in the local youth council (Bielefeleder Jugendring) which is the umbrella organisation for divergent youth associations (see below).
3. youth-orientated social work (§ 13 SGB VIII „Jugendsozialarbeit“): This entails 8 projects of school social work, 9 organisations which deliver community work in disadvantaged ares with a special focus on children as well as the social work projects in the transition from school to work (mainly the funding from the afore mentioned LTMI)

But already on the level of youth work, basic disagreement can be found between open youth work, which is more oriented towards personal development and social integration, and job-orientated youth social work, where a shift towards employability can be observed (cf. Polutta 2005, Düker/Ley 2012).

Notwithstanding nowadays especially open youth work seems to be under pressure - and sometimes in an identity crisis - because of
- extended schooldays (in the last years all-day schools were massively expanded) and the question if and how youth work should cooperate with school and deliver after-school supervision in the afternoon,
- consumeristic (and/or non-pedagogical) alternatives and
- no obligatory funding in times of municipal financial crisis and the reduction of jobs and places (see Lange/Wehmeyer 2014)

As already hinted at, there is quite a vibrant youth association work in Germany, which is established on the national, regional and local level. There is as well a local youth council (Bielefeleder Jugendring) which associates youth organisations which then are actively working with young people. These councils are made up of independent youth associations, such as: ecclesiastical organisations, trade union associations, those with humanitarian or socialist orientations, ecologically active ones, fostering traditions or committed to equal sexual orientations. Local Youth Councils are self-organised amalgamations of local youth associations, organisations and initiatives. Their goal is to represent young people’s interests towards public, policy and administration, to help shape and back the general framework of youth (associative) work and to take a stand with regard to socio-political questions and questions relevant to youth. Youth councils represent the youth associations’ demands towards the committees and institutions responsible for youth issues on a local level, especially in the so-called youth welfare committees. But we have to bear in mind that these councils are representing “organised young people” and disadvantaged young people are significantly less organised in those youth associations.

In the focused area there exist two youth clubs (one club will be a gatekeeper institution in the next research steps) as well as mobile youth work (which is especially focusing on
adventure playgrounds for children). The municipality militated against street work in youth work (due to professional reasons; probably against the idea of “colonisation of life worlds”).

Although state-led “voluntary youth work” is generally provided until the age of 27 years, it can be observed that within the last years the target group got younger (until the age of 14/15 years) and in fact we have to talk about “open child work”. One main research question in the next steps will be taking the young adults’ perspective on informal youth work into account (see as well chapter 7).

1.4.7 Convergences and divergences of these policy areas
As mentioned in WP3, the political responsibilities for youth policy are not clear cut. While labour market policies are mainly conducted on national level, school policies are a genuine task of the federal states; social policies and youth welfare again are managed on the level of municipalities. Notwithstanding the policy-making power of national politics concerning for example the conditions and ranges of social transfers/benefits, the municipalities have to manage social services and deal with these target (targeted) groups. In line with Germany’s federal structure, youth policy is not only a matter of the national government but also of the federal states, municipal authorities and voluntary child and youth service organisations in the framework of their partnership with public agencies.

Noteworthy, while urban and social policies exert themselves for a gentrification and revaluation of this district, one can observe that there is much less effort in youth and school policy. This comes along with the blind spot in youth policy in general.

Quite remarkable is that every policy has its own geographical sections/segments and figurations: The urban policy draws on the (wider) northern city centre and entails as well (former) industrial areas, the social policy has used the official data from the registration office, the police has its own refiguration due to criminality statistics. Insofar the statistical and geographical respectively informational basis of each policy area differs and questions have to be raised if everyone is talking about “the same area”.

While on a national level there is a broad discussion of an independent and transversal youth policy, this is not visible on a local level. In fact, every policy area has its own logics, ideas and projects and it seems to be that in every area the perspectives and needs of young adults (at least between 16-24 years) drop out.

To sum up, we have to question, what are the - centrally placed - intervention forms of tackling disadvantages of young people. According to Kaufmann (2012: 1297ff) instruments and measurements in the national welfare regimes can be differentiated in divergent forms of intervention in public action: (1) Right-based interventions, (2) Economic interventions, (3) Ecological interventions and (4) Pedagogical interventions. Right-based interventions, (2) Economic and right based interventions seem to be rather fixed and no matter of policy negotiation and social innovations in relation to disadvantaged youth seem to be ecological orientated or concerning pedagogical interventions.

1.5 Participation

In this paper participation will be analysed in its formal modes of participation (and structural barriers), the given opportunities in the district to act out their own expressions and/or voice their concerns as well as the (mis)recognition of current participatory attempts. Participation in its subject orientated sense will be the focus of the next research steps (see below).
It seems to be appropriate looking to (and distinguishing) modes of participation / political engagement in a continuum of institutionalisation. Below we will present some (exemplary) projects.

- Although a lot of youth parliaments in different municipalities are already established – but without constitutional basis, competency and veto rights – it is missing in Bielefeld. Hence, there is no official board of young adults which is structurally engaged (and can be addressed) in local issues.

- But in 2013 young pupils initiated a youth forum called “you name it” (with funding from charity organisations) where they are considering issues like urban development, mobility, sports. They set up regulars' table where they discuss and develop their own themes. Insofar they are building up their perspective on the social affairs of the city and defining problems and themes for themselves (but have to find partners and majorities to get their ideas count).

- Furthermore in November 2013 a youth forum within the regional initiative from North Rhine-Westphalia called “Umdenken - Jungdenken” (Rethinking – Youngthinking) was set up. The regional initiative was set off from the federal state and is provided by the „Association of Youth Organizations“ (Landesjugendring)15. The „Association of Youth Organizations“ announced „open youth forums“ where young people or institutions could apply for. In Bielefeld the local Association of Youth Organizations arranged a one day seminar, where politicians and young adults were brought together. A second date was contemplated but not announced. It can be argued that these youth forums represent one main strand of - participatively applied and politically regulated - policy answers to the situation of young adults, characteristic for newer ways of dealing with participation of young adults on the one hand and legitimising policy making the other hand.

- Regarding the special issue of participation in welfare institutions or rather service user participation (in general Davies/Gray/Webb 2014) there is an interesting pilot programme at the secondary school in the Ostmannturmviertel called “Interesting Youth for Policy”. It is an elective study group, where pupils learn about the processes of local policy and develop their own definition of a problem and discuss it with local actors, policy makers and politicians (These were questions like: “Is a teacher justified to take away my mobile phone?” or they discussed the bad traffic situation in front of the school).

- Concerning the issue of “indirect voice” and a system of “representatives” or spokesmen who are addressing young people’s demands and needs, there are at least two aspects to mention: Firstly, every municipality engages youth officers who are managing the resources and commodities of youth work on the one hand and are official contact persons for all youth relevant issues (especially concerning non-formal places and activities). Secondly the youth welfare committee should as well serve as a political forum for and of young adults (as it is an official committee of the municipality), but in fact it is an assemblage of professionals, social service managers and politicians and turned to an exclusive community, where managerial and strategic questions of youth welfare are discussed. That’s why with the national discussions of an independent youth policy a revitalisation of youth welfare committees is discussed.

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15 This project ends with an official and public youth conference on the regional level, declaring the young adults' ideas and claims and trying to establish “local intervening polling stations” (Einmischungslokale).
Insofar participative projects or rather participative attempts can be analysed in their formal modes and in their ways of institutionalisation (see table above). We want to distinguish at least three arenas with different options of participative attempts:

- **Life-world orientated arenas**
  Non-structured or rather non-regulated initiatives – such as youth protest – seem to be the broadest way of creating a (critical) consciousness for a social issue but with no direct political-strategic action. Secondly, self-initiated attempts as the above mentioned youth forum “you name it” are at least medium-term projects, which built up a more ‘elaborated’ view onto their perceived re-arrangement of the social but are still seeking for their presentation in the society and its institutions (from a more self-centred characterisation up to an emphasis on an external focus and social change).

- **Within polices and welfare institutions**
  Within polices and welfare institutions there can be a lot of participatory projects, such as open forums within policies bringing up new ideas (or at least legitimisation) for a renewed policy up to aim-oriented (often pedagogical) and mainly prepared programmes within welfare institutions: they can discuss self-referring issues (“what are my rights?”) up to an idea of “learning to participate”.

- **Within political arenas**
  Within the boundaries of political arenas (in a narrow sense - knowing that every participative attempt is political – insofar concerning democratic institutions and processes) young adults can be organised and established as acknowledged – not necessarily armed with a constitutional basis, competencies and veto rights – voices in the public process of political decision-making. They can as well be represented by (adult) mandates, which (try to) take their perspectives into broader actions and might give them “indirect voice”.

All these considerations ignore the restrictions of institutionalisation and the perspective of the subjects and their

- initial position, motivation and disappointments,
- self-perception and world view,\(^\text{16}\),
- their struggles and micro-politics within group dynamics and/or institutions,
- non-take ups, retreats, break off,
- the social and individual shifts of perception, judgement, intentional actions,
- the portfolio of participative attempts for the individual
- etc.

\(^{16}\) As these are two basic ideas of the concept bildung; it „points to a way of integrating knowledge and expertise with moral and aesthetic concerns. (…) It entails openness to difference and a willingness to self-correct. Bildung, in the classic sense, thus also contains a projective anticipation of the ‘good life’, of human freedom enacted with responsibility for self and others in the open-ended project of self-creation.“ (Bleicher 2006, S. 365)
Participation in this subject orientated sense respect can be defined as a special form of human acting, which (tries to) influence the situation as a whole (from the perspective of the subject) and therefore the perpetuation or increase of the quality of life is tackled and aspired. Crucial for the attribution of human action as participation is not a catalogue of forms and modes, but the exercise of influence on the entirety - which can be a political or social entirety - and therefore it is always tending to the (re)arrangement of the social (Scheu/Autrata 2013). This assumption encompasses basic questions of agency and the real freedom to express one’s aspirations, expectations and desires and finally make them count when decisions concerning oneself are made. Insofar the analysis in WP5 will deliver a deeper analysis of young adult’s involvement in different social arenas.

1.6 Social innovation

Social innovation can be read in different approaches, as an institutionally driven perspective as well as a bottom-up perspective, where citizens (especially young adults) see blind spots, the misjudgement of social needs. Moreover most of social practices which are considered and evaluated under the term of social innovation will be a blended combination of both perspectives (furthermore none of these perspectives is inherent good, i.e.: there can be quite good deliberative top-down ideas as well as bad bottom-up projects and vice versa). Professionals in their double mandate can be seen (and position themselves) as advocates of the young adults or as performers/promoters of politically driven innovations.

Within the focused area one can ascribe several actions as social innovations, such as:
- Several projects of urban development as a classical top down strategy with the idea of revaluation of the living area
- Free micro budgets for institutions and inhabitants (see chapter 5) but within a decisive policy (as it has to be linked with the quarter) of urban development
- The initiative of young adults “You name it” which is defining problems and themes for themselves (but have to find partners and majorities to get their ideas count)
- Visualisation of social needs with events such as youth forum, protest etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuum of top/down and bottom up</th>
<th>Rather top/down</th>
<th>“Within Top-Down”</th>
<th>“From the bottom” (to the top?)</th>
<th>Rather bottom/up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Projects i.e. urban development projects</td>
<td>Free budget within a decisive policy</td>
<td>i.e. Self-defined social needs within an initiative</td>
<td>i.e. protest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: “Innovative” projects on the continuum of top/down and bottom up

All these examples can be distinguished again in a continuum of institutionalisation, in particular within the ideas of top-down and bottom-up and even more hybrid forms.

Until now one can state that social innovation is predominantly seen as an institutionally driven perspective where new programmes and measurements are established with the aim to tackle emerging social problems. (The term of social innovation still remains as a “technical” concept of policy-design and policy making) Governmental and non-governmental actors (third sector organisations, charity and social welfare organisations, trade unions etc.) are seen as the agencies for social innovation. Aspects of deliberative democracy (i.e. plebiscites, public hearings etc.) are not at the core of public action. Insofar social innovation is mainly perceived as a rearrangement of social services (delivery) and as new measurements and
programmes. The perspectives and voices of young adults are not systematically included. Furthermore it is rarely brought together with social movements.

In this respect social innovations in Germany are mainly understood as social entrepreneurship in the German social welfare state (see as well Grohs/Schneiders/Heinze 2013). Insofar questions have to be raised, if social innovation is nowadays seen as the quick fix [silver bullet] within (post) welfare regimes, where activation and responsibilisation become guiding principles.

1.6.1 About the relation of social innovation and participation

In an ideal construction participation would be an equivalent to social innovation and vice versa; or a social innovation would emerge out of participation. But at least for scientific analysis it seems to be helpful to contrast or even oppose these two concepts. To put it bluntly: Perhaps it is quite “successful” or even necessary for social innovations not listening or acknowledging every participative attempt. Focusing one concern and silencing some others, thereupon looking for (new) coalitions and/or compromises and finally defending the reached position would be some aspects from a micro-political view.

Moreover would this ideal construction entail an idea of a naturally ending social innovation, “making itself superfluous” (as it is a common definition of social workers)? Or do we have to think about innovations in loops? Hence, is there an implicit idea of progress (and not regress) in the social innovation in itself (and in its analysis)?

The other way round: The exercise of influence (and hence the yardstick of participation) decreases during the process of institutionalisation of social innovations. On the other hand interest and engagement (as an important vehicle of participation) might increase while social innovations get more concrete and can be adapted to one’s own life world and therefore disappointments even get likely. (see the graphic below\textsuperscript{17})

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{paradox_of_involvement.png}
\caption{The paradox of involvement}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{17} This graphic is adapted from http://www.mil.brandenburg.de/sixcms/detail.php/582518 and often discussed in urban policies. It might be equal to processes of social innovation and/or participation.
This paradox of involvement can be displayed as such: In the beginning of problem definition - sometimes the "planning of demands" or the "assessment of needs" - basis questions are elaborated, discussed and corridors of action are established but only a few are involved; later on more people are involved but, the lee ways in discretion and decision-making are limited. Moreover participation (and in some aspects social innovation as well) does not necessarily lead to an end or to a defined innovation as such: It could even more be seen in struggles, conflicts and indefinite conditions and hence won’t necessarily meet a common social need. Furthermore, participation is not inherently seen as good, it can refer to and derive from more citizenship or consumerist agendas. These differentiations and the asymmetric relation of social innovation and participation already show some general dilemmas – as well for further research – of participation (and as well of social innovation), such as:

- creation of (critical) consciousness vs. (political) and strategic action
- particularity vs. universality (as well the closeness and limitations of several groups)
- the process of institutionalisation of voices (or social innovations) in institutions or policies as such, hinting to the problem of self-preservation of organisations or the exploiting of voices/social innovations for (external) legitimacy.

1.7 Discussion and conclusions

The concept of informational basis of judgements of justice (see Sen 1990) adapted to our research field can be differentiated in several levels: firstly the political and discursive construction (and their combination) of the “disadvantaged area” and the “disadvantaged youth”; secondly the construction of needs (for help) as well as which offer(s) seem to be suitable for young adults from a professional perspective. In this respect, several expert interviews and especially a focus group were conducted in order to get a deeper view into local issues and the diverse “constructions of youth”. These were only some preliminary ideas and not representative for the broad field as such; therefore it will further be elaborated in broader settings (in WP5). While the expert interviews especially served for contextual knowledge, the group discussion was explicitly arranged out of two local government policy makers (from social and youth policies) as well as two social workers from community work and youth work.

The statement that there is a big shift to a “no child left behind” policy in the last years, but a visible youth policy remains a blind spot, served as a stimulus for the group discussion. Young adults are no explicit focus either in social reporting or in a transversal youth policy. As these youth policies are somehow diffuse and the needs of young adults are not easy to grab, it was quite remarkable that the issue of “missing places” for young adults became apparent as one dominant issue in the focus group with these professionals. In addition several constructions of youth, the youngster’s needs, the perceived disadvantages of young adults and the area, the opportunities on the labour market as well as the youngsters’ (possible) involvement in participative projects were tackled themes. The focus group closed with an ideal construction of a place which is located between the purposes of retreat, exclusiveness and the public visibility. First considerations were made how to establish such a “missing space”. In the following and the ongoing research we want to trace these empirical concepts in their different readings (see as well the analytical graphic in the attachment).

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18 As already pointed out, the core of analysis is tending more to professional patterns of interpretation of the „disadvantaged youth“, “disadvantaged areas” and their needs and hence the informational basis of judgements of justice considering the youth.

19 Anyhow we have to admit that this mentioned focus group is quite benevolent and youth-friendly and hence the actors are sensitised for young adults’ perspectives.
(De)Thematisation of Youth - Between institutional neglect and ascribed social problems?
Youth policy faces the ambivalence, that on the one hand political responsibilities are not clear cut (there is no policy “of a piece”, see chapter 5) and on the other hand every policy field can influence the situation and opportunities of young people (i.e. urban policy or transport policy and its decisions about local public transport).
Furthermore there exists no genuine (and holistic) youth reporting in Bielefeld, which tries to cope the different spheres of action which affect young adults and hence maps the challenges and tasks for young adults in general and for a youth-friendly community. Young adults are perceived as the population group “somewhere in between”. As a participant from the group discussion describes: “They are left hanging in the air”.
If young adults are tackled in the different reports, they attract attention because of statistical blips or as a relevant social problem. If they are in need of social benefits or they are not in education, employment or training they are targeted by social policies.
In this respect youth is either institutionally neglected or ascribed as a social problem (Scherr 2014). A pillarisation of several fields of action which might affect young adults (as well as forms of specialisation or expertocracy) was observed.
A perspective on societal conditions of growth (which are shaped by forms of institutionalisation and situated conflicts) or a decisive perspective on unequal conditions is not captured.

“Missing Spaces” as an empirical key concept?
As these youth policies are somehow diffuse and the needs of young adults are not easy to grab, it is quite remarkable that the issue of “missing places” for young adults becomes apparent in the focus group with professionals. In the following we want to trace this empirical concept in its different readings.

Broad discussions about “old times” of self-governed youth clubs in the late 1970s and 1980s built the foundation of current disappearance of space in its divergent reading, seen as:
- **Absent spaces of time**, mainly according to the expansion of all-day schools
- **missing places**, understood as the reduction or absence of missing leisure rooms, where young adults can retreat and be for their own,
  - this entails as well conflict-ridden/controversial places, such as sports halls which are mainly occupied by registered clubs and associations or public spaces where residents keep an eye on the utilisation and loudness,
  - found again (see below) in the professional’s ideal construction of a grill hut - for hanging out, being alone, being by themselves, looking out, dining together - which is located between the purposes of retreat and exclusiveness vs. the visibility and a “catwalk”,
- **missing experiential spaces** (due to observations of the adults), a concept that is located somewhere between space and time, but mainly understood as “own” spaces
- **the adolescence**, as the phase of life for gaining “boundary experiences” and developing identities
  - located between child and adult’s world, as a “not any longer and not just yet” (Galuske/Rietzke: 2008)
- **Missing spaces as a perceived requirement** and need and therefore a legitimisation of social work; insofar social work or rather public action in the name of young adults can be seen “as a double-edged sword” (“we know what to do”, “we know what is good for you”)

35
- curiously enough nowadays self-governed youth clubs seem to be politically hard to justify and hints to the surveillance of youth in the risk society (one participant suggest to win a foundation for financing self-governed clubs)

All these aspects can be read in an institutional and identity-related manner. Insofar „Missing spaces“ concerning youth can be analysed in material, temporal and spatial dimensions which depend from one another.

Additionally within this idea of missing spaces, divergent constructions of youth can be found, such as
- the obstinate, not easily accessible, sometimes even anarchical young adults
- (in)dependent from that: The young adult in need, who is in need of guidance and can be target of socio-cultural animation.

**Construction of needs (for help) and suitable offers**
These – often contradictory - readings can be found in the same breath and can be exaggerated in the term: „although we don’t understand them, we have to make an offer“. Anyhow it becomes clear that every idea of social (work) practice and policy has its own construction of youth and their need for help.

Hence the construction of needs (for help) oscillate between basic needs of young adults, which are not changing over time (such as: having their own space, time, will) and the adjustment of policies and practise to new and altered needs. Remarkable is, that there is often a collectivisation of needs and hence the idea of a suitable offer which serves for everyone.

The aspect of suitable offer(s) for young adults was one main issue in the group discussion, agreeing on the aspect that youth is not fully acknowledged in policy and public action. Furthermore this discussion was more concerning participative or youth adequate projects (knowing the agenda of the research project) and less about hard policies.

One main focus of assessing adequate and suitable offer(s) for young adults was the term “Wertigkeit”, which means qualitative, significant, distinguished and respectable. This was seen in dissociation from but as well in taking over of consumerist ideas; an ambivalence knowing that pedagogical offers have to be “different” with other purposes, but still being en vogue and showing youngsters that they can get something out of it.

To sum up, these seem to be youth-friendly perspectives on the one hand, but it is curious that there doesn’t seem to be a unified and visible lobby for young adults in general. A perspective on societal conditions of growth (which are shaped by forms of institutionalisation and situated conflicts) or a decisive perspective on unequal conditions is not captured.

Insofar questions – in the ongoing research – must be raised, such as: How are policies and professional perspectives related? What about the tension of holistic advocacy and a concrete intervention due to current needs? How can a sensitive youth policy look like without disambiguating needs and offers?

In this respect, the basic idea of the ongoing participatory research is to reach different (groups of) young adults via divergent institutional settings. This is based on the assumption that varying (institutional preformed) social constructions of reality and different conditions of participative attempts can be captured (cf. as well the concept of ‘positional objectivity’: Sen 1993).
**Appendix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Policy or Programme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban policy</td>
<td>Integrated urban development concept</td>
<td>The programme was resolved on by the municipality in Bielefeld in 2008 and analyses economic (as well as industrial) and demographic changes and identifies “areas of observation and action”. Recently two areas in the city centre (northern city district, Bethel) as well as three in the rather suburban areas of Bielefeld (Sieker, Sennestadt, Brake) were identified.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban policy</td>
<td>Integrated urban development concept northern city district</td>
<td>The concept is a specialisation of the programme “integrated urban development concept” especially focusing on the Northern city centre. It was funded from national and regional aid and has a running time from 2010-2015. Within this concept economic and demographic changes should be analysed in order to set up measurements to restructure the district. One specific focus of this programme is the Ostmann turmviertel since it is one of the main residential environments in the Northern city centre. In this context 41 measurements (regarding social issues as well as urban spaces) were defined for the Ostmann turmviertel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social policy</td>
<td>Urban development and social balance</td>
<td>The programme was initiated in 2008 (and again in 2011) and conducted from the social welfare office. It entails a self-evaluation, rearrangement and occasionally and expansion of social services aiming at strengthening community work and the cooperation of social services. Within the programme a district’s professional conference was established in order to support collaboration, evaluating needs, discussing current policies, problems and ideas as well as initiating local events. The overall aim seems to be an immaterial upgrading of the quarter (which is often named in expert interviews: “showing that it is worth living in the district”).</td>
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<tr>
<td>School policy</td>
<td>Pilot programme “Primusschule”</td>
<td>The progressive programme “Primusschule” [Schulversuch zur Erprobung des Zusammenschlusses von Schulen der PRIMarstufe Und der Sekundarstufe; pilot programme for</td>
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practical proving of a fusion of primary and secondary schools] aims at experiencing new forms of schooling in Bielefeld. Within this programme a primary and a secondary school should be combined with the general aim of building up a non-selective (as well integrative), multi-class modelled, community-based and justice-orientated institution. This concept is quite similar to an old idea and school from Bielefeld called Laborschule (originated from Bielefeld’s educational science).

http://primus.blogspot.de/

| Labour market policy | Local Transition Management Institution (Bielefelder Jugendhaus) | The Local Transition Management Institution (Bielefelder Jugendhaus) was built up by the town council in order to establish one institution where all measures are monitored. The LTMI serves as a single point of contact (‘one-stop-shop’) for young people. Insofar, this local transition management pursues two basic aims: firstly the creation of a coherent local structure of support and secondly, the constant and conceptually coherent guidance and individual counselling of young people in their transition process. The ideal of the LTMI aims at providing a constant transition counsellor until the young adult’s integration into the labour market.

http://www.bielefelder-jugendhaus.de/index.php?id=home |

| Participation | You name it | In 2013 young pupils in Bielefeld initiated a youth forum called “you name it” (with funding from charity organisations) where they are discussing issues like urban development, mobility or sports. They set up regular meetings where they discuss and develop their own themes and invite local politicians to join their debates. Insofar they are building up their opinion on the social affairs of the city and defining problems and themes for themselves (but have to find partners and majorities to get their ideas count).

http://you-name-it-bielefeld.de/ |

| Participation | Rethinking Younghinking (Umdenken Jungdenken) | Within the regional initiative from North Rhine-Westphalia a youth forum called “Umdenken - Jungdenken” (Rethinking – Younghinking) was set up. The regional initiative was set off from the federal state and is provided by the „Association of Youth Organizations“ (Landesjugendring). The „Association of Youth Organizations“ announced „open youth forums“ where young people or institutions could apply for. In Bielefeld the local Association of Youth Organizations arranged a one
### Participation

**Interesting youth for policy (Jugend für Politik gewinnen)**

The pilot programme “Interesting youth for policy” was initiated by the regional centre for political education (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung) and is evaluated by the University Duisburg-Essen. In Bielefeld it is realised at the secondary school in the Ostmannturnviertel. It is an elective study group, where pupils learn about the processes of local policy and develop their own definition of a problem and discuss it with local actors, policy makers and politicians (Possible topics are mobile phones in schools or the bad traffic situation in front of the school building).

[https://www.uni-due.de/biwi/politische-bildung/jugendfuerpolitikgewinnen.php](https://www.uni-due.de/biwi/politische-bildung/jugendfuerpolitikgewinnen.php)

### Youth policy

**The Child and Youth Promoting Plan of the city of Bielefeld (Kinder- und Jugendförderplan 2011-2014)**

State-led "child and youth work" always emphasizes its main principle of voluntariness and claims to balance disadvantages. The funding, structure and principles of open youth work (as well as school social work) are declared by the Child and Youth Promoting Plan of the city of Bielefeld (Kinder- und Jugendförderplan 2011-2014). Consequently open youth work can be differentiated in three big areas:

Firstly, open youth work in Bielefeld (§ 11 SGB VIII „Offene Kinder- und Jugendarbeit“) is represented by 17 open youth clubs, seven institutions of mobile youth work, one girls’ club and two adventure playgrounds.

Secondly, youth association work (§ 12 SGB VIII „Jugendverbandsarbeit“) comprises the funding of jobs (especially managing stuff) in the local youth council (Bielefelder Jugendring).

Thirdly, youth-orientated social work (§ 13 SGB VIII „Jugendsozialarbeit“) entails eight projects of school social work, nine organisations which deliver community work in disadvantaged areas with a special focus on children as well as the social work projects in the transition from school to work (mainly the funding from the LTMI).

[http://www.bielefeld.de/de/biju/jib/](http://www.bielefeld.de/de/biju/jib/)
References

Introduction via the topic youth blindness

- Adults are looking for young people
- Access through spaces/places and ‘Wertigkeit’
- ‘We know what they want’ vs. ‘They even do not know what they want’

Discovering youth
(Grouping, sorting, labeling, “othering”)

‘Wertigkeit’ of youth

Discovering spaces

Offering

- What do young people want?
- Offers
‘Wertigkeit’ of offers

Spacing

- Where are the young people?
- accessibility/availability
- spaces/places are missing on different layers

Spaces

1) Places
   - availability/exclusiveness/
     fight for places
2) Time frames
   - availability of time
   - Less time due to long school days
3) experiential spaces
   - individuality
   - independence
   - boundary experiences
2. SCOTLAND – Local social support networks analysis in Edinburgh (by Valerie Egdell and Helen Graham)

Employment Research Institute, Edinburgh Napier University

Executive Summary

Introduction: This chapter focuses on local level youth employment policy in Edinburgh, Scotland. Edinburgh has been chosen as the focus of analysis as it is not typically conceived of as a ‘vulnerable’ area, often performing better than the average for Scotland in terms of health, education, poverty, unemployment, and social/community issues. However, youth unemployment is a priority area and there are persistent pockets of deprivation in the city.

Methods: The methodology had three components. (1) Literature review and collection of available local data; (2) policy review of the main strategies to support vulnerable and disadvantaged young people and identification of possibilities of social innovation; and (3) interviews with 19 local policymakers and practitioners and four focus groups with young people engaged with different employment support programmes (21 young people and 3 staff members in total).

Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth: Edinburgh performs well relative to the average for Scotland on some indicators, such as health and the proportion of residents holding qualifications, but it also has some challenges. This shows that pockets of deprivation exist even in a relatively affluent city.

- A higher than average proportion of young people are not moving into a positive destination after leaving school (up to one in five in some areas);
- A higher than average proportion of young people claim benefits for unemployment, disability or low income (up to one in five in some areas);
- A higher than average proportion of the population are living in areas classed as being among the most deprived in Scotland (over a quarter in some areas);
- There are areas with high rates of lone parenthood and child poverty;
- There are areas with high levels of overcrowded accommodation.

Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice: The participants identified a range of barriers that young people faced in the labour market in Edinburgh:

- youth itself as a disadvantage;
- lack of qualifications and competition from further and higher education graduates;
- lack of work experience and not being ‘given a chance’ by employers to obtain this;
- lack of soft skills such as confidence;
- stigma of being an early school leaver/unemployed;
- lack of family and peer support;
- few or narrow aspirations (with some evidence of adaptive preference formation);
- lack of geographical mobility;
- little awareness of the opportunities in the labour market and progression prospects;
- perceived competition from migrants who are prepared to receive lower wages; and
- unwillingness to undertake low paid work, but at the same time some young people would take temporary or zero hour contracts, rather than finding a more sustainable opportunity.

Supporting young people and prevention are key to the approach being taken by the council, with school leavers and young people a priority group. The provision of employment support...
in Edinburgh is provided across a five stage Strategic Skills Pipeline. The key output at the end of the pipeline is to move young people into a positive destination with the aim that this is a sustained job where the young person can up-skill and seek promotion. The employment support providers interviewed did acknowledge that funders recognise the importance of soft outcomes, but often did not focus upon these. The programmes offered to young people can be flexible in their approach and provide tailored support. The level of flexibility did however, depend on the funding stream.

Reflecting on provision, there was a feeling amongst many that the employment support and training opportunities offered tended to be focused at school leavers rather than ‘older’ young people. It was also felt that the job opportunities were targeted at those with qualifications, but that the approaches to provision had increased the variety of opportunities available, as well as increasing the policy focus on the young unemployed.

**Participation:** There are a range of modes and mechanisms through which individuals and groups can have input and/or influence over the setting of policy priorities, design and implementation. Effective engagement with communities is at the heart of local governance. Citizens can have voice in the decisions made by the local authority through attending council meetings, community councils and Neighbourhood Partnerships. There are also mechanisms and platforms specifically designed to enable children and young people to have a voice in the decisions made by the local authority. In February 2013 a new participation structure was developed which forwards an approach that does not take the previous formal committee style structure. In this new approach young people’s participation has been developed through:

- Participation Mentors;
- Edinburgh Youth Issues Forum Gatherings;
- Action Research Groups;
- Conversations for Action meetings;
- The Annual Young People’s Participation Conference;
- A Consultation protocol assists the management of requests for youth consultation;
- Community links have been strengthened through increased networking between Members of the Scottish Youth Parliament and local forums; and
- ‘Democracy on the Move’ - a project to make young people aware of the referendum and their voting rights.

In terms of the setting of youth employment strategies, young people do not feed in directly to the strategy in Edinburgh but are represented by stakeholder organisations. Young people do feed into individual programmes and services.

Participants identified that many of the young people who are engaged with employment support programmes may not have their voices heard in policy making and participatory activities. It was felt that young people who were engaged in a ‘system’ were most likely to have a voice. The employment support providers cited that the young people they worked with were unlikely to attend local meetings. These were felt not to appeal to young people who might see them as irrelevant or boring. Young people did not see engaging in participatory activities as worthwhile and felt removed from the policy making process. The young people felt that policy makers were out of touch, not realising or having experienced the realities of their lived experiences.

**Social innovation:** Examples of the development of new approaches can be identified, although the authors of this report would be cautious of using the term social innovation in relation to them unless further analysis was undertaken. Indeed some of the participants felt

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that the approaches were examples of the scaling out of innovative activity undertaken in other localities – although social innovation is not necessarily about generating new approaches. Some examples of the possible development of a new approach are:

- The changing approach to participation taken by City of Edinburgh Council.
- Specific employment support provision for young people.
- The programmes offered by some employment support providers were also cited as being innovative, e.g. developing as a result of identified need.
- Some employment support providers were developing their programmes through social enterprise activity.

Funding is the driver of much of the innovation within programmes. Some funders were cited as allowing programmes to try out different approaches. However, generally it was cited that there was not the funding available for employment support providers to pilot programmes. Employment support providers need to provide evidence that an approach works before external funding can be applied for. This means that organisations need to find funding from within their own organisation to pilot approaches. It is in this context that some felt that policy direction was driving funding, rather than what is needed on the ground.

**Discussion and conclusions:** The findings provide insights to the local Informational Basis of Judgement of Justice (IBJJ) with regard to disadvantage in the labour market. The political, professional and discursive constructions of youth disadvantage are increasingly focused on youth itself as a disadvantage in the labour market. The understandings of disadvantage focus on the individual job seeker’s attributes and deficits, and whether they are in or out of work. There is some recognition of the role of external conversion factors through ‘innovative’ policies. However, generally, the evaluative yardstick is used to assess the value and success of public action, and understandings of young people’s barriers in the labour market are very narrow. Much of the discourse about young people’s successes and failures centres on ‘positive destination’ i.e. work, training, education etc. Questions need to be asked about whether the young person is engaged in an activity that they have reason to value. Is a ‘positive destination’ in terms of policy a ‘positive destination’ from the point of view of an individual young person?

Generally the way in which young people can realise their capability for voice at the meso and micro level in the development and delivery of policies is through formal channels. The rhetoric and approaches tend to be focused on those young people engaged with structures or the representation of young people by proxies. As such the conditions for participation are driven by adults, for example in providing the structures such as committees and gatherings – even in instances where participation is trying to be more inclusive. Young people who are most removed from the labour market do not appear to engage with formal channels, and young people feel that policy makers are very much removed from the realities of their everyday lives. There does not seem to be much freedom to allow, and give weight and significance to, alternative voices and modes of expression. The ability of young people to effect change is also called into question, with young people not feeling that they are listened to. What can be gleaned from this is that young people do not seem to have the opportunity to have a voice on their own terms.
Abstract

This chapter focuses on local level youth employment policy in Edinburgh, Scotland. Edinburgh has been chosen as the geographical focus of analysis, as it is not typically conceived of as a ‘vulnerable’ area. Indeed Edinburgh often performs better than the average for Scotland in terms of health, education, poverty, unemployment, and social/community issues. The chapter provides a Capability Approach informed analysis of social support networks, socially innovative policies and strategies of local actors in relation to disadvantaged unemployed youth by mapping current policy processes and local social support networks (formal, informal and community based). The chapter also explores construction of the target group in relation to youth employment policies especially with reference to young people’s capability for work, and the participative processes, constructions of, and opportunities for, participation and the structural barriers of formal modes of participation. The chapter finally considers the development of the Informational Basis of the Judgement of Justice, unpicking the information on which policy judgments are made.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on local level youth employment policy in Edinburgh, Scotland. Edinburgh has been chosen as the focus of analysis, as it is not typically conceived of as a ‘vulnerable’ area. However, while Edinburgh generally performs better than average for Scotland in many areas, youth unemployment has been a priority area in recent years (City of Edinburgh Council, 2011a). In 2009-2010 the School Leaver Destination Return (SLDR) showed that City of Edinburgh Council was the worst performing local authority in terms of school leavers from publicly funded secondary schools entering positive destinations – only 82.5% of school leavers entered positive destinations, compared to the 86.8% from Scotland as a whole (Skills Development Scotland, 2010). In order to reverse this trend, measures were introduced to address youth unemployment in the city. It is these measures, and the challenges faced by young people in seeking work, that are of particular interest in this chapter.

The chapter provides a Capability Approach informed analysis of social support networks, policies and strategies of local actors in relation to disadvantaged unemployed youth by mapping current policy processes and local social support networks. The Capability Approach, developed by Sen (1985, 1990, 1992, 1998), is centred on the freedom and opportunity individuals have to make choices that they value. The Capability Approach focuses upon the potential ability of the individual to achieve a functioning (an outcome such as having a job) that they value in the context of the wider environment in which they are embedded, rather than looking at an individual’s outcomes (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). This chapter explores the following issues from a Capability Approach:

(1) Analysis of the local social support networks (formal, informal and community based);

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21 Excludes schools in the independent sector and all special schools

22 Positive destinations are: education, employment, training and voluntary work. From 2010/11 ‘activity agreements’ (where a young person is working with an advisor to achieve a positive outcome) have been included as a separate category. Positive Destinations have been defined as one of the 50 National Indicators for Scotland (“Increase the proportion of young people in learning, training or work”) against which progress can be tracked in relation to the achievement of the National Outcomes. See for more information: www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Performance/scotPerforms/indicator (Accessed 16 September 2014).
(2) The construction of the target group in relation to youth employment policies, especially with reference to young people’s capability for work, i.e. their real freedom to choose the job/activity they have reason to value (Bifulco, 2012);

(3) Participative processes, constructions of, and opportunities for, participation and the structural barriers of formal modes of participation. Of particular interest here is the capability for voice: “the capacity to express one’s opinions and thoughts and to make them count in the course of public discussion” (Bonvin and Thelen, 2003).

(4) Social innovation; and

(5) The development of the Informational Basis of the Judgement of Justice (IBJJ). The IBJJ, introduced by Sen (1990), refers to the information on which a judgment is made.

2.2 Methods

The methodology had three components. Data collection was undertaken between December 2013 and July 2014.

(a) Literature review and collection of available local data
Available data and local discussions about disadvantaged youth and policies designed to tackle youth unemployment were analysed. This provided a contextual overview of the social situation of youth. The focus was on an identification of the local IBJJ in relation to disadvantaged youth.

(b) Policy review of the main strategies to support vulnerable and disadvantaged young people and identification of possibilities of social innovation
Here the general framework of current and recent policies to support youth employment was identified and analysed.

(e) Interviews and focus groups
Interviews (mainly face-to-face) were conducted with policymakers and practitioners to provide further insights. A range of organisations participated, reflecting different interests and (potential) contributors to the IBJJ in terms of policy development, design and delivery (Table 1).

Four focus groups were conducted with young people engaged with different employment support programmes in Edinburgh. In one focus group, staff members from the organisation also participated

Table 1: Interview participants

| Regional/local government policy makers | 3 |
| Training and education providers | 1 |
| Employment support service providers | 14 |
| Citizen’s bodies | 1 |
| Youth work organisations | - |
| Think tanks (governmental and non-governmental) | - |
| Networks and membership organisations | - |
| Young people | 4 focus group (21 young people in total and 3 staff members) |
| Other types of organisations: | - |
| Total Participants | 43 |
Note: In terms of organisational classification many organisations could be categorised in overlapping categories. For example a youth work organisation providing employment support services. If the organisation participated in terms of its capacity as an employment support provider, it is classified as such.

Written consent was taken from the participants in the interviews, and verbal consent from the focus group participants. Participants were told that they would not be identified in the research outputs and that any quotations used would be anonymised. An interview guide ensured that key areas were addressed but participants were free to expand on issues important to them. The interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of participants, or detailed notes were taken. The audio-recordings were transcribed.

A ‘thematic content analysis’ approach was taken to analyse the transcripts drawing on the core themes highlighted by the work package leaders in the ‘Work Package 4 Report Structure for Qualitative Research’. The qualitative analysis software NVivo 10 aided analysis.

2.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth

Scotland (population: 5.3m) is divided into 32 local authorities (of varying size, from 21,000 to 600,000), of which the City of Edinburgh (hereafter referred to as ‘Edinburgh’) is one, with a population of 476,626. It is not the most disadvantaged local authority in Scotland, and on some measures, such as the educational level of its residents, it fares very well relative to other areas. However, it is far from the most advantaged local authority, falling far short of others on a number of indicators relating to poverty, welfare and deprivation.

Although Edinburgh as a whole maintains a good or average position on most indicators, it contains within it pockets of deprivation. To illustrate this, 4 smaller areas (‘wards’, of which Edinburgh is split into 17) are described here; these are the wards within which the four focus groups in this study took place – Forth (north Edinburgh), Leith (north Edinburgh), Leith Walk (north Edinburgh) and Sighthill (south west Edinburgh). The statistics pertaining to these areas show that pockets of low income, high welfare dependency, poor educational outcomes and high area deprivation can be found, even in relatively affluent cities. It is in these areas that the young people in the focus groups were often living and seeking work.

2.3.1 Demographic characteristics

Table 2 shows selected demographic characteristics of Scotland, Edinburgh and the selected wards within it. Edinburgh has a relatively high proportion of young residents – in Scotland, 18.5% of the population are aged between 16 and 29, but in Edinburgh it is 24.6%, one of the highest rates in Scotland, partly due to its considerable student population (almost 50,000). Young people are concentrated in the cities, tending to leave smaller settlements or rural areas in search of work or study (for example in the geographically remote Western Isles, just 13.3% of residents are young people).

Scotland as a whole has a very low proportion of non-white residents – just 4%. In Edinburgh it is twice this rate (8.3%), and only Glasgow has a higher proportion. Edinburgh also has a comparatively high proportion of residents born outside of Scotland; 13.9% have migrated

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23 Population at the last Census in 2011. All statistics in this section are taken from the 2011 Census (www.scotlandcensus.gov.uk) unless otherwise stated.
from other parts of the UK (compared with 9.7% for Scotland as a whole), 7.5% from Europe (compared with 3.3%) and 8.4% from outside Europe, which is the highest in Scotland (the proportion for Scotland as a whole is 3.7%). All four of the selected areas within Edinburgh are much more diverse than the Scottish average in terms of ethnicity and country of origin. The most diverse of the four wards is Leith Walk, with 14.8% of residents from a European country outside the UK, and 10.8% from outside Europe.
### Table 2: Demographic characteristics in Scotland, Edinburgh and selected wards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Highest local authority</th>
<th>Lowest local authority</th>
<th>Edinburgh</th>
<th>Forth</th>
<th>Leith</th>
<th>Leith Walk</th>
<th>Sighthill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-29 year olds (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>25.6 (Aberdeen City)</td>
<td>13.3 (Eilean Siar)</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>11.6 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>0.7 (Orkney Islands)</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born UK outside Scotland (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>19.8 (Scottish Borders)</td>
<td>3.5 (North Lanarkshire)</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born Europe outside UK (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>7.7 (Aberdeen City)</td>
<td>1.0 (East Ayrshire)</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born outside Europe (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8.4 (Edinburgh City)</td>
<td>1.2 (East Ayrshire)</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with children (%, all households) - 2011</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>32.0 (West Lothian)</td>
<td>21.6 (Edinburgh City/Aberdeen City)</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in lone parent household (%, people under 16) - 2011</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>37.6 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>13.1 (Aberdeenshire)</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Figures obtained from 2011 Census ([www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk)).
Just over a quarter of households (26%) in Scotland contain one or more dependent children\textsuperscript{24}. In Edinburgh the proportion is slightly lower than this, at 21.6%, although this varies widely between areas; in Leith Walk just 13.1% of households contain a dependent child, while in Forth the proportion is 28.9%. The proportion of under-16s living in a lone parent household in Edinburgh is very similar to the Scottish average, at around 25%. However, it is considerably higher than this in the four wards shown here, and as high as 40.5% in Sighthill.

\textbf{2.3.2 Education and labour market}

Table 3 illustrates some education and labour market outcomes for Scotland, Edinburgh and the selected areas within it. The residents of Edinburgh are well-qualified relative to the Scottish average; Edinburgh has a much lower rate of holding no qualifications (17.1%, compared with 26.8%), and a much higher rate of holding Level 4 (i.e. tertiary) qualifications (41.4%, compared with 26.1%).

None of the four wards fare worse than average on the ‘no qualifications’ measure, and some considerably better; for example, in Leith Walk, half are qualified to tertiary level or higher, twice the Scottish average. Even the worst performer of the four (Sighthill) fares slightly better than the Scottish average.

The proportion of school leavers going on to further or higher education, or into employment or training, was identical to the Scottish average for the year 2012/13, at 91.5\%.\textsuperscript{25} Nine months after leaving school, 91\% of Edinburgh school leavers are classed as being in ‘positive’ destinations\textsuperscript{26}, and this slightly exceeds the Scottish average.

The four wards perform worse than the Scottish average for school leaver destinations; considerably so in some cases. Only Leith achieves the Scottish average for young people’s destinations immediately after leaving school, and all four fall short on positive destinations nine months later. In Leith Walk, just 81.7\% of young people are in a positive destination nine months after leaving school; the proportion of young people in this ward failing to achieve a positive destination is almost twice the Scottish average. This illustrates the considerable disparities within this ward; half of its residents have a tertiary qualification, and yet almost a fifth of the young people educated there are failing to make a positive transition from school.

\\textsuperscript{24} This is defined in the official statistics as: a person aged 0 to 15; or a person aged 16 to 18, still in full-time education, and living with their parent(s) or grandparent(s) and not living with a partner or child of their own.

\textsuperscript{25} Statistics on school leaver destinations obtained from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, \url{www.sns.gov.uk}

\textsuperscript{26} These positive destinations include education, employment, training, voluntary work and ‘activity agreements’ (where a young person is working with an advisor to achieve a positive outcome).
### Table 3: Education and labour market outcomes in Scotland, Edinburgh and selected wards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Highest local authority</th>
<th>Lowest local authority</th>
<th>Edinburgh</th>
<th>Forth</th>
<th>Leith</th>
<th>Leith Walk</th>
<th>Sighthill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No qualifications (%, people over 16) - 2011</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>34.1 (East Ayrshire)</td>
<td>17.1 (Edinburgh)</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary qualifications (%, people over 16) - 2011</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>41.4 (Edinburgh)</td>
<td>16.5 (West Dunbartonshire)</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In full-time education (%, people over 18) - 2011</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>13.4 (Dundee City)</td>
<td>1.5 (Orkney Islands)</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School leavers going into employment, training or education (%, all state school leavers) - 2012/13</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>95.6 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>88.5 (Clackmannanshire)</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School leavers with a positive follow up destination (%, all state school leavers) - 2012/13</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>95.9 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>84.6 (Clackmannanshire)</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate (%, people aged 16-64) - 2011</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>83.7 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>61.6 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (% of economically active people aged 16-64) - 2011</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.1 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>2.8 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (% of economically active people aged 16-29) - 2011</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>23.6 (North Ayrshire)</td>
<td>5.3 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in employment or a student (%, people aged 19-29) - 2011</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>26.7 (North Ayrshire)</td>
<td>9.9 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a professional or manual occupation (% of people aged 16-74) - 2011</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>40.7 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>22.8 (West Dunbartonshire)</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a routine or semi-routine occupation (% of people aged 16-74) - 2011</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>35.1 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>17.8 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Figures obtained from 2011 Census (www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk) and Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (www.sns.gov.uk). Red indicates a worse outcome than the average for Scotland, Green indicates a better outcome.
Edinburgh’s employment rate is slightly lower than for Scotland as a whole; 69.2% compared with 70.4%. However, the unemployment rate is slightly lower than for Scotland; 7.4%, compared to 8.2%. Edinburgh, and the Leith and Leith Walk areas within it, perform relatively well on employment outcomes, performing a few percentage points better than the Scottish average on unemployment, youth unemployment, and youth inactivity. However, the Forth and Sighthill areas within Edinburgh perform poorly on these measures, with high unemployment (around 10% in both), high youth unemployment (17% in Forth) and a high proportion of 16-29 year olds not participating in work or education (20.5% in Sighthill and 25.2% in Forth – in other words, one in five and one in four, respectively).

In Scotland as a whole, roughly equal proportions of the population – around 28% – are employed in professional occupations and routine or semi-routine occupations. In Edinburgh the balance is more towards professional occupations (almost a 2:1 ratio of professional to routine). This pattern is found in the Leith Walk area, but in Forth the situation is very similar to the Scottish average, and in Sighthill there are more employed in routine occupations.

### 2.3.3 Income and welfare receipt

Table 4 presents data on benefit receipt and income deprivation in Scotland, Edinburgh and the selected four areas. Edinburgh has lower rates of ‘key benefit’\(^{27}\) receipt than the Scottish average, both for the working age population as a whole and for the 16-24 client group. In Scotland as a whole, 16.0% of 16-64 year olds are claiming at least one of these benefits; in Edinburgh the figure is 11.5%, which is lower than average and half the level of the local authority with the highest figure (22.8% in Glasgow City) but still higher than the lowest ranked local authority (Aberdeenshire, at 8.4%). The situation is similar for the 16-24 age group, with Edinburgh better than average, but not the lowest, although they are closer in this case.

The figures at ward level demonstrate considerable disparity within Edinburgh. The proportion of 16-64 year old claimants in Leith Walk is lower than the Scotland and Edinburgh average, at 9.9%, but in the neighbouring Forth ward, the figure is 19.8% - almost one in five working age people. Similarly for claimants aged 16-24, the rate of claiming in Leith Walk is lower than average at 7%, but in Forth it is 18.8% - again almost one in five.

An alternative way to measure low income in an area is to count all those receiving income-related benefits or tax credits.\(^{28}\) On this measure, Edinburgh has a lower rate of income deprivation than the Scottish average, at 10.2% of the population compared with 13.3%. However, income deprivation is considerably higher than this in the Forth ward (18.0%) and the Sighthill ward (17.2%), and somewhat higher in Leith (14.6%). Leith Walk fares better on this measure than the average for Edinburgh as a whole.

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\(^{27}\) These are defined by the UK Department for Work and Pensions as out of work benefits for jobseekers or the disabled, as well as other income related benefits; Jobseeker’s Allowance, Employment and Support Allowance, Income Support, Carer’s Allowance, Disability Living Allowance and Widow’s or Bereavement Benefit. Benefit data obtained from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics, [www.sns.gov.uk](http://www.sns.gov.uk).

\(^{28}\) This is defined as households receiving Income Support, Income-based Employment and Support Allowance, Jobseeker’s Allowance, Guarantee Pension Credit, and low income Tax Credit households.
Table 4: Benefit receipt and income deprivation in Scotland, Edinburgh and selected wards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Highest local authority</th>
<th>Lowest local authority</th>
<th>Edinburgh</th>
<th>Forth</th>
<th>Leith</th>
<th>Leith Walk</th>
<th>Sighthill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claiming key benefit(s) (%., people aged 16-64) - Q4 2012</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>22.8 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>8.4 (Aberdeenshire)</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claiming key benefit(s) (%., people aged 16-24) - Q4 2012</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>19.8 (North Ayrshire)</td>
<td>6.5 (Aberdeen City)</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income deprived' (%., all people) - 2010/11</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>21.2 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>6.6 (Shetland Isles)</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children in poverty (%., people under 16) - 2012</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>33.4 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>7.0 (Shetland Isles)</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Data obtained from Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (www.sns.gov.uk) and End Child Poverty (www.endchildpoverty.org.uk). Red indicates a worse outcome than the average for Scotland, Green indicates a better outcome.
Edinburgh performs slightly better than the Scottish average on child poverty (the proportion of under 16s living in a household on less than 60% of the median income). It is estimated\(^{29}\) that in Scotland, just over 1 in 5 children (21.2%) live in poverty; in Edinburgh the figure is slightly lower than this at 18.5%. However, there are disparities within Edinburgh, and the proportion of children estimated to be in poverty is over a quarter in Forth (28.7%) and Leith (27.8%) and over a third in Sighthill (35.3%).

### 2.3.4 Indicators of deprivation

Table 5 compares Scotland, Edinburgh and the selected wards within it across a number of potential indicators of deprivation or low well-being.

#### 2.3.4.1 Health

Edinburgh performs relatively well with respect to health outcomes. A lower proportion in Edinburgh than Scotland as a whole report poor health (4.1%, compared with 5.6%) or a limiting health condition or disability (16.1%, compared with 19.6%). The proportion reporting poor health is less than half that of the poorest performing local authority (8.7% in Glasgow City). A slightly higher proportion in Sighthill report poor health (6.1%) than for Scotland as a whole, but apart from this, all four wards perform relatively well on these outcomes.

#### 2.3.4.2 Housing

Edinburgh does not have a particularly high rate of home ownership, and the rate is a few percentage points lower than the Scottish average (61.2% compared with 65.6%). The main difference between Edinburgh and Scotland with respect to housing is in the rental market, with a much lower proportion living in social rented accommodation (14.7% compared with 21.5%), and much higher in private rented accommodation (23.2% compared with 11.9%).

There are quite stark disparities in tenure within Edinburgh; although the Edinburgh average is 14.7% in social housing, in Forth and Sighthill the proportion is twice this high. Leith has a higher proportion in social housing than Edinburgh as a whole, but slightly lower than Scottish average. In Leith Walk, the majority of renting is in the private sector.\(^{30}\)

Those living in Edinburgh are more likely to live in housing that is overcrowded or lacks central heating than the Scottish average. The Leith Walk ward fares particularly badly on these measures, with over a fifth – 22.8% – living in overcrowded housing, and 9.2% of dwellings lacking central heating.

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\(^{29}\) Child poverty figures estimated from tax credit data by the group End Child Poverty.

\(^{30}\) It should be noted that these figures represent availability as well as deprivation; in the UK welfare system, those on a low income and receiving help with housing costs may rent from the social or private sector depending on availability. It is not possible at this geographical level to distinguish between private tenants who are receiving assistance and those who are not (this data is not publicly available).
### Table 5: Indicators of deprivation in Scotland, Edinburgh and selected wards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Highest local authority</th>
<th>Lowest local authority</th>
<th>Edinburgh</th>
<th>Forth</th>
<th>Leith</th>
<th>Leith Walk</th>
<th>Sighthill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reports bad or very bad health (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.7 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>3.2 (Aberdeenshire)</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limiting health condition or disability (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>23.7 (Inverclyde)</td>
<td>15.5 (Aberdeenshire)</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in household that is owned (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>85.6 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>49.2 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in household that is social rented (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>33.7 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>8.8 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in household that is private rented (%, all people) - 2011</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>28.2 (Edinburgh)</td>
<td>5.1 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowded household (%, all households) - 2011</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>17.4 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>3.9 (Eilean Siar)</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No central heating (%, all household spaces) - 2011</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.3 (Orkney Islands)</td>
<td>0.7 (East Ayrshire)</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in 'lowest 15%' datazone (%, all people) - 2010/11</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>39.3 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>0.0 (4 LAs)</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total crimes and offences excluding Motor vehicle offences recorded (per 10,000 population) - 2012/13</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>1874 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>431 (East Renfrewshire)</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes of dishonesty (per 10,000 population) - 2012/13</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>437 (Glasgow City)</td>
<td>59 (Shetland Islands)</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Data obtained from 2011 Census (www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk) and Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics (www.sns.gov.uk). Red indicates a worse outcome than the average for Scotland, Green indicates a better outcome.
2.3.4.3 Crime
Edinburgh experiences more recorded crime than average for Scotland – 924 crimes and offences (excluding motor offences) per 10,000 of the population, compared with a Scottish average of 897. A key type of crime experienced disproportionately in Edinburgh relative to other areas in Scotland is those classified as ‘crimes of dishonesty’; these include housebreaking, theft from or of motor vehicles, shoplifting and fraud. A higher prevalence of such crimes is found in the urban areas of Scotland, of which Edinburgh is one. In 2012/13 there were 399 recorded incidents of this type of crime per 10,000 people, compared with the Scottish average of 256 per 10,000. Crime statistics are not available for geographies smaller than the local authority.

2.3.4.4 Area deprivation
The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) identifies deprivation at the small area (‘datazone’) level, across seven ‘domains’ (income, employment, health, education, housing, geographical access and crime). Generally speaking, the most deprived 15% of the datazones (which contain around 800-1000 people) are considered to be particularly badly off. This accounts for 14.2% of the Scottish population.

Edinburgh contains 54 of Scotland’s most deprived 15% of datazones (976 datazones) – just 5.5% of this deprived group, and accounting for 9% of the city’s population, which is lower than the Scottish average. Leith Walk contains none of these zones. However, the other three wards have a considerably higher proportion than the Scottish average living in these zones – in the case of Forth ward, the proportion is over twice as high (29.6%).

2.3.5 Overall picture
Edinburgh performs well relative to other areas of Scotland on some indicators, such as health and the proportion of residents holding qualifications, but it also has some challenges. The above statistics illustrate that, in some parts of the city:

- A higher than average proportion of young people are not moving into a positive destination after leaving school (up to one in five in some areas);
- A higher than average proportion of young people claim benefits for unemployment, disability or low income (up to one in five in some areas);
- A higher than average proportion of the population are living in areas classed as being among the most deprived in Scotland (over a quarter in some areas);
- There are areas with high rates of lone parenthood and child poverty;
- There are areas with high levels of overcrowded accommodation.

This shows that pockets of deprivation exist even in a relatively affluent city. The city as a whole also faces challenges from having a higher crime rate and a more ethnically diverse population than most other parts of Scotland.
2.4. Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

As the previous section has demonstrated, Edinburgh generally performs well compared to the average for Scotland. However, there are persistent pockets of disadvantage and inequality in the city. In particular this chapter is interested in the situation of unemployed youth. This section explores the local policy response to youth unemployment in Edinburgh.

2.4.1 The barriers faced by young people in the labour market in Edinburgh

The interview participants identified a range of barriers that young people, especially school leavers, in Edinburgh faced in the labour market. Mirroring the findings from the national analysis in Work Package 3 (Egdell et al., 2014) youth itself was seen as a disadvantage.

I think all young people are disadvantaged in the labour market to be honest (Employment support service provider)

A lack of, or low levels of, qualifications were key barriers identified.

...We are finding that people with no qualifications or very low qualifications are more likely to be in the unemployed group of school leavers and stay there even after six months (Regional/local government policy maker)

Reiterating earlier findings (Egdell et al., 2014), some participants argued that as a result of the recession, school leavers and those who had left school with low or no qualifications had found themselves squeezed out of the labour market as they competed for jobs alongside further and higher education graduates.

The opportunities for school leavers had been squeezed and were even more competitive by the knock on domino effect...the young person trying to enter the employment chain for the very first time was at the end of the domino chain and hardest to get on to the ladder (Employment support service provider)

As well as competing for jobs alongside further and higher education graduates, young people from three of the four focus groups also felt that they found it difficult to find work because they were competing for opportunities with migrants who were prepared to receive lower wages. As will be discussed later, the employment support providers outlined that young people did not necessarily want to engage in low paid work, even if from the point of view of the providers, this job acted as a ‘stepping stone’ to higher paid work.

Having qualifications no longer guarantees a smooth transition from education to employment – although those who lacked qualifications, or had left school early or had had truancy issues, faced particular barriers in the labour market and were at risk of entering long term unemployment. Employers wanted workers to have experience; therefore just having qualifications did not necessarily translate into work. The young people in the focus groups highlighted the difficult situation they were in, as employers wanted experience, but were not giving them the opportunities to gain experience. Employers did not necessarily see them as reliable employees, and therefore would not take the (financial) ‘risk’ in employing them.

Everyone wants like two years or however long experience, but nobody is really willing to give you the experience that you need...it’s quite tricky to find one that will actually give you a chance (Female, 17/18 years, Focus Group 2)

But they only employ people they know are reliable, cause firing someone costs them (Male, 21 years, Focus Group 1)

Even those who had work experience could face barriers if this was very fragmented or they had not sustained a job for a length of time, or had only had short term positions. Employers would be discouraged if a young person had had 10 jobs over 12 months, even if this was
because all the jobs had had short-term contracts, e.g. a temporary retail job over the Christmas period.

As has been highlighted elsewhere (Hollywood et al., 2012, Egdell et al., 2014) participants also drew attention to the ‘additional’ barriers, apart from a lack of qualifications and experience, faced by young people engaged with employment support programmes. A lack of self-belief and confidence were cited a key barriers, often the result of having a poor experience at school, or having been job searching unsuccessfully for a long period of time. Linked to the issue of self-belief and confidence was a lack of soft skills needed for young people to ‘sell themselves’ to employers and highlight their strengths in job applications and interviews.

It is how people sell themselves and project their strengths and how they do that in an application process...there is a lot of confidence in that and how you project to employers (Regional/local government policy maker)

The young people in the focus groups highlighted that they could find it difficult to sell themselves on their CVs either because they lacked the qualifications or the writing skills needed. They found it difficult to project their enthusiasm, willingness to learn and personality through CVs, all of which could act to counter a lack of appropriate qualifications.

Not everything is down on paper. Your life isn’t based on paper. It’s how you act that should matter. It shouldn’t matter down to your CV and grades, your paperwork; it’s how well you know how to work (Male, 17/18 years, Focus Group 2)

A contributing reason to this lack of self-belief could be because the young people felt ‘judged’ by employers and wider society. The young people who participated in one focus group felt that they were judged because of their employment status. They felt that it was assumed that they had not engaged enough at school and did not have qualifications. One young person outlined that they had “stayed on at school until sixth year31, [and] got quite a few good qualifications, but [was] still unemployed” (Male, 17/18 years, Focus Group 2). More generally the narratives from other young people highlighted how they felt judged as early school leavers, because certain behaviours were associated with this group, e.g. substance misuse problems. It was felt that there was not the effort made to understand why they had left school early or not gained sufficient qualifications to find work.

I left high school because I was getting picked on a lot. But people [don’t] see that. They just see ‘left high school early’. So they judge you because of what other people left high school for...taking drugs, stuff like that. I have never taken drugs in my life, I wouldn’t (Male, 17/18 years, Focus Group 2)

Informal networks also play an important role in young people’s self-belief and aspirations to succeed in life. Young people did not always have family and peer support, which meant they often did not expect or aspire to succeed in the labour market. One participant felt that parents needed to be empowered to want their children to succeed. The lack of support and role models was felt to especially affect care leavers who did not have the support from family structures and networks to help them move into work and sustain work.

It is interesting when considering the barriers faced by young people in the labour market in Edinburgh, to explore the type of work that young people are looking for. There is some evidence of adaptive preference formation, with young people argued to be adjusting their expectations and aspirations downwards and as such not having the freedom to live lives that they have reason to value (Nussbaum, 2000). Some felt that often young people had very narrow conceptions of the opportunities available to them and had not considered all the options open to them because of a lack of role models etc. Therefore many of the employment

31 The year group for 17 to 18 year olds, and beyond the end of compulsory schooling.
support programmes engaged in activities designed to make young people aware of the range of opportunities available to them so that they were more open-minded when considering the type of work they might want to undertake.

*It’s just opening their eyes to different things. A lot of them will say I want to do this or I want to do that because that’s the only thing that they know* (Employment support service provider)

Some employment support providers also highlighted a lack of geographical mobility when young people looked for work. Young people were felt to be generally not keen about moving out of Edinburgh to look for work, and that sometimes within the city there was a general reluctance to mix with people from other neighbourhoods.

Another theme highlighted was the need to enable young people to realise that their first job might be a position used to act as a stepping stone to provide them with experience and skills to add to their CVs. Some employment support providers felt that the vacancies available to disadvantaged young people were not necessarily at a level that young people wanted. The employment support providers needed to work with the young people in order that they understood that this was only the start of their path in the labour market, while also being sympathetic of the reluctance of young people to take up often low paid work.

*I think our young people really find it quite difficult to swallow if they are having to work for a full week for a small amount of money. And I think it is unfair but you try to kind of say that this is giving you experience on your CV, think about it as a stepping stone and the next job you might get £100 a week and then after that you need to prove yourself. The market is so competitive you need to start somewhere* (Employment support service provider)

However, there was a feeling from one participant in particular against trying to find a ‘quick fix’. They felt that young people sometimes wanted a ‘quick fix’ through the form of temporary or zero hour contracts, rather than trying to find a more sustainable opportunity. However, this could be an indication of an awareness of the realities of the Edinburgh labour market, where industries typically associated with temporary or zero hour contracts are anticipated to grow in the next 10 years e.g. health and social care, retail and hospitality.

The narratives from the young people provide a mixed picture as to whether they wanted ‘any job’ or sought out opportunities that they had reason to value. A discussion from focus group 3 highlights that for some their emphasis was on earning money and gaining independence from their parents. The young people were prepared to give up their place on the course that they were enrolled with to take up a job opportunity – even if staying on the course, or engaging in education, could open up further opportunities.

*Male 1: Anything really, I’m not fussy, a job’s a job*  
*Male 2: I’d agree with him, any job*  
*Female 1: I’d take any job*  
*Male 1: It brings the pennies in at the end of the day*  
*Male 2: If I got offered a job in Tesco’s tomorrow I’d quit this course and be in Tesco’s tomorrow*  
*Male 3: If I got offered a job in MacDonald’s I’d be there tomorrow. It’s just money, I just want to have my own money instead of asking my mum all the time, I’m seventeen!*  
*Male 3: I want to go to college, but if I got offered a job I’d pick the job first, I’d have to, I couldn’t let an opportunity like that go*  

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32 Research undertaken by the Office for National Statistics (2014) outlines how 45% of businesses in accommodation and food services and over 20% of health and social work businesses make use of contracts with no guaranteed hours. Those employed on these types of contracts tend to be women, in full-time education or in the younger (16-24 years) or older (65 years and over) age groups.

33 The Edinburgh School Leaver’s Toolkit outlines that the industries likely to grow in the next 10 years are: finance and business services, health and social care and retail and hospitality. The types of jobs that are likely to grow in the next 10 years are anticipated to be: admin and secretarial, unskilled/semi-skilled jobs, caring occupations, and sales and customer service. See for more information: [http://m.edinburghschoolleavers.org/id-like-a-job-in/edinburghs-growth-industries/](http://m.edinburghschoolleavers.org/id-like-a-job-in/edinburghs-growth-industries/) (Accessed 30 July 2014).
Male 2: Jobs are pretty scarce, so if you get offered a job you’re doing well, take it, snap the employer’s hand off…you might not like that job but you can still look

Participants from other focus groups did not necessarily have the same views, and emphasised the importance of finding work that they had reason to value. Participants from focus group 2 discussed the types of work they were looking for. For one young person enjoying the work and finding work that aligned with their moral values was important.

I do actually try and look for jobs that I know I will enjoy and I know that I consider ethical to me. Because if you are putting in your energy into something every day, every week, for so long, that takes a part of you out of you (Female, 17/18 years, Focus Group 2)

2.4.2 The main policies and programmes to tackle youth unemployment in Edinburgh

Supporting young people and preventative approaches are key to the approach being taken by the council, with schools leavers and young people (14-19 years) cited as a priority group in the City of Edinburgh Council Employability Commissioning Strategy 2012-2015 (City of Edinburgh Council 2011b). The Youth Employment Strategy aims to provide training, education and work opportunities for young people (16-24)34. The key actions for 2013-2014 are to continue a programme of data-sharing between relevant organisations and systems; audit and develop employability and learning for young people who may need additional support - young offenders, care leavers; develop protocol for working with young people and minimising disengagement; audit the work experience elements of training and education for young people; and systematically engage employers - especially through engagement with small and medium-sized businesses.

2.4.2.1 Key actors in the development of youth employment policy in Edinburgh

There are three key actors who have a stake in the development of youth employment policy in Edinburgh:

- **Economic Development department, City of Edinburgh Council:** The Economic development department has an annual budget of over £6m and is responsible for a range of services that guide the economic development of the city, including supporting people into work and educational opportunities35.

  **Capital City Partnership (CCP):** CCP is an arm’s length council body responsible for the city’s employability strategy and programme. It deals with implementation and the operation of policy/strategy and how services join together.

- **Youth Employment Partnership:** This is a group of key organisations (City of Edinburgh Council; Skills Development Scotland; Inspiring Scotland; NHS Lothian; Jobcentre Plus; Edinburgh College and Capital City Partnership) who deliver and commission youth employment support. An important role of the group is to bring together the various initiatives and strategies that address youth employment36.

2.4.2.2 The Strategic Skills Pipeline

The provision of employment support in Edinburgh is provided across a five stage Strategic Skills Pipeline approach (Figure 1).

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The key output at the end of the pipeline is to move young people into a ‘positive destination’ (that is employment or education, a voluntary placement, a Modern Apprenticeship) with the aim that this is a sustained job where the young person can up-skill and seek promotion. It is important to note here that in the discourse around ‘positive destinations’, it is not clear whether the question of whether a job or training is actually really positive from the point of view of a young person and wider issues - e.g. wellbeing and satisfaction with life (Bartelheimer et al., 2012; Vero et al., 2012) is discussed. The employment support providers interviewed did acknowledge that funders did recognise the importance of soft outcomes that might encompass wider issues, but often did not focus upon these: “it’s very much about actually how many people have got into work, a placement or college” (Employment support service provider). At earlier points in the pipeline outputs are centred on barrier removal and individual action planning, and one participant did outline that the expectations of the rapidity of progress for the age group were realistic.

I think funders again are more sophisticated about their expectations...particularly with that age group, they’re not necessarily expecting them to get a job in three months (Employment support service provider)

The employment support providers outlined that the programmes they offered to young people were flexible in their approach and able to provide tailored support to young people. The level of flexibility did however depend on the funding stream, with some funders cited as being
more flexible than others. It is also important to note that while there is flexibility, programmes still need to meet the outcome requirements of their funders.

2.4.2.3 Overview of the key local employability policies, programmes and services for the young unemployed

Appendix 1 outlines the key local youth employment funding streams/programmes in more detail. Of course these are only local examples. Young people in Edinburgh will also be engaged with UK and Scottish Government level initiatives outlined in the Work Package 3 report such as the Work Programme, the Youth Contract, Modern Apprenticeships and Activity Agreements (see Egdell et al., 2014). There are also some services open to wider age groups that provide employment support alongside access to money matters, housing, childcare and health services, and links to employers and training providers – although mainstream offers may not be suitable for a young person trying to enter the labour market.

One of the key programmes, which developed as a result of the poor SLDR 2009/10 results in the Edinburgh Guarantee - a vision that all young people leave school into a positive destination. City of Edinburgh Council is working with partners in the public, private and voluntary sectors across the city to increase the number of jobs, education and training opportunities being made available to young people (see for more information: http://theedinburghguarantee.co.uk/).

There are also other local approaches. For example employment support providers drew attention to the engagement work in schools that is taking place. Participants outlined that young people who left school without a positive destination did not always engage with employment support and it was very difficult to track them once they had left the school system. Employment support organisations were now doing work in schools to make young people aware of the services available to them and to build relationships with them so that they were more likely to engage with employment support provision if they did not have a positive destination.

...what’s the point of getting them when they are 18, 19 and they roll up going help me, I can’t cope with this life anymore that I have been living for the last 4 years, how do we get in before that. So what we have been doing in the last year and a half is engaging with the schools and going in and working with and seeing young people that are 14, 15 and trying to develop that relationship now before they disappear (Employment support service provider)

Participants reflected on the range of employment support provision. There was a feeling amongst many that the employment support and training opportunities offered tended to be focused at school leavers rather than ‘older’ young people. Some employment support providers described having to tell young people who were aged between 20 and 25 years that they were ‘too old’ to engage with some of the provision,

I mean a lot of our guys are maybe 23, 24, 25, so they’re getting on. Which is quite worrying when you are saying you are getting on when you are 23 but yeah a lot of the opportunities are kind of 16 to 18, 16 to 19, and it’s quite grim when you are having to say to a 20 year old you are too old (Employment support service provider)

One 25 year old participant outlined the lack of provision for their age group. They had been unable to participate earlier because of childcare responsibilities.

I’m 25 now...and as far as I know there’s only one course out there for people up to the age of 30 (Male, 25 years, Focus Group 3)

It was also felt that the job opportunities available to the programmes were targeted at those young people who had left school with qualifications. This meant that these opportunities were
not necessarily accessible to young people engaged with a lot of the employment support providers who participated in the research. However it should be noted that programmes like the Edinburgh Guarantee were cited as increasing the variety of opportunities available to young people, as well as increasing the policy focus on the young unemployed. As one participant reflected, the focus had previously been on getting young people into training, but now there was more emphasis on working with employers to ensure that there were job opportunities for young people i.e. looking at the ‘end point’.

While the variety in the market increased the options for young people, there was some concern that there were perhaps too many opportunities which meant that projects competed with each other to engage young people and the landscape was also felt to be complex for young people to negotiate.

*It's actually quite complicated and quite complex. And how do people actually navigate your options. Its bits like a menu with 1000 different main courses on it* (Regional/local government policy maker)

### 2.5. Participation

This section explores the opportunities for young people’s participation in policy making processes in Edinburgh. While this chapter as a whole focuses on the employment policy area, this section takes a more general approach to policy making, with some of the examples presented not solely focused on the creation of employment policy. This section highlights some themes already developed in the Work Package 2 report (Bonvin, 2013; Ley, 2013). Participation may take numerous forms from passive and formalised approaches to young people actively exercising their voices and right in relation to decisions in their own lives or communities. This section considers the structural barriers to formal modes of participation, the availability of opportunities in Edinburgh for young people to voice their concerns and the specific view of participation that is promoted.

#### 2.5.1 Modes and mechanisms for young people’s participation in Edinburgh

This research has identified a range of modes and mechanisms through which individuals and groups can have input and/or influence over the setting of policy priorities, design and implementation.

At the local authority governance level in Scotland, effective engagement with communities is key. There is no restriction on the type of community to be consulted; they can be linked to a place or can be a community of interest, for example young people. Within Edinburgh there are a range of mechanisms and platforms through which citizens can have a voice in the decisions made by the local authority.

- Anyone can attend a **Council meeting**, or inspect the papers circulated for discussion and the minutes of the meeting.
- There are **Community Councils**[^37] which represent and consult local communities and put these views to local authorities.

There are 12 Neighbourhood Partnerships made up of a variety of people representing the local community (usually from Community Councils), the City of Edinburgh Council, the police, the health service, the voluntary sector and other local organisations. A nominated local community representative ensures that the views and concerns of local people are fed into the Neighbourhood Partnerships. The Neighbourhood Partnerships make recommendations to the Council and other partner organisations about the way services are delivered, comment on strategic decisions affecting the local area, and can award small grants to community groups. The Neighbourhood Partnerships each meet in public up to five times a year, and anyone can attend these meetings.

There are also mechanisms and platforms specifically designed to enable children and young people to have a voice in the decisions made by the local authority.

Since February 2013, a new participation structure has been developed that emphasises ‘deep learning and involvement of young people’ (Education, Children and Families Committee, 2013: 5). The Edinburgh Young People’s Participation Strategy was created in early 2013 after a consultation with young people from across the city regarding the Edinburgh Youth Issues Forum and youth participation and relevant professionals in December 2012 and February 2013 (Education, Children and Families Committee, 2013). The previous participation structure had been criticised for the lack of links and influence on local level decision-making. The new strategy forwards an approach that does not take the previous formal committee style structure alternating with young people’s themed events. As one of the interview participants outlined, the new structures are based on what works best for each community in Edinburgh and there is emphasis on the organic growth of young people’s participation so that a ‘culture of participation’ is developed. Components of this new approach to participation include (Education, Children and Families Committee, 2013):

- The ‘Participation Mentors’ programme is a capacity building and peer education programme for young people across Edinburgh.
- Biannual fun and informal Edinburgh Youth Issues Forum Gatherings defined and facilitated by young people drawn from the participation mentor group. The gatherings identify issues for young people to be taken forward by the action research groups. The first gathering was held in September 2013.
- Action Research Groups of young volunteers undertake research about topics defined as a result of conversations between young people and workers. The group is supported by the City of Edinburgh Council’s Young People’s Participation Team and any other relevant agencies, but the emphasis is on young people taking the lead in these groups. Current action research topics, as decided by young people are: bullying, mental health support in schools, poverty and inequality and the state of schools.

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40 There are also national level mechanisms and organisations that operate in Edinburgh. These national level mechanisms and organisations are discussed in Edgell et al., (2014).
41 The Edinburgh Youth Issues Forum was a partnership with young people (all young people aged 11-21 years living in Edinburgh) and the City of Edinburgh Council and its partners with a view to influencing the delivery of services to young people. The Forum met in 'committee session' 3-4 times a year. These meetings were open to the public and held in the City Chambers. There were also further themed Forum meetings that are used to engage with a wider group of young people. This mechanism has changed as a result of this consultation.
• **Conversations for Action meetings** are chaired by the Edinburgh Youth Issues Forum convenor but with the agenda set by young people. Those involved in the action research group for each topic present their learning, ideas and actions for meaningful dialogue between young people and relevant policy makers.

• The **Annual Young People’s Participation Conference** (the first was held in March 2014) brings together young people, lead officers, partner agencies and elected members to celebrate and hear about young people's participation in Edinburgh. It is facilitated and organised by young people drawn from the participation mentors team.

• A **Consultation protocol** assists the management of requests for consultation with young people. It ensures that young people’s involvement in consultations is productive.

• **Community links have been strengthened** through increased networking between Members of the Scottish Youth Parliament and local forums, and Members of the Scottish Youth Parliament sit on the Leader’s Group for Edinburgh Guarantee (see previous section for details about the Edinburgh Guarantee). There are six local participation leads who actively involve young people in participation and greater links with school councils have also been made.

• **‘Democracy on the Move’** is a project supported by a Community Learning and Development student on placement within the Young People’s Participation Team to make young people aware of the referendum and their voting rights.

While there are a range of mechanisms through which young people can have a voice in the local authority, often with the young people deciding themselves which issues are of importance to them; specifically in terms of the setting of youth employment strategies, young people do not feed in directly to the strategy in Edinburgh (see previous section for a discussion of the strategy and the key stakeholders). Rather young people’s interests and views are represented through stakeholder organisations. These organisations may sit on committees or be approached to take part in government consultations.

[Name of organisation] have been consulted a lot to take part in studies and to give their opinion on young people’s policies and certainly things that the government are bringing in to kind of change as well (Employment Support Provider)

Young people do feed into individual programmes and services. Employment support providers discussed the ways in which young people had a voice in their programmes e.g. through forums. However, young people’s ability to effect change here, and more generally, may be limited, and there needs to be a realism about what can be achieved because of the constraints of wider systems such as budgets etc.

In some instances employment support providers mentioned the different mechanisms they used to encourage young people to participate, engage and have a voice in the programmes. For example one programme often kept in touch with young people using text messages or email. They had found that young people were often more confident speaking via text or on their Facebook pages, than face to face with project workers.

Some programmes also mentioned running local activities to get young people engaged and participating in their communities’, e.g. young people running inter-generational coffee mornings. As one young person highlighted, the community activities undertaken through
employment support programmes, could be the first actions ever taken by the young people. However, in the main there seemed to be complete disengagement of most of the focus group participants in any political or civic activity. Most looked puzzled when questions were asked during the focus about whether they participated in any community or neighbourhood initiatives.

The authors of the report did not identify any examples of alternative modes participation and voice making/taking outside the formal mechanisms discussed above during the interviews.

2.5.2 The participation of youth in policy making and their communities

While the previous section has highlighted the mechanisms and modes to participation in Edinburgh, this section reflects on whether they in practice give voice to young people in the city.

Participants identified groups of young people whose voices they felt were not being heard in policy making and the current participatory activities. These included young people with disabilities and young people from ethnic minorities, as well as many of the young people engaged with the employment support providers who participated in the research. One participant cited that young female voices had not been traditionally heard, as a lot of recruitment for participatory activities took place through youth clubs, which young males were more likely to attend. Now more recruitment took place through schools and young females were more likely to get involved.

This issue of how young people get involved in form modes and mechanisms for participatory activity may explain why many of the young people engaged in employment support programmes may be seen to be lacking ‘voice’. An emerging theme was that those young people who were engaged in a ‘system’ were seen as most likely to have a voice – conversely those participating in youth employment support were seen to be disengaged. It was also felt that there was only a small window of opportunity to engage young people – one participant felt that this was at the beginning of secondary school, while another felt that this was between the ages of 15 and 18 years.

There are a kind of quite a vocal group of young people...But those are young people who are already in the system...I think there is quite a forgotten section of young people, the ones we are working with (Employment support service provider)

One participant felt that there was less of a groundswell of participation in the UK, especially for those outside the education system.

We have a good student voice if people go to college but the voice for 16 to 20 year olds who don’t go to college or university, I think they’re silent I would suggest (Regional/local government policy maker)

Research undertaken in Edinburgh into young people’s participation in decision making found similar trends. The research identified positive drivers of participation, and these included using a variety of methods to engage young people; and listening to young people’s views through elected bodies like student councils or though organised events for young people (Ipsos Mori, 2005). It was also found that “young people who want their voices to be heard are also more inclined to participate. Furthermore, young people who are currently involved in their community through volunteering or youth clubs also indicate a preference to participate” (Ipsos Mori, 2005: 5).
Returning to the findings from the SocIEtY project, there are mechanisms open to the general public where young people could have a voice. However, some participants cited that the young people they worked with were unlikely to attend these. These are still formal mechanisms and were argued not to appeal to young people who might see them as irrelevant and not interesting for them. Young people also need to see engagement as worthwhile, and something through which they make a difference. However, some participants often felt that young people did not see engaging in participatory activities as worthwhile. It was felt that participation would be encouraged if young people could see something being achieved as a result. However, there needed to be some realism in terms of what young people could achieve through engagement.

So I think it is being about realistic with young people and not setting the goal ridiculously high to keep them engaged...if you are able to make a small step with young people and see a result (Citizen’s body)

Another factor to encourage engagement and participation is making young people feel like they had a stake in the policy making process, and ensuring that they felt that policy makers were able to relate to them. A theme emerging across many of the participant’s narratives was that young people felt removed from the policy making process. Some organisations had engaged with young people to help them to see that their personal lives were political. Several employment support organisations mentioned doing some activity around the referendum and increasing young people’s political literacy.

Young people also did not feel that they were welcome to take part or that their views were valued. Some participants cited that young people felt that the government did not take the ‘side’ of young people. There was a feeling that engagement from policy makers could be very tokenistic and even if young people are given voice it was not necessarily listened to.

They might talk to us for like publicity, like oh look at me I am a good person I am talking to like underprivileged young people. But they won’t actually care I don’t think (Female, 17/18 years, Focus group 2)

One part of the issue seems to be that there was a gulf between policy makers and young people. One employment support provider outlined how politicians often felt the need to act ‘cool’ around young people. This often backfired because the young people found this embarrassing and awkward, and therefore disengaged. The young people who took part in the focus groups felt that policy makers were out of touch, not realising or having experienced the realities of their lived experiences e.g. facing barriers to the labour market, managing on a low income.

They’ve not been through it, they just have that cushy job and get paid so they don’t care, really. They’ll put policies across but they don’t really let the public decide (Male, 21 years, focus group 1)

It is easy for [policy makers and politicians]. They say aye they will get work, here, there. It is not that easy (Male, 16 years, Focus group 4)

### 2.6. Social innovation

Before exploring the issue of social innovation in relation to the approaches being taken to tackle youth unemployment and encourage participation in Edinburgh, it is useful to revisit the theoretical work done in Work Package 2 and the national case study undertaken by the authors of this chapter for Work Package 3 (Egdell et al., 2014).
In Work Package 2 Bonvin (2013) and Rosendal Jensen (2013) provides a useful overview of the understandings of social innovation being adopted in the SociEtY project. It is argued that social innovation has three main aspects:

(1) Social innovation relates to social needs that are not yet fulfilled. Therefore social innovation is concerned with the identification of unmet needs or the development of new approaches to tackle these unmet needs.

(2) Social innovation may be top down or bottom up. So, either the identification of needs originates from the decision-making level and then is implemented at the local level; or new needs are identified at the local level with efforts made to upscale practices designed to address those needs.

(3) There is a link between social innovation and participation, and therefore there needs to be space for local stakeholders to express their views.

This definition supports much of which is written about in the social innovation literature. The Young Foundation/NESTA (2007) have defined social innovation as being about new ways of working to meet unmet social needs.

The term ‘social innovation’ refers to new ideas, institutions or ways of working that aim to fulfil unmet social needs or tackle social problems, for example, new ways of working to reduce poverty or discrimination, or new services and organisations to care for those suffering from illness (Young Foundation/NESTA, 2007: 6).

The aim of social innovation is to help create better futures (Pol and Ville, 2009). Social innovation not only describes new products and programmes (outputs) but also the processes used to generate, test and adapt these new approaches (Caulier-Grice et al., 2012; Preskill and Beer, 2012). Equally, social innovations are often new combinations or hybrids rather than completely new approaches; involve cutting across organisational and sector boundaries; and develop new social relationships between previously separate individuals and groups (Mulgan et al., 2007). For example, looking at local level service innovations, Evers and Ewert (2013) identified they often invested in capabilities rather than filling gaps. In addition in these examples, it was identified that they took an open approach to the admission of potential service users so that stigmatisation was avoided; bridged the gap between professional services and people’s lives so that services were taken up by users; and allowed the development of personalised support packages.

The environment needs to be right for social innovation to occur. Six factors essential to social innovation have been identified by the Young Foundation/NESTA (2007: 11):

1. Recognition of underperformance in service delivery;
2. Combination of internal (local politicians) and external (government policy) pressures;
3. Strong leadership encouraging social innovation;
4. Responsive organisational culture;
5. Supportive and facilitating formal or informal networks; and
6. Resources to support innovation e.g. staff.

Others expand and add to this list with Mulgan et al., (2007) highlighting the need for financial resources; open markets for social solutions; spaces where models can be fostered and incubated; and the empowerment of users to drive innovation.

In the national level analysis (Egdell et al., 2014) it was identified that for many of the participants (national level stakeholders) the term ‘social innovation’ was not a term that they
engaged with and they were unsure of what it meant. In terms of whether youth policy was socially innovative, some national policy examples were given by the participants, as well as funding streams that seek to encourage innovation. However, it was generally felt that there was a lack of a systemic innovative approach. The ‘scaling up’\(^{42}\) of social innovation (when social entrepreneurs discover that to reach their goal they need to change the system that created the problem) is not straightforward and requires particular skills (Westley and Antadze, 2013).

Examples of social innovation cited by participants in the national level analysis (Egdell et al., 2014) had the common thread of being concerned with empowering service users. “Empowerment and community participation have been recognized as means and outcomes of social innovations” but may be constrained by relational, structural and cultural barriers (Edwards-Schachter and Tams, 2013: 2). As such, social innovation appears to be a mechanism through which engagement and a capability for voice can be developed. Innovative activity was more often cited as happening in the third sector. In the main, social innovation is seen to occur at the local level. However, innovation in the third sector and more generally could be stifled by the way in which services are tendered.

The findings of the local level analysis presented in this report highlight similar issues to those identified in the national level analysis (Egdell et al., 2014). Examples of the development of new approaches can be identified, although the authors of this report would be cautious of using the term social innovation in relation to them unless further analysis was undertaken. Indeed some of the participants felt that the approaches were examples of the scaling out of innovative activity undertaken in other localities – although social innovation is not necessarily about generating new approaches.

...I wouldn’t say innovative. I wouldn’t say ideas that I have seen that haven’t been done elsewhere...I think what’s being done things have been trialled elsewhere and have worked so they have just been regurgitated (Employment support service provider)

One example of innovative policy highlighted was the changing approach to participation taken by City of Edinburgh Council. Young people are now more able to challenge the convenor and councillors, and they are able to set the agenda. The authors of the report would argue that a driver of this development has been strong leadership. There are critical connectors in social innovation that link ideas, stakeholders and funding (Mulgan et al., 2007).

Underperformance in public service delivery may also drive social innovation (Young Foundation/NESTA, 2007). The Edinburgh Guarantee can be highlighted as a possible example of innovative policy – although participants did offer critiques – responding to underperformance, as well as being driven by strong leadership. In particular the work done with private sector employers to promote young people and engage employers in helping to address youth unemployment was cited as being new and innovative. This engagement with employers has resulted in changes to policy and practice within local employers. For example a number of employers have made pledges concerning the employment of young people (see http://theedinburghguarantee.co.uk/?page_id=23):

- City of Edinburgh Council has committed to increasing Modern Apprenticeship numbers to at least 1% of the workforce;

\(^{42}\) ‘Scaling out’ social innovation occurs when dissemination activities are undertaken.
Funding from the JPMorgan Chase Foundation has been used to develop innovative programmes to equip young people with the skills necessary for employment; O2 return profits from dedicated mobile phone recycle units in public buildings to the Edinburgh Guarantee; and NHS Lothian provides paid internships with guaranteed employment opportunities.

The Edinburgh Guarantee was also cited as innovative by participants for harnessing technology to reach young people to let them know of the opportunities available to them.

The programmes offered by some employment support providers were also cited as being innovative. Organisations and programmes cited developing as a result of identified need in a neighbourhood, e.g. lack of provision for those who had left school and youth clubs too 'childish'. Trying out different approaches was seen as core to some programmes who focused on taking an approach tailored to the needs of individual young people. Some of the providers interviewed were looking to develop their programmes further with two citing that they were planning, or were in the process of, setting up social enterprise activity.

Funding is the driver of much of the innovation within programmes. Some funders were cited as allowing programmes to try out different approaches to working with young people. However, generally it was cited that there was not the funding available for employment support providers to pilot programmes. Employment support providers need to prove an approach works and there is a need before external funding can be applied for. This means that organisations need to find funding from within their own organisation to pilot approaches.

No one will fund us to do it until we prove that there is a need. And it could be something that if it was proved it was very successful then we could apply for funding (Employment support service provider)

It is in this context that some felt that policy direction was driving funding, rather than what is needed on the ground.

In sum, the findings from national and local level analysis (presented here) raise some interesting questions. Questions need to be asked about to what extent is the ineffectiveness of policy down to a lack of widespread innovation, and to what extent do we actually know what works? Is innovative practice not as effective as it could be because it is being implemented in a very piecemeal way by lots of small projects that can only support young people for a short time, and provision may be withdrawn once a particular funding stream dries up?

2.7 Discussion and conclusions

This final section reflects on the findings from the interview data and policy review presented in the previous section in relation to the understandings developed in Work Packages 2 and 3 and the lessons learned for the Capability Approach and Work Package 5. This section also reflects on the findings in relation to the Informational Basis of Judgement of Justice (IBJJ). The concept of the IBJJ was introduced by Sen (1990). It refers to the information on which a judgment is made. For example: what perspectives and information are seen as valid and relevant when setting youth policy, and how is the content and purpose of policy determined? How are policy making decisions reached e.g. is it a top down process, an inclusive and deliberative process? What data or information is used to construct policy definitions of youth disadvantage? Which evaluative yardstick is used to assess the value and success of public action? This section reflects on the findings presented earlier to consider: the political,
professional and discursive construction of the ‘disadvantaged’ youth and their need for help within the local policy context; and the rhetoric used by policy makers and stakeholders about participation and the extent to which the perspective of young people are represented and echoed in the IBJJ.

2.7.1 The political, professional and discursive construction of the “disadvantaged” youth and their need for help within the local policy context

The findings provide valuable insights into the political, professional and discursive construction of the ‘disadvantaged’ youth and their need for help within the local policy context. As has been demonstrated, the political, professional and discursive constructions are increasingly focused on youth itself as a disadvantage in the labour market. This mirrors the findings from the national analysis undertaken in Work Package 3 (Egdell et al., 2014). School leavers and young people generally are a priority group in the preventative approaches being taken by the council. A lack of experience and confidence are seen as a key barrier to the labour market and this affects by both those with and without qualifications. It could also be argued that the policy response after the poor SLDR results in 2009/2010 is part of the opening up of the definition of disadvantage. The SLDR results highlighted that even those with higher secondary school qualifications may face difficulties making the transition from school to work, and are therefore seen as needing support entering the labour market through programmes etc. The narratives of the participants do highlight that there are some young people who face additional barriers in the labour market that need to be addressed. Questions also need to be asked about whether opening up the definition of disadvantage is exacerbating the situation of young people furthest away from the labour market. As participants highlighted that the opportunities available to young people engaged in employment support programmes were often out of the reach of the young people who lacked qualifications, and ‘older’ young people may not be offered opportunities.

While there is this widening policy rhetoric that all young people are disadvantaged in the labour market, the understanding of employers might be seen to be lagging behind, as demonstrated by the judgments being made. The young people who participated in the focus groups highlighted the stigma surrounding youth unemployment. The young people found that assumptions are being made about them in terms of not having tried hard enough at school, despite the widening recognition that even those with good qualifications might find it hard to get into work. Questions need to be asked about whether this highlights a disjuncture between the conceptualisations of policy and the expectations of employers; and the need to work with employers further to understand the characteristics of youth unemployment?

As was found in Work Package 3 (Egdell et al., 2014) understandings of youth disadvantage in the labour market focus on young people’s attributes and deficits, employability and participation in any employment. Much of the discourse about young people’s successes and failures centres on this term ‘positive destination’, i.e. work, training, education etc. There is little or no focus wider issues, e.g. wellbeing and satisfaction with life and the value attached to job outcomes – although at the level of individual programmes there is an effort to address wider barriers. The IBJJ does not seem to take into account subjective factors, e.g. motivation, ability to project oneself in the future, capacity to aspire, etc. (Beuret et al., 2013; Bonvin, 2013; Chiappero-Martinetti, 2013). Questions need to be asked about whether the young person is engaged in an activity that they have reason to value or are they engaged in work that they find unrewarding or a training course that they feel that they have to do rather than want to do. The Capability Approach highlights that the transition to work is not always positive if one takes into account the values an individual attaches to outcomes (Bartelheimer et al., 2012;
Vero et al., 2012). Therefore a ‘positive destination’ in terms of policy may not be a ‘positive destination’ from the point of view of an individual young person.

There does not seem to be much policy discourse about the impact of wider socio-economic factors on young people. The policy responses to supporting young people into work still focus predominantly on the young person and approaching their barriers to the labour market in an individualised way. However, it could be argued that programmes like the Edinburgh Guarantee are going some way to address this as it is engaging with employers, and recognising the need that there needs to be demand from employers so that young people can enter ‘positive destinations’. The young people were very much aware of the wider socio-economic conditions. Young people wanted to be given a chance in the labour market. They had a perception of not being ‘given a chance’ by employers - a direct perception of not being capable of their preferred outcome, due to some factor beyond their control. But an in-depth discussion of the wider socio-economic barriers faced by young people may be missing in policy responses which tend to individualise the causes of youth unemployment.

2.7.2 The rhetoric used by policy makers and stakeholders about participation and the extent to which the perspective of young people are represented and echoed in the IBJJ

The rhetoric and approaches to participation in policy making tends to be focused on those young people engaged with structures such as schools or forums organised by the local authority. As such the conditions for participation are driven by adults for example in providing the structures such as committees and gatherings – even in instances where participation is trying to be more inclusive. Those providing employment support services felt that young people who were disengaged from the system and structures such as education were not having their voices heard, even if there were efforts to make participation more attractive. Generally young people do not have a direct voice in the setting of employment policy. However, there are examples of direct consultation work with service users, young people sitting on committees, and young people engaged in employment support programmes may be invited to take part in research projects such as SocIEtY, and viewfinder surveys (e.g. Ipsos Mori 2005) etc. Young people’s voices may also be heard by proxy, through organisations representing their needs. Organisations also may give young people a voice in their programmes in terms of asking for feedback and suggestions for improvements. However, young people’s ability to effect change here, and more generally, may be limited. Generally it was felt that policy making processes are removed from the realities of young people’s lives. Young people feel that they do not have a voice or can effect change, and that policy makers are out of touch.

What can be gleaned from this is that young people do not seem to have the opportunity to have a voice on their own terms. There does not seem to be much freedom to allow, and give weight and significance to, alternative voices and modes of expression. The participatory activities identified in this research take place through formal structures. Although it cannot be generalised that young people are not having voice in policy making through different methods, this research did not identify any examples, although there were some examples of engaging young people in committees and forums using social media such as Twitter. Questions need to also be raised about whether decisions are really made within such participative processes. Participating or being engaged does not necessarily mean that young people’s voices are being clearly heard. Young people were quite cynical about participative processes and were quite disillusioned about whether it was worthwhile them taking part in activity.
2.7.3 Reflections and lessons learnt

The trends identified regarding the IBJJ mirror and add depth to those identified in the macro level analysis (Egdell et al., 2014). Youth unemployment is a significant policy concern in Edinburgh and the stakeholders had a broad understanding of the barriers faced by young people. Youth itself is seen as a disadvantage in the labour market. Policy responses, however, focus on the ‘objective’ aspects of disadvantage (i.e. those considered as quantifiable or observable) rather than subjective factors e.g. motivation, ability to project oneself in the future, capacity to aspire, etc. (Beuret et al., 2013; Bonvin, 2013; Chiappero-Martinetti, 2013). The employment support providers interviewed did acknowledge that funders did recognise the importance of soft outcomes, but often did not focus upon these. The focus is on getting young people into ‘positive destinations’. But whether a job or training is actually really positive from the point of view of a young person is not discussed. Participation in ‘quality’ employment as defined by a young person and wider issues e.g. wellbeing and satisfaction with life and the value attached to job outcomes (Bartelheimer et al., 2012; Vero et al., 2012) are not commonly discussed. There is some recognition of the role of external conversion factors through ‘innovative’ policies such as the Edinburgh Guarantee. However, generally, the evaluative yardstick is used to assess the value and success of public action, and understandings of young people’s barriers in the labour market, are very narrow.

Generally the way in which young people can realise their capability for voice at the meso and micro level in the development and delivery of policies is through formal channels. There are also mechanisms built into programmes for feedback and evaluation, and some flexibility in programmes towards the needs of young people, although the extent to which service users can negotiate the content of a programme (an important element of labour market activation from a Capability Approach) is limited (Bonvin and Farvaque, 2007; Bonvin and Orton, 2009; Lindsay and McQuaid, 2010; Orton, 2011). A key theme is that while there are channels for participation, not all young people are participating. Questions need to be raised about whether it is outside their capability set for some reason? Young people who are most removed from the labour market do not appear to engage with these formal channels and young people feel that policy makers are very much removed from the realities of their everyday lives. The ability for young people to effect change is also called into question, with young people not feeling that they are listened to, and stakeholders mentioning a need for realism in the amount of influence young people can have on budgets etc. These findings reflect the Work Package 2 conceptual framework which argues that just because people are allowed to participate, it does not mean that their voices will effect change (Bonvin, 2013; Ley, 2013). The Work Package 2 conceptual framework also reminds us that it cannot be assumed that more participation will necessarily result in less inequality or more efficiency in the public action designed to tackle inequality (Bonvin, 2013).

In conclusion the findings presented in this report raise questions to be considered and addressed in Work Package 5 where a participatory methodology will be taken:

- How can we engage young people with a process that they feel removed from and that they do not expect will change anything?
- Is it possible to give voice to disengaged young people on their own terms in the context of a researcher initiated process?
- Will policy makers listen to young people who are expressing their views on their own terms/using alternative modes of participation?
### Appendix: Local Youth Employment Funding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funding stream</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Key documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh Jobs Fund</td>
<td>Supported by Youth Employment Scotland (a Scottish Government initiative with ESF support) and provides Micro Businesses and SME employers with less than 250 employees wishing to create a new and additional post that will employ an unemployed (up to 6 months) person (aged 16-24) with a 50% (of National Minimum Wage) Employer Recruitment Initiative for 6 months of the post duration. Various eligibility criteria apply. May be provided in conjunction with other programmes (e.g. Modern Apprenticeship)</td>
<td><a href="http://www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/funding/edinburgh-jobs-fund/">www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/funding/edinburgh-jobs-fund/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| The Employability Challenge Fund | The Employability Challenge Fund is a yearly application funding opportunity for innovative employability work up to £50,000. It is a competitive process administered by Capital City Partnership on behalf of City of Edinburgh Council's third party grants programme for Employability and Skills. The strategic objectives are:  
  • School Leavers and Young People (14-19yrs)  
  • Low Pay  
  • Early Intervention  
  • Support for Regeneration and Vulnerable individuals  | www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/funding/challenge-fund/                               |
| Employability Fund     | The Employability Fund, developed by Skills Development Scotland brings together a number of national training programmes (Get Ready for Work and Training for Work) and provides flexible training support which responds to the needs of employers and local labour markets.  

The aim of the fund is to improve learner progressions along the Strategic Skills Pipeline by funding provision which:  
(1) Is responsive to differing client needs, employer demand and other funded training at regional level;  
(2) Enables learners to demonstrate their achievements to employers; and  
(3) Applies funding levels which better reflect learner, rather than Learning Provider, requirements.  
In Edinburgh, for 2013-2014 there were a total of 1110 starts allocated based on a national allocation formula although this is complemented by a ring fenced contract to Edinburgh College for a further 147 places. Places are subcontracted to a variety of specialist agencies across the city. | www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00422122.pdf | www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/funding/employability-fund/                      |
| ESF Priority 5         | Edinburgh is in receipt of an ESF Priority 5 grant from the Scottish Government. The ESF Priority 5 grant aims at linking employability needs and opportunities at local level by delivering services through an integrated strategic |                                                                                                   |
| Integrated Employability Service Hubs Consortium | skills pipeline approach. Funding ran between 2011 and June 2014.  


A contract led by Edinburgh College working with Forth Sector (a social enterprise providing a bridge to employment for people with mental health conditions, physical or learning disabilities) and Community Renewal (a third sector organisation that engages and supports people to get involved in community activity and to improve health, learning and employment) to provide employability support city-wide.  

This contract was awarded in 2012 for two years.  

The Hubs are based at key locations and open to Edinburgh residents. Services available include: preparing a CV and cover letter, and interview skills. The Hubs provide links to employers, local training providers and support with childcare.  

*Key documents:* [www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/employability-hubs/](http://www.joinedupforjobs.org.uk/service-providers/employability-hubs/)
References


3. FRANCE – Local social support networks analysis in Agen (by Véronique Simon and Thierry Berthet) CÉREQ & CNRS Bordeaux

Abstract

The first section of this report is dedicated to the presentation of our research topic – early school leaving in average cities – and its relevancy. Also discussed, the choice to investigate a semi-rural urban area in southwest France, namely the city of Agen. In methodological terms, this report relies on three articulated methodologies: documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews (meso and micro level) and an online questionnaire to stakeholders. These methodological tools are primarily used to analyze three traditional dimensions of policy analysis: the range of involved actors and their systemic organization, the policy tools and their nature (participatory, innovative) and finally the cognitive dimension of these policies through a targeted questioning on the Information Basis of Judgment in Justice supporting the programs and actors’ functionings. Also, this methodological frame expects to grasp, beyond the official texts and closer to the daily practices of the actors, what frames the actor’s interactions and intervention.

We also provide evidence that the relations between local stakeholders are effective and top-down institutionalized. Enshrined in legal provision, the local platforms for monitoring and supporting dropouts (PSAD) provide a new if not innovative basis for this network organization. If local initiatives exist such as the CAI (Commission for integration assistance), the bottom-up strategies are complementary and not competitive with centrally driven initiatives. Local policies show little emancipation from the national level, which itself refers to the EU directives.

The common normative framework turns out to be the development of fair institutions before ensuring the capabilities of individuals. Justice here is understood as resulting from the convergence of economic development and social cohesion through an appropriate institutional support. From a normative point of view, and on the basis of the analysis performed here, the capability approach in our opinion deserves further dissemination into the sphere of ESL (Early School Leaving) French public policies. Our results reinforce the normative belief that a better account of the living conditions of people and what they may value would lead to greater use of programs that too often face considerable non take-up.

3.1 Introduction

As presented earlier in our WP3 report, early school leaving (ESL) constitutes in France as elsewhere one of the highest factors leading to social vulnerability. The data analyzed here largely confirms this assumption. If the definition of ESL by the EU refers to young people aged 18 to 24 who are no longer studying and have not successfully completed secondary education, the phenomenon is also defined as “a process leading a young person in initial education to leave the education system before completing a degree”\(^{43}\).

We will primarily focus on the population of ‘already dropped out’ but also on youngsters still at school but identified (on the basis of a specified IBJJ) as at risk of dropping out.

Similarly, we will also expand our definition in accordance with the EU definition since the French public authorities are legally bound to “suivre les jeunes de 16 à 18 ans, sans diplôme et sans emploi, de façon à ce qu’aucun d’entre eux ne soit laissé hors de tout système de formation, d’insertion ou d’accompagnement vers l’emploi”. In France, projections of school-leaving and recruitment needs revealed an increased demand for L, M and D levels by 2015. By the same time, early school leavers with only a first professional degree (French CAP/BEP) or with no degree at all will continue to face a very difficult situation. Released data for Level VI (equivalent to CITE 2 but including entries in apprenticeship) by the French ministry of education (DEPP) emphasizes “le fort risque de disparition de ce niveau de recrutement en dehors du recrutement d’apprentis”. A prospective insight from the French ‘Commissariat à la Prospective’ predicts an unemployment rate of 56% by 2015 for these youngsters.

A significant part of this report is devoted to the analysis of support network for dropouts. By network we will intend here the way collective action is organized for the management of a phenomenon (ESL) and organization of support action to prevent at risk people from falling. Support networks constitute our targeted system of actors for ESL and youth at risk of dropping out in particular in the Agen area. In this urban area of an average French city, we will focus especially on two zones: Montanou neighborhoods and the city center, both identified as a priority areas for urban policy (politique de la ville). Considered alone as the synthesis of different forms of social problems, the unique indicator used for the definition of these areas is the concentration of low-income population. This represents a drastic change with regards to the previous design of this policy where these districts were defined by multiple criterias: proportion of youth, unemployment rate, share of social housing, etc. Highlighting this point is important for the analysis and forthcoming research.

Following this new definition, inhabitants with scores below 60% of the national median income (18,750 euros per year) or 11,250 euros are identified as belonging to a urban policy eligible programs aiming at preventing school dropout (PRE, program of school success). If the specificity of each territory should be taken into account, it is important to notice here that an external threshold legally defines urban poverty zones without taking into account the diversity of inhabitants. All individual situations are here managed through a very narrowed IBJJ. At this legal starting point of our research on the local support networks, no adaptation to the individual’s characteristics and situation is at stake and from the viewpoint of capabilities, it is already a restriction, an institutional constraint.

The choice not to focus on one single program or measure here intends to take, as a starting point, the public offer proposed to a category of vulnerable youth: the dropouts. Therefore, we investigated the relationships between the various actors of educational policy: micro high school, the Local Platforms (PSAD) network including the CIO (Center for Information and Guidance) and MLDS (Mission to fight against ESL); and of urban policy: the Program for success in education (PRE), and the structure that supports young people between 16 and 25 years facing a risk social exclusion: the Mission Locale (Local mission for youth).

44 “Follow youngsters aged 16 to 18 without diploma or job so that none of them be left out of the existing systems of training, social and professional integration”
45 “the high risk of loss of this level of recruitment apart from the recruitment of apprentices”.
46 “Significantly in French language, dropping out has several meanings. Indeed, “décrocher” means both unhook (from a stand), fall down (in aviation) and drop out (from school). So in France to begin with the etymological sense, network whose aim is to support kids from dropping out means at first prevent them from falling (into poverty and social desaffiliation).”
47 “The “politique de la ville” is a policy of “urban cohesion”and “solidarity,” “national” and “local,” to “disadvantaged” neighborhoods”and “their” “residents”. Initiated by the government during the 70s, this policy has been recently reformed by the City and Urban Cohesion Planning Act (cf. French WP3 report of the SociETY Project).”
Working on a policy area implies working on a bouquet of rights and services instead than a single program. In a CA perspective, it seems more compliant to start from what the beneficiaries are offered. Its raises some interesting policy analysis questions: how far is an intersectorial policy possible in the same policy area? What kind of networking is at stake between a large set of stakeholders? How dense and accurate? It also allows a more precise idea of the non take\up issues by comparing its importance in several programs of the same policy area (here ESL).

### 3.2 Methods

From a methodological point of view, we aim at departing from the traditional scheme opposing quantitative and qualitative approaches. Hence, our analysis does not freeze into a rigid explanatory model but is enriched by interacting methods. Indeed, data from semi\structured interviews conducted with regional decision\makers, local practitioners and case\managers is confronted to the results of a questionnaire sent to the staff of these structures. This crosscutting technique is particularly appropriate here because our aim in this network analysis is to understand public policy as resulting from the interaction of a large range of actors. The questionnaire will help us identify what relationships exist (at time T) while semi\structured interviews allow us to analyze their content, and grasp the structure of interactions and transformations (in the diachronic dimension).

Indeed, the semi\structured interview allows political science and specifically here public policy analysis to “decode the institutional history in order to grasp the structuring logics.”49 By this technique we understand the "relation developed by the actor and his perceptions with the institution he belongs to and of which he handles the discourse” or "between this actor and the profession from which he is a ‘typical’ representative”.50 Thus, as Raymond Quivy and Luc Van Campenhoudt point out, the tool is suitable for analyzing the meaning given by the actors to their practices and the events, as well as the analysis of postures and issues related to a particular problem. It is finally a powerful mean to capture the normative dimension of an actor’s discourse and by this grasp the components of their IBJJ. For each program/organization studied (Local Mission for youth, Micro High School, MLDS, CIO, PRE), we conducted a series of semi\structured interviews with regional and territorial stakeholders and the different institutions involved in their implementation. The interviews are structured by the structure of this report and are organized with the following sequence:

48 Bongrand and Laborier, 2005 (our translation).
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid. "
making a point on the action under study, its governance and its impact on their practice, present their definition of the target audience (including the presence or absence of voice and treatment of non-use) and investigate the social innovation, participation and IBJJ issues. A total of 18 interviews were conducted:

**Conducted interviews by programs and territorial levels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of the bouquet</th>
<th>REGIONAL/ACADEMIQUE (Aquitaine)</th>
<th>DEPARTEMENTAL (Lot et Garonne)</th>
<th>LOCAL* (Agen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local mission for youth</td>
<td>Regional association of local missions for youth</td>
<td>1 regional manager 1 assistant manager</td>
<td>Local mission 1 director 3 case managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro high school</td>
<td>Ministry of Education, Rectorat of Bordeaux (SAIO MLDS) Regional Council</td>
<td>2 regional managers 1 manager for ESL / Education direction</td>
<td>Micro lycée 1 principal 1 head of works 1 teacher managing the program 1 teaching assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLDS</td>
<td>Ministries of Education, Rectorats of Bordeaux (SAIO MLDS) Regional Council</td>
<td></td>
<td>MLDS 1 coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIO</td>
<td>Ministries of Education, Rectorats of Bordeaux (SAIO MLDS) Regional Council</td>
<td></td>
<td>CIO 1 director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro lycée</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Institut national du développement locale (INDL) 1 project officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRE</td>
<td>Pays et Quartiers d’Aquitaine</td>
<td>1 regional coordinator</td>
<td>PRE Agen 1 manager 1 assistant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, a questionnaire was sent to the staff of these various local structures of the policy bouquet. The targeted actors were those in direct or indirect contact with dropouts. Of the 38 people contacted, 22 responded (58%, but the size of the parent population is too low to calculate a significant confidence interval). The main objective was to determine the existence and nature of interactions between the local actors institutionally involved in fight against early school leaving with the other actors they might designate (in order not to impose a preset definition of the network). It also aimed to a lesser extent, to unpack their professional practices and some elements of their cognitive background in order to feed the IBJJ section.

This questionnaire is divided into four parts:

- The first part identifies the structure to which the actor belongs, his employment and his statutory position (seniority in the structure).
- The second part focuses on the relationships within the structures of the same institutional area.
- The third section entitled "Relationship with other structures" seeks to capture the relation of the actor with different local structures and programs involved in the fight against school dropout on the Agen territory. It also seeks to know and understand the design and delivery of local intervention. The tracking of dropouts among the various structures is questioned.
- The last section "Programs and implementation" focuses on the judgment of these professional on the ways the issue of ESL is addressed on the Agen territory but also on their own practices. A set of final questions also relates to the voice (nature of youth participation beneficiaries for these programs) and what they think should be done to make the fight against ESL more efficient at their local level.
3.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth

3.3.1 Agen, capital city of the 16th poorest among the 101 French “département”

Agen, the Lot et Garonne Prefecture (French administrative division), has more than 33,600 inhabitants, 5,219 (15.5%) of them living in a Deprived Urban Zone (ZUS Montanou and South-East Zone) and 4,722 in New Priority Area (QSP) located in the city centre.

These data highlight the relative deprivation of this territory. It is the 16th poorest region in France.

In educational terms, although considered as an “average” zone by the Ministry of Education, two indicators are questioning:

\(\text{\checkmark}\) The enrollment rate for 15\-17 year olds is well below the national average (3.3 points) and regional (3.4 point).

\(\text{\checkmark}\) The share of low skilled youngsters or with no qualification aged 15 and older is slightly above the national average (0.7 points) but significantly higher than the regional average (2.6 points).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Aquitaine</th>
<th>Agen</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment rates for 15-17 year olds in 2007 (en %)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The share of low skilled youngsters or with no qualification aged 15 and older</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.3.2 Montanou et city center: two deprived neighborhoods

Disparities are also to be considered inside the urban area. Agen, with its deprived priority zones (ZUS and QSP) invites to focus our case study on two distinct areas: the Montanou Area and the New Priority Area of the city centre.

The recent reform of the urban policy (June 2014) has restricted the number of priority zones. However, this new territorial design keeps these two areas in priority neighborhoods, yet corroborating our initial choice. These areas, in different ways, are actually experiencing serious difficulties justifying that hitherto Montanou was ranked in sensitive urban zones (ZUS), a subset of the larger set of priority neighborhoods (QP) in which was also part the city center, with the same benefit from enhanced support.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agen's Urban unit</td>
<td>76 434</td>
<td>17 825</td>
<td>9,8</td>
<td>1,03</td>
<td>45,4</td>
<td>4,2</td>
<td>48,2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montanou</td>
<td>1 488</td>
<td>5 529</td>
<td>51,6</td>
<td>3,86</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>7,2</td>
<td>94,3</td>
<td>30,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre-ville</td>
<td>4 722</td>
<td>13 369</td>
<td>21,5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46,7</td>
<td>5,7</td>
<td>77,3</td>
<td>18,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these two areas, there is an overrepresentation of long term unemployed, recipients of social security benefits, of the single parents and family support allowance. On the ZUS of Montanou, 65% of lone parent families are composed of at least three children. These indicators highlight the cumulative economic weaknesses; they also point the risk of school failure and dropout in these areas since socio-economic factors are likely to be associated with this major risk.
3.3.3 The dropouts an uncertain public action category

From our interviews with regional, departmental and local actors, it appears difficult to identify on the one hand young people that are truly dropouts,

"on nous a annoncé à titre départemental six cents décrocheurs et en « enquêtant » sur six cents jeunes on voit que quatre-vingt pourcents d’entre eux sont soit en situation de formation à nouveau et que c’est juste un problème de logiciel qui n’a pas fonctionné" (Inspection d’Académie L IA 47), and on the other hand to identify them precisely on a côté de ça des jeunes gens décrocheurs à côté desquels on passé" (IA 47).

This identification difficulty also highlights an unstable definition of the term “dropout” inside the educational system as noticed by a manager:

"on a aussi des jeunes qui sont toujours à l’effectif des établissements et qui sont absentéistes, ceuxlà même sont décrocheurs (MLDS), but still ils ne sont pas repérés en termes de statistiques" (ibid.).

Thus, depending on the actors, young dropouts may be:

- Undetected
- Detected
- Pupils still at school

Even though there is an official definition given by the Ministry of Education (MEN) there is still some definition uncertainties. Whatever the definition, for this first circle of actors, the means of intervention to address the dropout remain underestimated:

"chaque année on manque cruellement de places, cependant on offre le nombre de places en fonction du budget qui nous est alloué" (IA 47).

Hence, our first task is to stabilize the definition of the population under study for WP5. Presumably, we will investigate youth falling under the official definition of the ministry (see above) and enjoying the common bouquet of rights and services.

3.3.4 What bouquet of rights and services? 3 public action sectors at stake

Through the idea of a bouquet of public offer, we have chosen to analyze the public action starting from the beneficiaries’ point of view and the actors involved in the various sequences of its implementation. By so doing, our aim is to escape from a program-driven analysis. This bouquet has to be studied under its multiple dimensions. The offer under study is made to young people at school or dropped out either before or after 16 years (age of compulsory education) and involves at least three areas of public policy:

- The Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Research
- The Ministry of Women’s Rights, the City, Youth and Sports
- The Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Dialogue

---

51 “We were told that in our ‘département’ there were six hundred dropouts and after investigating on this supposed six hundred one shows that eighty percent of them are either in training again and it’s just a software problem that did not work” (IA 47); secondly, to identify them all, was beside that young people dropouts beside which we pass

52 “Besides we have young dropouts that we are missing to get in touch with” (IA 47)

53 “We also have young people who are always on the number of establishments and are absentee, even those are dropouts” (MLDS)

54 « They are not identified as dropouts in statistical terms » (MLDS).

55 Articles L. 313-7 and L. 313-8 of the Code of Education, gives a definition of “youth over sixteen years who left without educational level corresponding to obtain either the general degree or a professional degree recorded in the national directory of professional certifications and classified as Level IV or V of the Interministerial nomenclature levels of training

56 “Every year we desperately lack places in schools, however we provide the number of places depending on the budget that is allocated to us”
In this particular field of public action, and in relation to uncertainty in its definition, it is difficult to provide an exhaustive list of actions aiming at reducing ESL. The public offer may be analyzed according to:

\[ \text{Age/process:} \] youngsters under compulsory school still at school are placed under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, outside of the school, they ‘belong’ to the urban policies. The objective is dropout prevention.

\[ \text{Age/outcomes of the process:} \] Addressing the dropouts after the age of compulsory school (over 16 years). The aim is to remedy this situation; therefore they are called in France remedial actions. The offer considered may belong to one or the other pole (prevention/remediation), or both of them.

The following actions were chosen also because they imply an horizontal partnership among stakeholders:

\[ \text{PRE: State / City} \]
\[ \text{Micro high school, MLDS: State / Regional council} \]
\[ \text{Local mission for youth: State/Regional council/City} \]

Around the PREVENTION – REMEDIATION dimensions, the bouquet of public offer surveyed is structured as follows:
The public offer under study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program and welcoming capacity</th>
<th>Prevention for youngsters under compulsory school</th>
<th>Ministry and legal provision</th>
<th>Access limitation</th>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Partners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Programme de réussite éducative (PRE) Agen</td>
<td>Accompanying pupils in the first and second degree and their families in the educational, extracurricular, cultural, social or health.</td>
<td>Ministry of Women's Rights, the City, Youth and Sports January 18th 2005 Act on social cohesion (article 128). Oriented towards psychological help in Agen</td>
<td>For children 2P 16 years old located in sensitive urban areas, or attending a school within the educational priority: Network Educational Success (RRS) PRE team: 1 referee for families (partP time) 1 referee for following (part time) 1 coordinator (full time)</td>
<td>Administrative support: City (CCAS) Financial support: State – Ministry of education – City (CCAS) Interdisciplinary supporting team: # PRE team (3 persons) # SocioPmedical center manager (2) # psychologists (2) and psychiatrists of the pedagogicalP medical center # RRS teacher) # Counselor in social and familial economy (2) # Secondary school social worker # Educator Partners: # Local social workers # teachers # school psychologists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
### Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

#### MICRO LYCEE

(1er micro high school in vocational education in France) 10 à 15 pupils/year

- Preventing the early school leaving. This objective is carried out locally by the Groupe de Prévention du Décrochage Scolaire (GPDS – Early school leaving prevention group).

#### Mission de lutte contre le décrochage scolaire (MLDS – Mission against ESL)

- Approx. 300 youngsters on 4500 to 7000 identified dropouts (region Aquitaine)
- To support students dropouts over 16 years for a hook and/or recognized for a sustainable social and professional qualification... Since 2011, a special attention has been paid to the support of dropouts by setting up platforms for monitoring and supporting dropouts (PSAD) and interdepartmental information exchange system (SIEI).

#### CIO (Information and Guidance Center)

- Director and guidance advisors: Provide a specific individual counselling and information for the pupils and their parents
- Agen
- Approx. 65
- The reception and support system falls within the jurisdiction of the CIO (Information and Guidance Center) where interviews are been
- Individual diagnosis
- 6 Guidance advisors
- None
- In support of "dropouts" are appointed in schools secondary schools with high absenteeism and dropout.
- Must work in coordination with the FOQUALE network.

### Notes

57. The RASED consists of specialized teachers and school psychologists. It supports (when actual permitting) learning difficulties and adapt to academic requirements, and 2 The latest annual report shows that just over a third of dropouts are actually supported.

58. These Qualification, Training and Employment Networks are specific to Ministry of Education. Established in each Education Zone (Bassin d’éducation ou Zone d’Animation Pédagogique), they identify, coordinate, and develop structures aiming at bringing dropouts back to school. They develop a special partnership with the Civic Service Agency (CSA), which offers young people the opportunity to fulfill a mission of general interest, deepen, consolidate or develop their personal and professional goals (NOR: MENE1306159C circulaire n°2013P035 du 29P3P2013 MEN P DGESCO A1P4).

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
## Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identified dropouts and among them approx. 10 “without solution” (in terms of training or work)</th>
<th>P Act as technical adviser to the teaching staff of secondary schools</th>
<th>made on the situation of young people and their families</th>
<th>MISION LOCALE D’AGEN (Agen’s Local mission for youth)</th>
<th>Approx: 369 youngsters covered by a CIVIS</th>
<th>Accompaniment aiming at a return to training or entry onto the labour market</th>
<th>Ministry of labour, employment and social dialogue</th>
<th>Being aged of more than 16 and less than 26</th>
<th>15 case managers</th>
<th>In the frame of PSAD (Local platforms against ESL), the Local mission of youth is deemed to work with: # all teaching institutions (including training and apprenticeship centers) # MLDS # CIO # Second chance schools # Agricultural and military teaching institutions # Youth information centers (BIJ) # Local elected bodies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MISION LOCALE D’AGEN (Agen’s Local mission for youth)</td>
<td>Approx: 369 youngsters covered by a CIVIS</td>
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</table>

The CAI is a local initiative imported from another zone, the Gers, where the current Director of the CIO d’Agen comes from). It is a specific local structure “for young people for whom we have not found a solution, we’ll see them again in small committee while in the regular platform (PSAD) the youngster is not present. We meet the young dropout with five other structures: the CIO, the MLDS, the Local Mission, the Pôle Emploi job center and a training/apprenticeship center. He will present his project and we will try to reposition him. it concerns only the most difficult cases we try to deal with this way “(Director, CIO).

N.B. In light of the data collected, we will focus especially on the young people followed through this innovative device which we discovered during the fieldwork for this WP: the Commission for Integration Assistance (CAI) is a strictly local program where the voice is present conversely to national schemes like the platforms for monitoring and supporting dropouts (PSAD). This choice needs to be validated with particular reference to feasibility conditions.

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59 The Contrat d’insertion dans la vie sociale (CIVIS) proposes a reinforced accompaniment.

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Beyond the comparative presentation above and before entering the nature of relationships between actors of the 'bouquet', we offer a brief description of the structures and their role below:

• **PRE**
The program for success in education (PRE) belongs to the field of urban policy:

> “C’est une commande du CUCS” ⁶⁰, (coordinatrice PRE)

The CUCS relates to the planning law for social cohesion while the PRE is aimed to support children who do not have social, cultural and a family environment favorable to their success and who meet significant difficulties (ACSE 2010).

• **Micro High School**
The first micro high school was established in 2010. The Ministry of education’s goal is to create one micro high school by region where pupils are able to return to school after a downtime of their schooling and for those wishing to achieve a bachelor's degree. These structures are designed for experimentation:

> "Le recteur nous a dit, allez y, foncez, innovez, on verra après" ⁶¹, (Head teacher, micro high school).

Its flexible organization allows offering tailor-made solutions to suit the project of teachers and profiles of young welcomed (aged 17V25 years). The Agen’s Micro high school is the first offering vocational education. Innovation is here about teaching:

> “On prend les élèves autrement, on n’exclut pas” ⁶²,(teacher).

The idea is to test some techniques, such as co-teaching and project-led pedagogy; if it proves working then it might be implemented within the traditional vocational high school to help improve a sector that suffers from a high dropout rate.

• **MLDS (Mission de Lutte contre le Décrochage Scolaire – Mission against School Dropout)**
The MLDS is a structure ruled by the Ministry of education. It proposes actions for the prevention of school dropouts and remedial actions. In the Aquitaine region, the Pôle Relais Insertion (PRI V insertion relay poles) is in charge of these actions. There is one PRI for each of the local zones of education (Zone d’animation pédagogique). Our respondents present it this way:

> “Des modules de remobilisation pour des jeunes décrocheurs sortis de l’école depuis 6 mois à un ans sans diplôme pour les aider à travailler sur un projet” ⁶³ (project manager MLDS, Rectorat).

• **CIO (Centre d’Information et d’orientation – Information and Guidance Center)**
The Information and Guidance Centre is a public organization where everyone, regardless of age, level of education or skills, can meet a psychologist guidance counselor (COP) for career and schooling advice. Regarding ESL, beyond their technical support within schools with the

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⁶⁰ "It was commissioned by the CUCS (Urban Contract for Social Cohesion)" (Coordinator PRE)!  
⁶¹ "The Recteur told us, go ahead, go ahead, innovate, we’ll see".

⁶² "We treat pupils a different way, no one is excluded".

⁶³ "Remobilization modules for dropouts having left school for 6 months to a year without a degree designed to help them work on a project".
teaching staff in prevention, the counselors of CIO phone each youth identified as dropouts and offer him/her a positioning interview if his/her status is confirmed.

- **Local Mission for Youth**
  In May 1981, the Schwartz’s report for the social and professional integration of young people highlights that "les principales victimes de la crise économique (sont) les jeunes (qui) ont un taux de chômage trois fois plus élevé que celui des adultes. La sélection opérée par l'école se double d'une sélection impitoyable par le marché du travail". In May 1982 local missions for youth were created. They are in charge of a public mission for social and professional integration of young people aged 16 to 25 facing a risk of social exclusion. Advisers accompany them in their related social integration (housing, health, etc.) and professional approaches (job search, training, etc.). It is designed as a one-stop shop structure for youngsters.

### 3.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

As noticed by the French observatory of inequalities, over the last decade some inequalities are increasing. Regarding the ESL, the ruptures take place in the early years of socialization. Children belonging to less educated households are less successful in school than others. Insofar unemployment is increasingly concerning low skilled people, the dropouts leaving school without any qualification are the most vulnerable and therefore they constitute the public on which we have chosen to investigate also for the next WP (WP5).

Hence, WP4 focuses on the local actors in charge of this "population" as well as those in charge of at risk pupils before they drop out. We are trying here to analyze the nature of relations between the actors of the first category and between the two categories of actors and to confront these concrete interactions in terms of their adequacy to legal provision. The existing platforms for monitoring and supporting young dropouts (PSADs) are supposed to coordinate local actors in charge of training, guidance and social integration of young people.

The secondary schools, the mission against school dropout (MLDS), The Information and Guidance centers (CIO), the Local missions for youth, the second chance schools, the agricultural secondary schools, the Army’s public institutions of integration (EPIDE), the training and apprenticeship centers, the youth information centers (CIJ) and local government offices are particularly associated. Specific national education organizations also exist such as the FOQUALE (Employment Training Qualification) networks. Established in each zone drawn by the Ministry of education (Bassin d’éducation ou Zone d’Animation Pédagogique), these networks identify, coordinate, and develop solutions to bring the early school leavers back to school. They develop a specific partnership with the agency of civic service that offers young people the opportunity to fulfill a mission of general interest, deepen, consolidate or develop their personal and professional goals. Finally, the PRE (Program for success in education) that intervenes complementary to common prevention action also plays a role in the coordination of local actors. Coordination is a main principle of action for PRE as it is in fact based on a comprehensive approach to problems encountered by vulnerable pupils from kindergarten to upper secondary school. In that program, they are offered specific monitoring by a team of case managers coming from various institutions and public action domains (animation, culture, social sector, education). Coordination is also present in the

---

64 "The brunt of the economic crisis (are) young people (who) have a three times higher than the adult unemployment rate. The move by the school doubles as a ruthless selection by the labor market".

65 Between 2001 and 2010, the unemployment rate of low skilled passed from 11,8% to 16% and remained stable for the qualified persons (Observatoire des inégalités scolaires, 2013).
overall program management that brings together municipal and departemen
tal elected, but also representatives of the state and the Ministry of education.

Our analysis will focus in this section on the actors for which the data are the most numerous.
Indeed, if the number of interviews is balanced, the questionnaire’s answers essentially relate
to the actors of two structures: local mission and micro high school. Since we have decided to
articulate quantitative and qualitative data (see section "Methodology"), our analysis will
focus on these two categories of actors. However, to the extent possible, their interaction with
other actors of the bouquet will be studied on the basis of the qualitative material.

3.4.1 Local system of actors: what kind of partnership?

3.4.1.1 From the point of view of the Local mission for youth

For the Agen’s Local mission for youth, 69% of respondents answered the questionnaire
(Director, advisors and project host). In addition, four interviews were conducted with the
director and three of his advisers. During these interviews, the feeling of positive work is
obvious. A very invested director drives it. For him:

"La Mission Locale est la structure qui va accueillir les jeunes les plus en difficultés et les plus
vulnérables, c’est le lieu où les jeunes disposent du plus d’outils concernant leur insertion"66 (local
mission for youth’s director).

In the view of the answers to the questionnaire by him and the case managers of the Local
mission, a first result glaring lack of resources emerges:

Q. Do you estimate having the ability to redirect early school leavers towards another
structure if necessary?

The partnership is said to be at first internal without being intense: 73% of the respondents say
they work occasionally with other Local missions. The most frequent relations with the actors
interviewed are 1) 55% with the CIO and 2) and 36% with micro high school. Thus, the
external partnership of the local mission with these partners follows the chain of the duties
promoted by law as part of PSAD. It can be summed up as follows:

---

66 “The Mission Locale is a structure that will accommodate the most troubled and vulnerable young people, it is the place where young
people find the most helpful tools for their integration”
The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

In 2013, the Agen’s CIO received about 65 dropouts, the local mission for youth about 1259 young for their first appointment, including about 300 youngsters without any diploma. The micro school is able to accommodate 10 students. Thus we see that the number of youth directed towards the micro high school is small in relation to the number of young people involved. For the local population of dropouts, the opportunities of a return to initial training via the micro high school are extremely limited; it is difficult to say that they have a real actual possibility. From this point of view, the micro high school cannot be considered as offering a real alternative for dropouts to graduate and thus completely avoid the risk of vulnerability. Moreover, the micro high school is not an isolated case, the Local mission faces also a restricted range of solutions: 7 interviewees out of 11 feel they do not have the means to direct a dropout to another structure according to their needs (see above). In this context, the real capability to choose is put into questions.

In terms of partnership, the public action aiming at lowering ESL offers a good example of the existing interdependency between three types of actors (CIO, Local Mission for Youth and Micro high school). It can be analyzed in terms of an iron triangle as described by Lowi (1969, in Hassenteufel, p. 135):

**Fig. Interdependency relations reported by respondents of the Agen’s Local mission for youth**

Asked about whom they are working with, the respondents of the local mission declared the following:
For the Agen’s Local mission, just over half of respondents say they work with the CIO, none with the MLDS, 18% with PRE, barely more than a third with the micro high school (36%) and none with other teaching institutions (EPEL).

Here, the intensity of interactions is questioned. In line with what is expected from the Local platforms (PSAD), they fall short of a partnership established by law which aims at bringing together actors within a large number of organizations: Ministry of Education (schools, CIO, MLDS); agricultural education; centers for apprenticeship and training; local missions; Public Employment Service (PES); the youth information network; as well as relevant local authorities.

While it is understood that PSAD is a concept rather than a legal organizational structure, the fact remains that these platform is a mode of coordination of local actors. In the Agen zone, if its implementation is effective, its weak operational evidence emerges from our interviews. Coordination required by law in that territory here seems in need to be consolidated.

**A collective action in Agen?**

The analysis of our empirical material suggests, on the one hand limited resources to act; and on the other hand, differences in each actor’s objective and their weak interconnections. Cross-sectoriality is lacking and the decision-makers are many. While it is understood that all declare aiming at social and professional integration of vulnerable young people, the way to achieve it is different. Some propose to intervene in educational terms (CIO, MLDS, PRE, MICRO LYCÉE) without having quite to afford, while others have to propose an immediate return onto the labour market (Local mission for youth) even in the short term.

Thus, if we accept the definition given by Patrick Le Gales of a policy network, i.e. "The result of more or less stable, non-hierarchical cooperation between organizations that know and recognize each other, negotiate with each other, share resources and can share standards and interests"⁶⁷, these conditions are only partially filled here. The Local mission for youth’s counselors know very little of the existing programs for ESL from other structures (8 out of 10 respondents advisers say they do not know those of the CIO, 10 out of 11 for the PRE, 5 out of 6 of the micro high school). In addition, although there may share some common projects (3 of 8 respondents share projects with the CIO, also 3 out of 8 with micro high school and 2 with PRE) and meeting times (formal and informal), few counselors of local mission declare knowing what happens to the dropout he had in charge.

**Q: Is he followed by another structure afterwards? 6 out of 10 say they do not know:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nb</th>
<th>% cit.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oui</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conversely, improved information flow upstream. They are more likely to report whether the youth was followed by another structure before coming to their own structure:

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⁶⁷ "Les résultats de la collaboration entre organisations qui se connaissent et se reconnaissent, qui négocient, échangent des ressources et peuvent partager des normes et des intérêts" (Le Gales and Thatcher, 1995 in Hassenteufel, 2008, p. 134)

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Occasionally, half of them and one third systematically inform the previous structure:

### 3.4.1.2 From the point of view of the micro high school

90% of micro high school respondents have answered the questionnaire (Head teacher, head of works, teachers, MLDS advisor working within the micro high school and education assistant). Also there, we conducted 5 interviews (Head teacher, head of works, teachers, MLDS member within the micro high school) and we were also able to have an informal meeting with a pupil. The building, funded by the regional council, is brand new and spacious. It does not look like an ordinary high school with its traditional succession of corridors and closed classrooms. The space here is open, bright and friendly. Spaces for more intimate dialogue are formed by partitions; a private office allows confidential exchanges. The Agen’s micro high school is the first vocational micro high school in France. It was created following the initiative of a local vocational high school teacher. After a 20Vyears career, three reasons are supporting this initiative. The first is that the early school leaving is an extremely pregnant phenomenon in this type of school:

"On le vit au quotidien, ça nous embête vraiment".

The second reason is that it leads to the loss of pupils causing the closure of teaching classes and therefore the loss of teaching positions that are transferred out. The last reason is the possibility to develop a pedagogy that can be transferred in the traditional vocational high school and there too can help reducing ESL. Pedagogical concern and corporatist interests combine here.

Indeed, among the difficulties of getting back to school after ESL, the most prominent one is the lack of financial resources. However, the way to remedy the situation by changing the status of teachers in order to enable the pupils to benefit from the status of vocational training followers, and therefore get the compensation awarded by the regional council, was not chosen. Isolationism and corporatist membership to the "epistemic community of Education prevailed:

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68 "We are confronted to it every day, it really bothers us" (micro high school teacher)
69 Defined by Haas (1992) as the sharing of normative & causal beliefs, evaluation criteria of expert knowledge in their field, and of common practices
"Nous au départ on ne l’a pas voulu pour plusieurs raisons : parce qu’on voulait rester dans l’Education Nationale traditionnelle, c'était un souhait que l'Education Nationale s'occupe de l'Education Nationale et de ses problèmes, c'était un vœu collectif de l’équipe. Ensuite, ça pouvait éventuellement agir sur notre statut d'enseignant, ce n’est pas forcément le cas pour Villeurbanne mais en général l’enseignant n’est plus intervenant sur son temps de service mais en heures supplémentaires, et nous souhaitions intervenir sur notre temps de service"70.

In the official texts, a micro a high school is attached to a normal high school and enjoys financial means given by the Ministry of Education and other partners such as local authorities, in particular the regional council. Asked about this choice, our interviewee at the Regional Council confirms:

"Au vu de la première année d’expérimentation du Micro Lycée de Agen, il apparait que le statut individuel de lycéen des jeunes durant leur année de scolarité peut être restrictif dans l’éligibilité à certaines aides sociales » et interroge « un autre statut estTil envisageable dans le cadre légal, formation professionnelle par exemple71.

Nevertheless, under the terms of the agreement with the rector (Ministry of Education), the Regional Council does not want to raise the question:

“C’est un choix, étant donné qu’on a une convention avec les MLDS donc le rectorat, les jeunes sont affectés comme n’importe quels lycéens et traités comme tels, c’est le choix qu’on a fait en Aquitaine”13.

Here again, another interest prevails about the purpose given to the program: maintaining a fragile partnership. Let us remember that the primacy of corporatist or political interests has a cost: for the first year 4 out of 12 pupils resigned for financial reasons.

As we discussed earlier in the context of PSAD, the micro high school as an EPLE and the other structures in the bouquet are bound by obligations of reciprocity and as such are interdependent. The questionnaire responses by the team of micro school confirms:

Fig. Interdependency relations reported by respondents of the Agen’s micro high school

In terms of intensity of interactions, the results are closer to the legal expectancies. Thus, the respondents of the micro high school declare working with the following:

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70 We initially did not want for several reasons: because we wanted to stay in the traditional National Education it was a wish that National Education is responsible for National Education and its problems, it was a collective desire of the team. Then it could possibly affect our status as a teacher, it's not necessarily the case for Villeurbanne (High School of 2nd chance in the Rhone Alps region where pupils have the status of trainees in vocational training to enable them to benefit from the compensation awarded by the Regional Council) but usually the teacher is no longer working on his service but in overtime, and we wanted to work on our service time "(micro high school teacher)

71 “In view of the first year of experimentation of the Agen Micro High School, it appears that the individual status of pupils during their years of schooling may be restrictive in eligibility for certain social assistance benefits” and asks "is another status possible within the legal framework, training for example?" (Regional Council, direction of education, memorandum to the Vice President on the first year of experimentation) 13. "It is a choice, since it has an agreement with the MLDS and accordingly the ‘Rectorat’, pupils are assigned as in any high school and treated as such, it is the choice we made in Aquitaine. "

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
It should be reminded that the Ministry of education rules the micro high school and that, in Agen, the CIO, who belongs to the same ministry (as well as the MLDS), animates the PSAD. Therefore it is not surprising that compared to the Local mission for youth’s results (ruled by the Ministry of Labour and Employment and Social Dialogue) the relationships are further supported here.

Combined, the two triangles of Lowi show that while there are relations between the micro high school and the local mission for youth, the relations of these two structures are more intense with the CIO.

This triangle also shows the marginal aspect of several actors including those in charge of at risk youngsters still at school (PRE) to this type of network. So having in mind this second circle of actors, can we talk of a true policy network? And if so, how can we define this type of network?

### 3.4.2 Is there a policy network and if yes of what kind?

While understanding public action as the result of multiple interactions generating a coordinate bouquet of offers, it is of paramount importance to qualify the type of networking at stake. According to Marsh Rhodes (1995, p 53 quoted by Hassenteufel, 2008, p 137) different kinds of policy networks can be distinguished on the basis of three main criteria:

1. Composition of the network
2. Level of integration and cohesion
3. Internal power relations.

A network where

1. The number of participants is important, the actors are of various types (not exclusively state or economic and/or professional interest groups), with variable forms of organization (nonVhierarchical, weak cohesion) and inside whom relations can be conflicting
2. The frequency and intensity of interactions may vary, its continuity and institutionalization can be limited; and where there is no consensus on the general aim but instead where conflicts and cleavages can be found
3. The distribution of resources is uneven and variable, the interdependency limited and the structure of interactions can be unequal (zero sum game) may be defined as an "issue network " that Marsh and Rhodes oppose to a "policy community" when the criteria are reversed.

The analysis of the collected material confirms the existence of interVorganizational interactions between actors involved in the "remediation" dimension of ESL72 following the chain of duties assigned by the French legislator to these local platforms (see figure above). It is understood here that the term ‘actor’ refers to agency and the correlated autonomy and capacity for action of an individual in a given context. This autonomy influences the intensity of the network relationships. As we have seen in Agen, the CIO provides the local coordination for the platform (PSAD). However, the PRE V which is not legally involved in PSAD V does not appear in the "iron triangle." This constitutes an additional argument to support our hypothesis according to which the PSAD is the core of the existing relationships for local support networks.

In terms of its nature, we can define this network as closer to the issue network than to the policy community. Indeed:

**The number of participants is large and varied**

Beyond the first circle of partnership consisting of the bouquet structures, other structures, which respondents say they work with, are numerous.

**Fig. Partnership of the Local mission for youth**

72 If the CIO is up to the prevention and remediation’s poles, the local mission for youth and and micro high school are part of the second only.
The frequency and density of the interactions are variable

Respondents of Local mission reported working with:

While respondents of the micro high school reported working with:

The share of resources is more ways than one uneven

- **Position resources**: The CIO is in a central position in the local platform (PSAD) while the other organizations seem more peripheral.

- **Time resources**: strategic leadership over the studied policy relies on two historical actors – the CIO and the Local mission – while the micro high school is a new player that is still in a learning process since this structure has existed for less than one year.

- **Process resources**: Finally, if by resources we mean the capacity to process flows of dropouts; they are disproportionate between the local mission for youth and the micro high school. When over a year the local mission for youth processes more than 300 youth with intensive support, the micro high school barely accommodate 10 per year.
3.5 Participation

For Amartya Sen, democracy is assessed in terms of public deliberation. Following this yardstick, we could ask if there is space within the bouquet for informed discussion? What does the analysis of the collected material reveal on the three dimensions of the voice, exit and loyalty?

3.5.1 Formal Voice

The actual opportunity for young people to get involved in a decision-making process has been rarely observed in the studied programs. At best, young people can make their voices heard spontaneously, i.e. without the existence of formal discussion spaces. Thus, in PRI (the MLDS program for dropouts) both exit and voice are present in the discourse of our interviewees:

"c’est aussi le positionnement pour nos jeunes qui me semble essentiel, c’estTutdire qu’ils sont sortis d’un système de formation où souvent il y avait le positionnement enseignantTélève, là il s’agit d’un cheminement commun que l’on va faire, et ils peuvent aussi nous dire si à tout moment s’ils pensent que le PRI ne correspond pas à leurs attentes et on en discute et ils peuvent quitter le dispositif"73 (MLDS, coordinatrice).

Voice can also be a kind of ownership of the program ensuring loyalty as described at the micro high school:

"une anecdote, les élèves de micro lycée sont venus voir les professeurs qui faisaient l’entretien des jeunes et leur ont demandé qui ils allaient recruter, pour savoir qui ils allaient avoir à côté d’eux. Il y a une appropriation du micro lycée"74 (Micro Lycée, enseignant).

In contrast, there seems to be a total lack of voice in PRE where decisions about the pupils’ families are made without any possibility of expression for them:

"il n’y a aucune famille dans les équipes pluridisciplinaires de soutien"75 (PRE, coordinatrice).

For the Local mission for youth, it’s not a major concern: (Regarding the creation of the program76, our interviewees were asked if young people have been consulted on this point, if they were part of the decision-making process or if some have been interviewed):

"C’est possible, mais je n’en ai pas connaissance."77 (Mission locale, conseiller).

When the young people’s voice is sought, it is to avoid non takeVup to the existing programs, more than for designing them. Indeed, the non takeVup of rights, benefits and services by people at risk of exclusion may have reached a worrying level for public order:

"Les jeunes des quartiers venaient de moins en moins vers les structures d’accompagnement, que ce soit Pôle Emploi ou la Mission Locale, et ça faisait des vagues dans les quartiers puisqu’il y a eu..."
quelques mouvements de mécontentement qui sont remontés politiquement”78 (Mission locale, conseiller).

Not surprisingly, the existence of formal opportunities for voice does not necessarily mean that they will be taken up by the most vulnerable:

“C’est une question qu’il va falloir qu’on traite : comment les accrocher, sur quel sujet et comment les déscotcher des murs”

Q: Est’ce qu’ils sont invités à faire entendre leur voix et de quelle façon ?

Là les centres sociaux sont en train de retravailler leur projet tri annuel, donc ils recueillent la parole des partenaires, des habitants et des jeunes. Mais même si on organise des séances pour leur demander leur avis, on ne les voit pas arriver bien souvent. Donc ils essaient de les interroger dans la rue de manière à récolter une parole vraie qui arrive mieux”79 (Mission locale, conseillère)

3.5.2 EXIT a harmful effect

Standards of behavior (activation) are expected from youngsters (coming regularly, showing interest, building a project, etc.). Generally this is done without questioning the obstacles to comply related to individual's distinctiveness and own situation (What about if the young do not agree?)

“Il ne revient pas, il n’a aucune obligation. C’est en ça que la Mission Locale diffère de Pôle Emploi : le jeune est obligé de s’inscrire à Pôle Emploi, il a des obligations, des comptes à rendre etc., ça n’est pas le cas de la Mission Locale. Quand le jeune vient on lui propose un accompagnement, s’il accepte il rentre dans l’accompagnement, s’il refuse tant pis”80 (Mission locale, Directeur).

In other words, the exit possibility exists but at great risks in access to resources (here the right to get another support). Therefore it is difficult to speak of truly egalitarian provisions. The final aim here is the inclusion in the common order. The fact that this order leads to strong inequalities is not discussed.

The emphasis put on individual responsibility is a good example of these behavioral expectations:

“Certains jeunes ou leur famille manquent de réalisme”81 (CIO, Director).

The material and symbolic conditions leading to this situation are not discussed. As an example, our interviewee (The director of the CIO) at the Commission for integration assistance (CAI) presents this program in the following terms:

“On reçoit le jeune à cinq : le CIO, la MLDS, la Mission Locale, Pôle Emploi et un CFA, il va présenter son projet et on va essayer de le repositionner, ça concerne les cas les plus difficiles qu’on

78 “City youth were coming less and less to support structures, whether Job Centre or the Local Mission, and it was making waves in the neighborhoods because there has been some movement of discontent that has risen politically "(Local mission for youth, advisor)
79 It’s an issue that we’ll have to deal with: how to hang them on any topic and how to unpin them from the walls
80 He does not show off? Well he has no obligation. This is why the Local mission differs from the Pôle Emploi job center: the youth is forced to enroll in a job center, he has duties, he is accountable, etc. That is not the case with the Local Mission. When a youngster comes, he is offered an accompaniment, if he accepts he enters the accompaniment, if he declines… too bad"(Local mission for youth, Director)
81 “Some young people or their families are unrealistic." (CIO, Director).
Thus, is it possible to speak of endogenous aspirations or capability to aspire? Or are we facing a way to generate adaptive preferences? According to the capability approach, justice in society is related to the respect of the possibility for an individual to pursue and achieve the goals he has reason to value. It will be important in the next WP to see if within the programs under study and the processing of beneficiaries, the transformations of choices are operated by reasoned discussion, or by conviction of the project.

3.5.3 Loyalty: whatever the price?

Accession to a program can also be obtained by the back door. For example, to obtain the consent of the family to the accompaniment of their child by the team of PRE, the deal can be to ease the relationships with social services or even to provide access to benefits that they might have difficulties to gather. The keypoint is to gain confidence and overcome resistance.

Indeed, the support provided by this program can be at first lived on the intrusive mode. The child is facing PRE on the basis of a report delivered by a social worker. In Agen, precariousness often rhymes with mental health problems. The interviews come together on this. The problems of violence are numerous and welfare can sometimes be coercive (removal of the child from the family).

But the most difficult accession to obtain may be that of other stakeholders implied in the support of pupils with learning difficulties:

"Il est plus difficile de travailler avec les partenaires qu’avec les familles, surtout l’EN. Travailler en partenariat inter institutions n’a rien de « naturel ». Cela se construit au fil du temps. Il faut du temps, beaucoup de volonté et savoir se « prendre des claques ». Dans les écoles élémentaires en fonction des chefs d’établissements ça marche, ou pas (partenariat régulier avec 5 écoles). Dans les collèges c’est plus compliqué, l’information (sur le PRE) reste cloisonnée elle ne circule pas entre les membres de l’établissement"83 (Coordonatrice PRE)

This difficulty confirms that dropout prevention or the management of dropVin (to put it in the words of one interviewee speaking of dropping out from the inside, i.e. without leaving formally school) confronts to a national institution (The Ministry of education) that hardly shares its monopoly. Moreover this program located at the crossVsection of schooling and social work blurs the boundaries and also disturbs political institutions:

"En Gironde pendant un temps, le conseil général a refusé d’envoyer des travailleuses sociales pour participer aux équipes pluridisciplinaires de soutien"84 (PRE, coordinatrice régionale).

The non-participation of all stakeholders reinforces the difficulties of networking identified in the previous section. The lack of legitimacy and confidence towards a new actor, an off- field or cross-field actor is sometimes happening. It should be remembered also that the urban policy is partly devolved but remains under the responsibility of the Prefect (the state representative in region). It confronts with the intervention of the Regional council in terms of decentralized policies. There are also some conflicts of legitimacy. PRE is a disturbing

82 "We are five to meet the youngster: the CIO, the MLDS, The Local mission for youth, the job center and a training/apprenticeship center. He is going to present his project and we will try to reposition it. We try to treat in this way the most difficult cases. (...) We are trying to make it more realistic in showing him another way."

83 "It is more difficult to work with partners than with families, especially with the Ministry of education’s services. Interinstitutional partnership is nothing "natural." It is built over time. It takes time; a lot of will and know how to take "slaps". In elementary schools it works or not on the basis of the relations with the principal (regular partnership with five schools). In lower secondary school (college) it’s more complicated, information (on PRE) remains compartmentalized and does not circulate among the members of the institution "(PRE coordinator).

84 "In Gironde (one of the 5 départements of Aquitaine) for a time, the general council refused to send social workers to participate in multidisciplinary support teams" (PRE, regional coordinator).
The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

Conversely, in order to rely on the PRE, the place of residence or the school where pupils with learning difficulties are located have to be classified as a priority area of the urban policy. This restrictive criterion may explain the lack of knowledge of this program by teachers or social workers.

In terms of participation, a few other dimensions are to be assessed. The first one deals with the density of the programs offered to youngsters. From the point of view of the respondents to our survey (local mission school and micro high school), this offer is inadequate in terms of number of programs on the Agen’s territory.

V Local mission for youth (Q: In your opinion the number of programs devoted to ESL is: insufficient, sufficient, excessive)

Micro high school (Q: In your opinion the number of programs devoted to ESL is: insufficient, sufficient, excessive)

The second one concerns accessibility to the offer of services. It is another key aspect of participation that relates to environmental conversion factors

Q: According to you, do dropouts from the Agen have the possibility the access this public offer is: very easy, easy, difficult, very difficult, do not answer)

- Local mission for youth

V Micro high school

Thirdly, the possibility for youngsters to give its opinion on the programs he/she is proposed:
Q: According to you, do dropouts have the possibility to give their opinion on the program offered to them? (yes, no, does not know)

**V Local mission for youth:**

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<th>Yes (%)</th>
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<td>11,1%</td>
<td>33,3%</td>
<td>55,6%</td>
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**V Micro high school:**

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<tr>
<td>Oui</td>
<td>22,2%</td>
<td>44,4%</td>
<td>33,3%</td>
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Related to the previous, respondents were asked about the possibility for a dropout to refuse to participate in their programs (yes, no, does not know):

**V Local mission for youth**

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<td>Oui</td>
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<td>11,1%</td>
<td>44,4%</td>
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**V Micro high school**

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<td>0,0%</td>
<td>22,2%</td>
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But all them agree in considering that active participation of youngsters the program is considered as a key element to its success *(Q: Do you think that active participation of youngsters to the programs they are proposed is a key element for their success? Yes, no, does not know):*

**V Local mission for youth**

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<th>Yes (%)</th>
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<td>Jene sais pas</td>
<td>22,2%</td>
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**V Micro high school**

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<td>66,7%</td>
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3.6 Social innovation

"La véritable innovation sociale est celle qui contribue efficacement à l’amélioration des capacités des jeunes défavorisés" (Bonvin, 2013, p.9).

A Europe Driven Change

As we’ll see in the next section, in the management of school dropout, France has adopted EU policy recommendations fostering change and innovation in education. School dropout is perceived as an obstacle to the achievement of the Europe 2020 strategy, therefore, the EU encourages "Enhancing innovation and creativity, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training" (obj. 4) while the Strategic objective number 3 proposes to "Strengthen preventive approaches, build closer cooperation between general and vocational education sectors and remove barriers for dropouts to return to education and training". The programs investigated locally stick more or less to those objectives. If they innovate, it is by their means more than by their objectives. This innovation can be drawn in educational/pedagogical terms for Micro high school and MLDS through the PRI, for example. But it can also be fostered in terms of governance by promoting new forms of networking for PSAD/Local mission/CIO and cross-sectorial work for PRE. While some may allow disadvantaged youth to express their needs, it's only to give them a treatment within the limits of their responsibilities without questioning the conditions leading to ESL.

The PRE (Program for success in education): Welcoming otherwise learn about and better understand the families’ needs

If innovation and participation are intertwined as reminded by the WP2 conceptual report, then the PRE is clearly innovating since it appears to be the most participatory among the bouquet. As presented by its coordinator in interview, case managers in PRE may:

"prendre le temps d’avancer avec (l’enfant et sa famille), pouvoir imaginer, se tromper, faire marche arrière " (PRE, coordonnatrice).

The pupil (2V16 years) is never borne alone. Instead he is taken in charge with his brothers and sisters in a place (an apartment located in the middle of a city in an deprived area) where the whole family can be granted a coffee. By this it is intended to escape the traditional user/provider desk relation and ease the expression of needs. Nevertheless, the service delivery is still predominantly supply oriented. If the case manager can "collect what the family thinks" it is only to consider "what the PRE can offer them" in terms of support. The objective is to "make the contact and keep it" (ibid.).

Micro high school: a local innovation deriving from a top down objective to experience new solutions.

In order to foster the national and European priority to fight against school dropout, A 2010 circular from the Ministry of Education planned the creation of at least one Micro high school by region. The Aquitaine manager of MLDS (stakeholder in the implementation of Micro high schools) shows a commitment to support innovation from local players:

"Les équipes pédagogiques déploient un certain nombre de dispositifs, de parcours, pour répondre à cette question du décrochage et les maintenir en formation jusqu’au diplôme. Il y a des choses qui sont mises en place dans les établissements même de manière très pointue, ciblée ".

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86 "take the time to move forward with (the child and family), to imagine, to err, to back" (PRE Coordinator)
88 "The teaching teams are implementing a number of programs and paths to answer this question of ESL and keep training until graduation. There are things that are implemented in the secondary schools even in a very sharp and focused way".
This possibility of top down experimentation has been used by the team of Agen’s Micro high school with the support of regional stakeholders (Rectorat and Regional council). The national framework is flexible enough to allow local innovation to develop. In Aquitaine it was developed through the creation of the first vocational micro high school in France. Let us remember also that from this experimental device are promoted new teaching methods to be transferred in the traditional high school (which hosts the micro high school) to prevent ESL. As explained by the head of work (working on the 2 establishments):

“le micro lycée donne aussi la possibilité aux enseignants de pouvoir travailler en amont sur nos élèves de formation initiale pour éviter ce décrochage”

Especially the pedagogy developed in the micro high school is above all based on recognition and capacity building as reminded by the principal:

“il faut qu’ils (les élèves) aient l’impression d’exister. Il faut qu’ils soient reconsidérés”

Thus, for the MLDS, the conditions to experiment and succeed in reducing ESL are brought together:

“Les acteurs existent, les dispositifs aussi, la communication entre les acteurs principaux également”

Finally, and on the basis of the answers given by respondents of the micro high school to our questionnaire, it should be highlighted that from their point of view innovation can legitimately emerge from three levels of political work (Local, regional, national) and not from the third sector or the users themselves.

Q: According to you, innovation to reduce ESL should emerge from: local actors, regional decision makers, national decision makers, third sector, youngsters and their families V Micro high school

Livelihood of dropouts: a blind spot and a limit to innovation according to the MLDS

“Pour un jeune en situation de vulnérabilité, la première préoccupation n’est pas la formation, c’est de subsister, et je pense que la question est là”

Concerning the specific problem of livelihood, some solutions are being tested, such as the "Garantie Jeunes" (Youth Guarantee). This innovative program relies on a benefit whose amount is equivalent to the French minimum income scheme for adults (RSA, active solidarity income). This benefit introduced on an experimental basis until December 31, 2015

89 "The micro school also provides the opportunity for teachers to work upstream on initial training with our pupils in order to avoid dropout" (Micro high school head of works).
90 "They must (the pupils) feel they exist. They need to be reconsidered" (micro high school principal)
91 "The actors are brought together, the programs are existing and the communication between key actors also" (MLDS, Rectorat)
92 "For a young vulnerable person in a vulnerable situation, the primary concern is not the training, it is to survive ; and I think that is the question" (MLDS, Rectorat)
93 Decree n° 2013V880 du 1er octobre on the experimentation of the « garantie jeunes ». 

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
is devoted to 18V25 youngsters in a precarious situation, without a job or training (NEETs). So a young dropout who returns to study cannot activate it.

Another solution could be to ask the regional center of the university and school (CROUS). CROUS has indeed intended to help improve the lives and work of students. The problem is that micro high school’s youth have received the status of pupils and therefore are not eligible to it.

A final example is offered by a local initiative carried out by the INDL (research institute on local development) on the field of youth’s housing. Although it has not been officially developed due to the veto opposed by one stakeholder, it is still implemented piecemeal by interpersonal and informal ways. The idea is to connect young people with a local social NGO managing a real estate in Agen city centre. According to our contact within the organization: the resources exist in the area all is needed is connection between actors. He thus points to the need to work closer with field actors in addition to more substantial interventions especially those based on European funding.

To conclude on this aspect, which deserves to be developed with users within the next WP, it remains that interpersonal initiatives are by definition based on the will of a few people and thus remain fragile in case of change of actors. This is a crucial point when dealing with innovation. It is generally fragile and dependent on actors’ commitment if policymakers do not provide the conditions for its institutionalization. Beyond that, we can highlight the lack of consistency between the various actions aimed at vulnerable young people. Despite interministeriality advocated by the government’s plan "priority to youth" (see WP3), social policies and educational policies do not meet. The effect is deleterious at the Micro high school considering the fact that during its first year of implementation, a third of its students have left for financial reasons.

How to complete top down initiatives by bottom up innovation: the case of CAI

The Ministry of Education encourages its operators to innovate. Since 2005 and the right to educational experimentation, innovation can be supported and assisted locally by the CARDIE (academic research cell for innovation and experimentation) and at the national level by the Ministry (DRDIE Department research and development innovation and experimentation). More recently, the social network for education professionals devoted to innovation (RESPIRE) was launched in January 2012. Working groups are formed around various themes at the national, regional or local scale or even at the level of a teaching institution. Without referring to one or more of these measures, the Director of the Agen CIO (Information and Guidance Center) presented us a local initiative: the Commission for integration assistance (CAI). Complement to the nationally driven programs, the CAI supports youth identified by the PSAD and whose cases are unresolved. It is original by its participatory dimension: the young is received, his own project is at the center of the debates whereas it is not the case with the regular PSAD (local platforms for dropouts).

The local mission for youth: Fostering innovation and participation despite management constraints

In 2012, the Bertrand Schwartz Institute (named after the founder of local missions for youth) sat the foundation principles of action of local missions with the assumption that, to contribute to these changes,
"IL fallait partir des ressources des jeunes, créer les conditions pour qu’ils puissent porter des projets collectifs, et que donner la possibilité aux jeunes d’agir permettait de changer le regard de la société sur les jeunes et inversement"95 (B. Schwartz Institute, Director).

Numerous projects have emerged from the Local missions’ action. Some have changed the governance of local missions and their programs. But we did not encounter anything like this in Agen. Outside the Youth Guarantee that was discussed above, the last experimentation conducted by Agen’s local mission for youth was the "European service" initiative. Supported by ESF, this program provides internships of three months abroad to vulnerable youngsters in Ireland, UK and Spain. What is important for us to note here is the ability for local missions to develop their own initiatives but also the administrative constraints they might be confronted to due to their mode of governance. The introduction of new services, new actions are provided by the head of the structure (Director and his team). However, it must obtain the approval of its Administrative Board. Therefore, the role of local elected officials involved de jure in the local mission’s board is not neutral and can sometimes hinder internal initiatives.

Finally and with regards to the answers given by the Agen Local mission’s staff to our questionnaire, it should be noticed that if the users are not yet part of the governance, the legitimacy of their point of view is more acknowledged than by teachers of the Micro high school:

Q: According to you, innovation to reduce ESL should emerge from: local actors, regional decision-makers, national decision-makers, third sector, youngsters and their families

The example of PRI: Promoting and financing innovation may not be enough

Since 2012, in a call for proposals, the PRI have the opportunity to use a regional call for proposal to fund innovative projects in the cultural, artistic, and mobility support. Until now, the total budget of this call has not been spent. Indeed, for the first, as for the 2nd year, the projects collected by the regional council do not exceed half the budgeted amount. This

95 “It was necessary to start from the resources of youngsters, to create the conditions for them to endorse collective projects, and provide opportunities for young people to be allowed to change the way society looks on youth and vice versa” (Bertrand Schwartz Institute, Director)
underutilization of appropriation questions the innovation stimulus. On the one hand, the proposed method is not a normal way for actors of the educational system in charge of a matter (ESL) that does not have its own funding until now. Moreover, the PRI may be located within a high school or college. But the regional council’s jurisdiction does not reach the lower secondary schools. This explains partly why the actual PRI of Agen (implanted in lower secondary school – college) will be moved to a high school. The PRI currently welcomes 30 youngsters. The experiment is in its third year of activity. An evaluation of this mode of support for innovation is expected.

3.7. IBJJ

Is dropping out from school or being abandoned by it an inevitable calamity or a repairable injustice? Leaving school without a diploma is not a recent phenomenon, but as soon as possessing a diploma becomes a necessity to enter the labour market, the individual and collective costs of ESL have been turned into a public problem. "Les coûts sociaux et financiers à long terme de l’échec scolaire sont conséquents. Ceux qui n’ont pas les compétences pour prendre leur place dans la société et dans l’économie engendrent des coûts plus élevés en matière de santé, d’aides sociales, de protection de l’enfance et de sécurité » (OCDE, 2014). Policy makers therefore consider the ESL as a loss in the state’s investment in pupils, but also by pupils in their own future (Doray, 2014). As shown by the academic work of Pierre Doray, while the concept had little support until the late 1990s, it has continued to develop since. His hypothesis is that this development is based on “le travail de construction de l’action publique mené par certaines organisations internationales comme l’Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE) ou le Conseil européen, qui ont tous deux intégré la mesure du décrochage scolaire dans leurs systèmes de données éducatives à partir du début des années 2000” (Moulin, Doray, Prévost, Delavictoire, 2014). The assumption tends to be validated, "the fight against early school leaving is a top national priority and an issue in the framework of the Europe 2020 Strategy" can be read on the website of the French Ministry of National Education. EU policies therefore are driving transnational dynamics change by setting targets in this area. The European Union aims to reduce the proportion of early school leavers, by reducing it to 10% by 2020. With 12V17% V depending on the method of calculation, France is particularly targeted. At least, 140,000 young people each year come out of the French school system without a diploma.

Therefore, fighting against ESL appears now among the top normative references of public action in education. Built in as a public problem, the school dropout is set as repairable. All the actors we interviewed are belonging to the institutional field and all of them share this concern. Hence, can they abstract their judgments from this normative orientation? However, what is the basis of the positive implication we have been confronted to? In order to produce mobilization, the ESL cause requires a moral dimension. To what kind of grammar of justification belongs the stakeholders’ discourse? On what basis is ESL a relevant inequality

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96 According to the interview conducted with our regional contact: about 800 out of the 7,500 dropouts would be welcomed by PRI.
97 "The long term social and financial costs of academic failure are substantial. Those who do not have the skills to take their place in society and in the economy generate higher costs in terms of health, welfare, child protection and safety " (OECD, 2014, our translation)
98 "The construction of public action led by international organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Council, both of which have built so far dropout in their systems of education data from the early 2000s" (Moulin, Doray, Prévost, Delavictoire, 2014)
100 Of which 40,000 unskilled in the sense that their school could not go beyond the college or a first year vocational training (OCDE, 2012), in the Indian high period jurisprudence.
to be tackled? In other words, on what informational basis of judgment do the actors involved support their action? That's what this section aims at grounding on the empirical data we gathered from our fieldwork.

Our analysis is based on a definition of principles of justice in terms of institutions versus those defined in terms of life and personal freedom. By doing so, we try to follow the conception of justice highlighted by Amartya Sen and especially the distinction between principles of justice based on the fairness of programs and rules: niti; or based on secured social achievements and the human’s life and freedom: nyaya (Sen, 2012, p.20 and p.488). According to this reflection, this distinction relies on the distinction made in political philosophy between the theory of "social contract" and the "social choice" perspective. To ensure a better life, is it important to rely on legal or moral rules defining what is lawful and what is not, what is legitimate or illegitimate, to seek social arrangements perfectly fair, as induced the theory of "social contract"? Or rather to consider privations, oppressions that people suffer from, compare the various lifestyles that people might have, in a word examine life to judge the justice from the perspective of "social choice”? We will try to understand if a principle dominates or both revolve in a way to ensure that institutions help “directly people to live the way they chose to value” (Sen, 2012, p. 17), allowing in that in the development of capabilities.

3.7.1 Regional framing (meso-level)

To fulfill the objective of reducing ESL in Aquitaine, the Regional council refers its policy to the Quebec experience and the notion of "perseverance"; which sounds more positive than dropout. Following this policy grammar, ESL is tackled “en raison de ses impacts socioéconomiques majeurs” and cannot be considered “comme étant uniquement une affaire d’école” 101. ESL is also a matter of answer to the “exigences de la demande économique ” (Regional Council, Education direction, Manager). Concretely, the Aquitaine’s Regional council has supported the experimentation of “networks for perseverance” during 3 years (2009V2011). This experience consisted in supporting local networks (Berthet Simon, 2013) and as such forecasting the implementation of the PSAD (local platforms for ESL see above). Since 2011, the Regional Council has reached an agreement with the Rectorat (regional representative of the Ministry of Education) to support local innovations and this partnership is more widely institutionalized as a part of the regional planning contract for the development professional training (CPRDFP). The principle of action of the regional council is to "prendre appui sur des structures existantes, reconnues et légitimes, pour permettre le développement d’actions nouvelles” 102 (CRA, 2012). This point is important in terms of policy framing in the context of the French decentralization. Thus, Decentralization has often been implemented (and criticized for redundancy) through the development of their own structures and organizations by the regional councils. In the ESL field, after a period of strong conflicts and competition between the regional council and the regional representative of the Ministry of Education (Rectorat), this principle of cooperation to develop and support the existing structures especially at the local level is quite innovative. Thus, structured around the MLDS, this partnership reinforces local networks through financial support given to innovative actions fostered by the PRIs.

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101 http://www.perseverancescolaire.com/portraitVperseverances/, consulté le 23/07/14
102 “build on existing structures, recognized and legitimate them in order to enable the development of new actions” (CRA, 2012)
3.7.2 IBJJ in tension? What principles of justice at the local level?
Principles of justice defined in terms of relations to the institutions

**Obligations on both sides**
The actions undertaken by MLDS by the program PRI are foreseen in a contractualist, egalitarian perspective. The core belief is that dropouts are reasonable people and MLDS a fair institution and that both are equally tied by the terms of the contract:

"En PRI un contrat est signé avec le jeune, cela permet (...) de pouvoir lui rappeler lorsqu’il ne respecte pas un terme du contrat, mais surtout ce qui me parait important c’est que nous, structure, prenons également des engagements dans notre formule d’accompagnement. de la même façon s’ils ne jouent pas le jeu on arrête le suivi"103.

At the Local mission for youth, the contractual conception also prevails, and as reminded by one of its counselor, for this institution to contract with youngsters:

"Il faut que les jeunes soient fiables "104.

**Causing vulnerability: the failing institution**
Within a single structure, the conceptions of justice are not uniform. Thus, the responsibility can be placed on the family and the school:

"Souvent qui dit jeune décrocheur dit problématique familiale derrière, on va avoir beaucoup de jeunes qui viennent nous voir qui ont quitté l’école en quatrième, troisième, voire seconde ou première, en pro etc. et qui ont laissé passer un ou deux ans avant de taper à la porte de la Mission Locale parce qu’il n’y avait pas de relais ni d’information au niveau de l’Education Nationale "105.

Sometimes the institution, or at least some of its actors, is questioned. This is the case for the Micro high school developed within the walls of a vocational high school that lost a lot of students. The political will to open a Micro high school in this upper secondary establishment stems from a negative observation: the growth of school leavers. Therefore, one of the challenges is to test a different type of relationship with pupils, a way which would give them a voice, which is not often the case in traditional high schools:

"C’est pour ça que certains d’emblée d’adhèrent pas à l’aide parce qu’ils n’ont pas l’habitude de ça (parler et être écouté) donc c’est aussi un travail, petit à petit on y arrive. C’est aussi de l’observation, on voit bien en classe celui qui va bien, celui qui ne va pas bien, donc ça peut être l’interpeller et lui parler” (MLDS, intervenante en Micro Lycée)106.

The weakness of participation could be explanatory of certain modes of non takeVup.

**Being held responsible of its own vulnerability: the unreasonable individual**

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103 "In PRI, a contract with the young, it allows (...) to be able to recall him if he failed to comply with a term of the contract, but what seems also important to me is that we, structure, also make commitments in our accompanying formula. By the same way if they do not play the game the following is stopped"

104 "It is imperative that they are reliable" (local mission, counselor B)!

105 "It is often said that behind young dropouts lies family problems, we have many young people coming to us after having left school (...) and who have left a year or two before tapping on the door of the Mission Local because there has not been any not relay or information given by the educational system"(local mission, Councillor A)!

106 "That’s why some of them do not spontaneously consent because they are not used to that (speaking and being heard) so it is also a step by step work, gradually done when you get there. It is also the observation in class. It is obvious that this one is going well, the one who is not doing so well, so I can stop and have a talk with him" (MLDS, working at the micro high school).
The unreasonable individual is the motionless, the one that is "taped to the wall" (local mission advisor D) or who have "spent 3 years on a couch" (micro high school teacher 1). The institution is here to save the individual from himself:

“C’est difficile parce qu’ils ne sont pas prêts du tout à l’emploi, parce qu’il y a des problèmes d’addiction, d’influence liée au phénomène de groupe, et qu’ils n’arrivent pas du tout à avancer sur l’insertion professionnelle” (mission locale, conseiller D).

The youngster or his failed primary socialization is considered responsible for the difficulties he is confronted to on the labor market or at school. In this perspective school failure is a disorder and has to be treated. The tools are remedies even through mobilizing those of psychological health care (PRE). The person is not suitable a work has to be conducted with the child and his family before he could "enter in teaching" (PRE, regional coordinator).

Managing the ESL is also sometimes considered a struggle for social order. Marginalization is regularly held responsible for insecurity (Glassman, 1991). Under this principle of justice, the first work of practitioners is not to act on the individual conversion factors, but to convert the individual in order to make them suitable to institutional expectations.

“On a sollicité les centres sociaux pour essayer de monter des action de dynamisation, afin de leur redonner envie de faire quelque chose pour eux et qu’ensuite on puisse travailler la question l’insertion professionnelle” (PRE, Coordonateur régional).

According to our interviewees, an unreasonable youngster is also a young man who lacks maturity, commitment and motivation. A young person who has no project or projects judged unrealistic with regards to his academic abilities, expectations of labor market. A young unreasonable is also a young man who does not have enough "struggled" in the labor market to understand that a diploma is essential and that he/she must perhaps give up the choices he/she has reason to value. But these reasons do not belong to him or her, if they differ from the institutional expectations, they are judged unacceptable.

“Certains jeunes ou leur famille manquent de réalisme : il y a des jeunes avec des niveaux scolaires très bas qui ont un projet qui n’est pas réalisable, donc ils vont nous demander quelque chose d’impossible à mettre en œuvre et on va essayer de le rendre plus réaliste en lui indiquant une autre voie” (CIO, directeur).

Regarding the expected level of "maturity", some organizations are choosing not to accept dropouts before a certain deadline. This is why at the Micro high school youngsters under 18 are scarce:

“C’est aussi une histoire de maturité. On en a fait l’expérience avec un jeune qui est rentré cette année à dixTsept ans et demi (…) il n’avait pas mûri son projet (…). Tous les autres (…) ont testé des petits boulots, se sont cherchés professionnellement et sont arrivés ici tous avec la ferme intention de reprendre des études en ayant la certitude qu’il fallait une qualification aujourd’hui pour faciliter l’accès à l’emploi” (micro lycée, intervenante MLDS).

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The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
3.7.3 Principles of justice highlighting the persons’ lives and freedoms and final judgment

Ideally, a capacitating institution is an institution that can facilitate: “our ability to scrutinize the values and priorities that we can consider, specially through opportunities for public discussion (this will include considerations of freedom of speech and right to information as well as actual facilities for informed discussion)” (Sen, 2013, p. xii).

Among the programs under study in the Agen’s bouquet, can we find some we could define as actually capacitating in Sen’s sense or some we can draw lessons from or define what should be done to have these programs meet some minimal capability requirements? These basic conditions are: ease of access to information and the possibility of an interactive discussion (an opportunity for different voices to be heard).

**Access to information and interactive discussion**

“Souvent ils ont des idées, des projets. Mais après le projet il peut être modifié en fonction des capacités des jeunes. Nous on va l’aider à réussir son projet. Imaginez qu’une gamine vous dise « moi je veux un bac pro esthétique », et qu’elle n’a pas le niveau en mathématique ou en physique, parce qu’il y a quand même de la chimie etc. Peut-être qu’on l’arrêtera au CAP plutôt qu’au bac pro ?” (micro lycée, proviseur)

Here things can be considered as two opposite perspectives: either the program is capacitating because it allows young people experiencing difficulties to achieve a transformed project – if we consider that without this change, the project will not have survived – it is not precisely insofar as it has been modified. So this begs the question: what is the value of a project? Do the actors interviewed feel concerned by this question and most importantly; do they discuss this with the youngsters they “process”? For the young girl mentioned in the quotation above and who has been prescribed to stop at a lower degree, do this lowered project have the same value than before? If the value is given by degree level, no; if the value is given the acquisition of a certain professional expertise then yes.

**At least, we may say that a capacitating program is designed in a way by which the nature of the value assigned to the project is a question submitted to all and every single stakeholders.**

In terms of access to information, one of the recent progress made in France is the fact that, all young people reported as dropouts should be contacted by the local platform monitoring and supporting dropouts (PSAD) to offer them appropriate care. Indeed, given the difficulties faced by all stakeholders to identify early school leavers, the InterVministerial decree of May 22th 2009 requires each secondary education institution to disclose information about youth who have dropped the initial training system without the minimum level of qualification. This Système interministériel d’échange d’information (SIEI – Interministerial information exchange system) generates a list diffused to the managers of PSAD, and Local missions for youth, so that identified young people are contacted. This year, in Agen, 65 youngsters were contacted by telephone. Following this contact, "we ended up with 10 remaining dropouts"
says the director of the CIO and to conclude "there happens to be a few that slipped through the net".

The interactive discussion is not really present in the programs under study. As mentioned earlier, the CAI allows young people to share their project without any guarantee that the team of case managers will support it. A program that would help young people achieve their goals, i.e. what they value, is a program allowing them more freedom according to Sen. But then what is the yardstick for measuring? If we stick to the choice-making process, not the final result, we could say that the result is obtained by external diktat and not by individual choice, in that the CAI would not be capacitating. This is point must be further investigated in the next WP.

In the Micro high school, pupils are sometimes consulted about pedagogical and organizational matters and their voice taken into account:

"On a fait une assemblée de progrès à laquelle tout le monde a participé, les jeunes et l’équipe et on a posé les choses ensemble. On avait préparé cette intervention avec les jeunes, je leur ai dit « on va parler de ce qui vous semble bien sur l’alternance, c’est un dispositif qui ouvre, on a besoin de votre regard aussi (...) On a modifié des choses, on est passé à un système de tuteurs"112 (micro lycée intervenant MLDS).

How do local actors judge the national policy’s IBJJ?

Finally, it was interesting to analyze how far local stakeholders know and share the governmental policy for youth’s IBJJ, defined in terms of policy priorities. To achieve this, a question was introduced in our questionnaire asking respondents about their level of information on these priorities. The answer to the closed question (Q: In your opinion, what are the main governmental priorities in terms of youth policy? (2 max answers by order of importance) includes the following 7 items (deriving from the results of WP3):

1) Ensure safety, maintain order;
2) Increase access to employment; 3) Promote access to qualification;
4) Promote freedom of expression;
5) Involve young people in policy decisions;
6) Progress in gender equality;
7) Other (s).

For the micro high school team and for that of the Local mission for youth, as well as for the Director of the CIO (referent of CAI), promoting the expression and participation of youth in

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112 "We had a progress meeting in which everyone participated, young and team and was asked things together. We had prepared this intervention with young people, I told them ‘we will talk about what you appreciate about apprenticeship, it is a new program and we need your advice too. (...) We have modified things, we moved to a tutoring system"(MLDS working in the micro high school).

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
political decisions are not part of the government's priorities. Except for the CIO’s director who gives an equal status to all, the government's priority is to promote access to qualifications prior to access to employment. The public order and safety matter appears important for one-third of respondents from the Ministry of Education and to a lesser extent for respondents to the local mission (9%).

In terms of adherence, respondents were asked whether they share these priorities. The overall result is a majority of positive share (55%).

Fig. Level of adherence to government’s priorities

But it should also be noted that 15% do not share these priorities. Asked separately, the Director of CIO adheres fully to these priorities, while the employees of the Local mission for youth show a massive share (70%). Concerning the micro high school, about one third of the team agrees with these objectives but more of them have chosen not to answer (44%).

Finally, the only link between the two principles of justice (Niti and Nyaya) outlined above can be found in the micro high school. It was expressed by with the MLDS’ operator working in this school during her interview:

“Question: to conclude what is most important for you in supporting dropouts? What is to be remembered to replicate the experience elsewhere?

Partir du jeune en premier, essayer de faire une synthèse de ce qu’il est, de ce qu’il a vécu et de ce qu’il veut faire (...). Très souvent ils ont connu l’échec et ce n’est pas des parcours très faciles. J’aimerais qu’il y ait une permanence d’un psychologue, peut être commencer par un groupe de parole sur divers thèmes, que les jeunes puissent avoir accès à cet accompagnement et s’y diriger d’eux même.”

Except for this quotation, we have found very few evidence of an IBJJ related to individuals’ need fulfillment. Instead, what appears predominant, even at the local level, is an IBJJ deeply rooted in institutional logics where dropouts are mainly considered as recipients of public action rather than actors of their self.

3.8. Discussion and conclusions

On the local territory under study here, the Agen metropolitan area and especially the two deprived neighborhoods of Montanou and city centre, it is difficult to find evidences of a real development of individual capabilities of dropouts. Hence, the empirical material collected through interviews and questionnaire shows little space for the material and symbolic conditions of youngsters’ access to voice. At risk pupils, a vulnerable population if any, remain dominated, placed under the influence of policies (when they exist) and have no

113 "Question: to conclude what is most important for you in supporting dropouts? What is to be remembered to replicate the experience elsewhere?

Answer: Leaving the young first, try to summarize what he/she is, what he/she has lived and what he/she wants to do. (...). Very often they have experienced failure and this is not very easy paths. I wish there was a permanent psychologist, or maybe start a discussion group on various topics, and that young people can have access and this support and progress in it involved for themselves!"
direct impact on their design and implementation. On the ESL field, a capability friendly social innovation remains largely unobserved at least in Agen. Local support networks for dropouts exist and have been reinforced by the latest national (PSAD), regional policies (PRI) and local policies (CAI). But our fieldwork suggests that if local network exist, they rely primarily on the implementation of a central initiative eventually through the mediation of regional policymaking (except for CAI). The interactions observed, even with a weak density, are in line with networking mainly institutionalized by ESL national policies through the creation of the PSAD (platforms to monitor and support dropouts). On the participatory dimension and to put it in a nutshell, our observations suggest that beneficiaries are rarely offered a reflexive space; the assumptions guiding the action of youth policy implementers are built outside of the users’ voice. In that sense, these programs can hardly be defined as participative. Another important dimension of participation is the non takeVup of institutional resources by youngsters. This point will be further investigated in the next WP5. But little recourse to the programs also says something in terms of freedom and selfVidentification: that of each to decide how he perceives himself. Is granting the individual identity through the belonging to a target group a kind of denial? Following this effect of individual’s processing through institutionalized intervention, we may say that a young dropout may be only a pupil taken in charge by the educational system; or the child of a socially disadvantaged family legitimating the intervention of social services; but also a child with behavioral problems falling under the authority of the medical system, etc. This whole process of institutionalized identification boils down to labeled self by classifying in one category and thereby denying the multiple affiliations generated by complex societies.

In a normative view, the conclusions of this study also suggest a few policy perspectives. Hence, if the analysis of the local support for dropouts in both dimensions of prevention and remediation, using quantitative and qualitative empirical data about the policy bouquet under study, does not show paths for the development of capabilities; some lessons can still be drawn. Analyzing these hollows could reveal some areas of improvement.

Conducting a capability friendly support network policy should minimally:

- Improve mutual knowledge of each other (stakeholders) and check the consistency of aims and expectations.
- Ensure that the workload weighing on case managers allow an adequate time to work with its partners.
- Build policy transfer mechanisms so that difficulties encountered in bottomVup program’s implementation are assessed at a policymaking level. Moreover, this assessment should be conducted with the participation of implementers and beneficiaries and should be conducted to improve local innovation.
- Systematically ask the beneficiaries in order to assess and revise it eventually to develop new ones if necessary with regards to the diversity of individual’s difficulties and values. Especially this assessment should question the quality of networking and the experience they have from the service delivered.
- Build and share a common regulatory framework between the different sectors and stakeholders involved in the upstream and downstream of the dropout treatment (prevention - remediation).
- Involve firms and industries – who for the most will / could / should ultimately be vectors of the professional integration of dropouts – in the design of ESL policies.
- Require as a preVcondition for the sustainability of local initiatives their assessment on the basis of implementers and users’ evaluation.
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4. DENMARK – Local social support networks analysis in Svendborg (by Niels Rosendal Jensen, Anna Kathrine Frørup and Christian Christrup Kjeldsen)
Aarhus University, Department of Education

Abstract

This report focuses on youth policies and youth related policies as they operate at the local level of the city of Svendborg.
A Description of the area is presented with a focus on social problems, inequality and unemployment and is in addition compared to other disadvantaged city areas in Denmark. The local stakeholders' views on youth policies in relation to innovative practices for vulnerable youth living in disadvantaged city areas in Denmark are analyzed and discussed. A social innovation project is introduced and described and the young people’s view on dreams and possibilities related to a social innovation project on young mothers and their general life situation is an important finding.
The paper will conclude with some ideas concerning the ongoing participative research.

4.1 Introduction

In this phase of the project, the aim has been to identify local stakeholders' role and tasks as well as their views on youth policies in relation to innovative practices for vulnerable youth living in disadvantaged city areas in Denmark. As will be argued in the methodological chapter of this report, the overall framework for researching social support networks have been carried out from different perspectives in order to construct (co-construct, de-construct and re-construct) the research object in a way that furthermore take the positional objectivity proposed by Amartya Sen into account (Sen, 1993).
With this part of the SocIEtY projects’ overall research design we will prepare the in-depth analysis for the core participatory research for WP5 and thereby mainly focus on the co-construction of the understanding found in relation to the researched subjects (interviewees) which cover young people, professionals and local policy makers. This has been followed by a de-construction of the empirical object through a multifaceted sociological analysis. For this reason we address our preliminary models for further analysis as well as the empirical ground for further research decision making within this report and not the least sketch out the existing informational basis in order to point to the gaps that exist. The report should therefore be read bearing this status in mind. When understood from the perspectives of the young people we would like initially to emphasise some considerations that we have found important to have in mind as leading categories from the start.

4.1.1 Focus on the perspective of the young people in the local support network and living in the deprived city district

4.1.1.1 Young people's say (voice), wishes and demands
We are basically interested in pursuing how young people's possibilities, wishes and demands is raised, possibly strengthened, possibly transformed, respectively or put aside in favour of other requirements. So, for example: young people's right to education - how are professionals accommodating or incorporating disadvantaged young people's needs in their professional judgement?
It also involves a discussion on how the target group (risk youth) is constructed in relation to the type of policy interventions that can be classified under local welfare systems (in our case: social pedagogical interventions, education and urban planning / urban development), but this also relates to the young person’s voice in relation to the professionals’ construction of them as a particular group (empirically named as vulnerable, at risk … etc.). This is why, how the young people have a say in the often stigmatizing construction of them as a particular group is important. This is therefore to be understood as another form of what have been called the capability for voice (Bonvin, 2012; Kjeldsen & Ley, 2014 [in print]). Still there are similarities to the conceptualization of the capability of voice whereas this understanding emphasizes to a greater extent: “the creation of places where individuals get the opportunity in public and social work action to express their own opinion, as well as the creation of a space for the ‘meta-capability’ of reflection” (Otto & Ziegler, 2006, p. 283).

4.1.1.2 Participation of young people

For these reasons we would stress the necessity to be aware of the interaction between a formalized participation (e.g. student council) and a more active exercise of democratic rights from the perspective of the young person's own perspective or from the environment in which the youth belongs. Here, one might expect that participation is often characterized by structural obstacles / barriers to formal ways, scars possibilities to participate in, but also of special opportunities in the local area (the local authority) in order to be heard. From a participatory research perspective it may become a responsibility of the researcher through research to become the voice of the young people in relation to this. As Anselm L. Strauss & Juliet M. Corbin makes it clear:

If we do it correctly, then we are not speaking for our participants but rather are enabling them to speak in voices that are clearly understood and representative. Our theories, however incomplete, provide a common language (set of concepts) through which research participants, professionals, and others can come together to discuss ideas and find solutions to problems. Yes, we are naive if we think that we can “know it all.” But even a small amount of understanding can make a difference. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 56, cited by Kjeldsen (2014))

Especially at the existing point in the research we would be further careful not to claim that we can know it all.

4.1.1.3 The basis for professional decision making – professional practical reasoning or judgement

By this we point to the existing basis for making decisions about a given policy aimed at young people. What knowledge is used? How to provide additional information if the current is not enough? We often encounter that these judgements draw on existing statistics, evaluations of schools and youth education guidance, etc. In the best case – not seldom it turns out that these judgements build on “pedagogical belly feelings” or discursive produced prejudices. It has furthermore been argued from academics that such professional judgements are fostered by a particular “pedagogical judgement” (Eriksen, Beedholm, Pedersen, Thomassen, Olesen, & Madsen, 2009), which either draws its argumentation from a Kantian discussion on the power of judgement as it is found in his critique of “Urteilskraft” (Kant, 1922 [1790]) or an Aristotelian understanding of Phronesis. A capability oriented approach to this needed basis for professional decision making as a counter force to the socially constructed “common sense” (in its worst understanding) may also be understood as part of Martha Nussbaums capability of “practical reasoning” and becomes thereby a concept of
pedagogical practical reasoning. This thereby becomes a two-directed concept, whereas it covers both the development of the young person’s own practical reasoning as well as the professionals’ basis for judgements in practice (Kjeldsen, 2014). At the same time this concept will have to be linked, related or perhaps even shaped in a new dialectic synthesis with the concept of an informational basis for the judgement of justice (IBJJ) as Amartya Sen describes it (Sen, 1990). Having a double-sided understanding and not only focusing on the professional’s power of pedagogical judgement, but instead a combination with an operationalization of the informational basis for the judgement in justice (IBJJ) will strengthen the already known concepts of pedagogical judgement, because: “If the freedoms that persons enjoy constitute a major territory of justice, then primary goods provide an inadequate informational basis for the evaluation of what is just and what is not. We have to examine the capabilities that we can actually enjoy. The practical implications of the difference - political as well as ethical - can be enormous.” (Sen, 1990, p. 121)

4.1.2 The working model of our research on the local level

The research is monitored by a dynamic model. On one hand, the objective realities of the young generation are compiled: structural unemployment, increased risk of poverty and a certain cut down delivery in welfare services can be found (for further details please consult section 3). The outcome seems to entail a polarization between rich and disadvantaged groups of youth. This basic assumption is derived from a socio-economic analysis of the local housing area. On the other hand, individualization and fluid positions point to social decoupling as a general risk for all. Both trends are often linked to a question of disposing over resources which can be measured according to geography, gender, class and ethnicity. However, though recognizing the importance of resources our model adds affiliation (to a local environment, to one’s family, or to organizations and clubs) and possibilities of participation. From a capability perspective affiliation can be interpreted as a substantial freedom – a capability of affiliation (Nussbaum, 2011; Nussbaum, 2006). A multidimensionality of everyday life and everyday situations might then present a broader set of capabilities for the conduct of life compared to what may be expected as an outcome of the objective reality (Sen, 1999a; Sen, 1999b; Sen, 1992). It is obvious that the capabilities do not simply depend on income, education, and profession/work but in addition also depend on contextual conditions like familial attachment, social contacts, and institutional access (Sen, 1999a). Even an accumulation of a number of risk factors does not lead directly to social exclusion (Christoffersen 2003).

Our model emphasizes the subjective understanding of one’s own chances and interprets this understanding as playing a considerable role. When a young person despite of disadvantages feels capable of coping with the life and feels belonging to some place, then he/she may be marginalized but not necessarily excluded. Marginalization deals with the unequal distribution of goods, whereas exclusion adds an important experience, that of not belonging, but of being an outsider. This furthermore relates to the different stigma that a particular construction of the concept of marginalized youth indirectly provide. The marginalized young person – who is still included - experiences barriers, while the excluded or stigmatized feels or understands oneself as disconnected with the whole of society Exclusion in a capability perspective then becomes a combination of a limited capability space and what by Sen have been called contingent circumstances (Sen, 1999a).

Bringing the subjective elements of affiliation into our working model is important: we are aware that young people during times of unemployment are activated, placed in some project and getting social benefits. But they do feel decoupled and excluded due to different social conversion factors/ contingent circumstances.
A further component of the model stems from the fact that the local housing area is particularly vulnerable, and that a high percentage of residents belongs to an ethnic minority (which is an information that is part of the informational basis regarding the placement of the city area on the list of so-called deprived areas in Denmark in need of a special political focus).

To sum it up: The basic analysis within this model is first of all using a rather simple discrimination between objective conditions of exclusion (precariousness in several extensions: work, income, access to education, etc.) and subjective experience of exclusion. While the first dimension consists of characteristics like personal prosperity, status of occupation, connectedness towards social networks, trust in public institutions and psycho-physical state of health (or wellbeing), the second dimension relates to the view of individuals in experiencing to be situated in the societal whole and feeling to belong there. Our point is to avoid any one-to-one relationship between objective exclusion and subjective feeling of being excluded, since research has shown that the interdependence of these two dimensions exists, indeed, but has different effects. The feeling of being excluded in our context has to be understood as a separate phenomenon developed by specific factors and causing other outcomes than the objective exclusion.

The feeling of being excluded has nothing to do with the famous debate on underclass, for instance Wilson’s contribution on the discussion on disadvantages, underclass and ghetto areas of the US (Wilson, 2012 [1987]) or such, but rather is a feeling of not being a part of society any more, having either no or very less chances in society. This feeling might be similar to what is called ‘social isolation’ – which we are conditioning due to our interest in participative platforms and rights of young people.

4.1.3 Education as the most important vehicle for change

4.1.3.1 Economic capital

Earlier studies have inferred a strong empirical link between family socio-economic status and future educational outcomes (Lareau 2011, Sirin 2005, Walpole 2003). Specifically, the lack of household financial capital impedes accumulation of high market value human capital (e.g. educational skills and knowledge) that can be used to maximize prospective investment return and attain upward social mobility. Some researchers hold that the evidence of class differences in education can be observed as early as pre-school and the performance gap widens over time (Bradley & Corwyn 2002, Duncan & Magnuson 2005). Additionally, when ethnicity is taken into account, existing evidence attributed low educational attainment of minority students to family poverty, residential instability, minimal parental involvement, etc. Thus, contrary to financially well-off children who are likely to enter upper-secondary education (e.g. in Denmark youth education) as part of their predictable life transition, lack of knowledge about educational options and financial assistance place many at higher risk of postponement or early withdrawal from enrollment or when enrolled drop out from youth education – general or vocational.

Class based educational disadvantages, opportunity structure, and integration processes also diverge between the migrant youth and their native born counterparts which is of particular interest for the Danish case study.

The hard reality seems to be the following: migrant youth’s human capital acquired in their country of origin may not yield the same value in the receiving country, and as to overcome this takes more generations our intention is to find out whether this is empirically evidenced or not.

Further migrant parents are placed in a challenging position when considering investing time and money in their children’s educational expenses (Becker 1994). However, as education is a
common good in Denmark, students are not expected to pay tuition fees but have to invest in for example books, a pc, etc. Public racial stereotypes also continue to install a sense of self-prophecy which strips many minority students of certain educational privileges.

4.1.3.2 Cultural capital

In literature on education, the term cultural capital was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu to refer to knowledge, information, and practices commonly possessed by the upper and middle class to navigate secure within the social worlds and attain upward social mobility. Bourdieu further stated that the lack of such capital in the subculture – that the lower and working class families are embedded in – prevents them from gaining the upper hand of the life game (Bourdieu 1973). Although his theses have been challenged by other scholars, his postulation that parental education as a strong indicator of their children’s educational enrollment and completion remains largely uncontested in contemporary educational research. The most important Danish researchers are supporting Bourdieu’s thesis and evidencing it empirically (Munk 2014, Jæger 2009, Hansen 2003). Yet, the parents have high educational aspirations and expectations for their children, in particular the girls. Although these parents may have some lack of understanding about the Danish educational system or living to some extent in poverty, they still emphasize their children’s education through strong educational values which they share with the majority of the population, enforcing homework rules (again in particular for girls), etc.

4.1.3.3 Social capital

Social capital, besides Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualization of this, has been regarded as one of the principal determinants for succeeding educationally (Coleman 1988). Putnam (1995) outlined two types of social capital that complements each other: bonding social capital, which is referred to as the socialization with people of similar background, and bridging social capital, which is related to social ties established with those of dissimilar background. In the family domain, cross-cultural research postulated that the educational accomplishment of immigrant children is in part attributable to their higher prevalence of a two-parent household structure and strong family norms which place greater emphases on the value of future educational success (Fuligni 1997). Similarly, parent-child interactions, such as parental ability to assist their children with school work, monitor their progress, and provide reinforcement, represent a form of within-family social capital that not only strengthens the quality of parent-child relationship but also motivates their children academically (Hao & Bonstead-Brun 1998), which may be understood as families as conversion factors in a capability perspective.

Beyond the family domain, Coleman stresses the importance of between family social capital such as tightly knit ethnic communities where parents gets to know each other, facilitates the informal exchange of information, and promote collective parenting (Brody et al. 2001). In brief, such communities with high collective efficacy have been known to increase family cohesion, lower crime rates’, and hence strengthen educational resilience. According to our local context, it must be noted, however, that highly segregated ethnic neighborhoods with social ties that do not bridge out to the wider society impede the accumulation of information and restrict access to various educational opportunities (Granovetter 1973). Children raised in such areas, for instance, lack access to qualified academic counselling, knowledge about the educational system above primary education. This suggests that a lack of the capability of practical reasoning is to be found, whereas the lack of guidance and knowledge may be assumed to narrow the “opportunity to plan one’s own life” and therefore the “opportunity to choose and order the functionings corresponding to the various other capabilities.” (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 39), which may be developed through education – or Bildung.

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addition, when social relations with other institutions are taken into account, alienation, cultural shock, sense of powerlessness, and institutional racism have been indicated as common experiences of many non-traditional students (Bowl 2001). Contrary to that individuals’ affiliations with other social networks or institutional support through participating in various organizations (church, service club, youth organization, etc.) has been shown empirically to encourage civil engagement (e.g. Oesterle, Johnson & Mortimer 2004). Having now initially presented some of the important insights that will play part, both of our widening of the informational basis within the participatory research and in relation to the further analysis in WP5, we turn to some further epistemological considerations.

4.2 Methods

Sen, departs on the subject of a positional objectivity by noting that: “What we can observe depends on our position vis-à-vis the objects of observation. What we decide to believe is influenced by what we observe. How we decide to act relates to our beliefs. Positionally dependent observations, beliefs, and actions are central to our knowledge and practical reason. The nature of objectivity in epistemology, decision theory, and ethics has to take adequate note of the parametric dependence of observation and inference on the position of the observer” (Sen, Positional Objectivity, 1993, p. 126). Without advocating ideas of triangulation as they may be found within grounded theory arguing that various “data give the analyst different views or vantage points from which to understand a category and to develop its properties” (Glaser & Strauss, 2006 [1967], p. 65) or the mix-methods methodological literature (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Still we seek within WP4 to understand and construct the research object in advance of the participatory research from the “viewpoint” of the young people’s interests, the professionals’ perspective as well as the local democracy represented by local policy makers. These particular “points”, which may even be understood as certain positions within this particular field of interest is furthermore to be constructed in a similar way as Pierre Bourdieu argues. The field of deprived city areas in Denmark will likewise be scrutinized through a positional understanding of their mutual relations (see the correspondence analysis in section 3). Like Bourdieu we find that: “It is a formal outline of the relations among relations that define constructed objects, which can be transposed to phenomenally very different or ders of reality and suggest, by analogy, new analogies that can give rise to new object constructions” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, & Passeron, 1991, p. 54). Taking both Sen and Bourdieu’s insights into account we are dealing with a double construction of the object of investigation in a hermeneutical circulating shifting between 1) scientific construction of the object through co-construction with the research subjects 2) de-construction of this construction of reality through scientific analysis, and in WP5 3) a re-construction through participatory research. Thereby will the point advocated by Bourdieu that the research object is not something to be found, but constructed in a relational epistemological approach between methods, empirical findings and theory (Bourdieu, 1973 ; Bourdieu, Chamboredon, & Passeron, 1991; Bourdieu, 1998), furthermore be expanded in the next phase of the project where the research participants will be part of the co-construction. Steinar Kvale argues for the idea of co-construction within his methodological contribution to interviewing, but the co-construction of the research object within the participatory research is of another theoretical order and the research object thereby become a matter of meta-theoretical thought, whereas it is a re-construction pushed forward by altering the informational basis within the context. One may say that by the analogy to the constructed research object, new analogies may be found in co-corporation with the researched subjects. For this reason the research object(s) become dynamic – it becomes a
shape-shifting object and the whole object will even be more than the sum of its relations when applying this Aristotelian and Bachelardian inspired epistemological approach, which could be gathered within the term of a relational whole (Kjeldsen, 2014; Bachelard, 2006; Bachelard, 2002 [1938]; Bachelard, 1984), which Kjeldsen (2014) argues fits better with Smith & Seward’s description of the existence of what they call a “Relational Ontology” (Smith & Seward, 2009, p. 213) within the Capability Approach, which they find is an “ontological conception of a relational society” (Smith & Seward, 2009, p. 213).

The methods applied in the Danish case-study are connected to the overall research design that we have applied within WP3 and therefore they consist of a research design where both a qualitative content analysis (QCA) (Schreier, 2012) on a subset of the purposive sample carried out within WP3 as well as different key documents that is interpreted as being part of the existing informational basis have become actualised. The semi-structured life-world interviews (Kvale, 2012; Kvale, 1996) with experts have been analysed again with a strengthened focus on the topics that were implemented in the interview guide for the analysis of local support networks. The analysis and coding of the content was likewise as WP3 report performed using both Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) and in this case likewise a more analogue endeavour where the transcripts have been re-coded manually. NVIVO 10, which is suitable assisting the managing of data, to manage ideas upon data, to make queries within data and to report from data have once again been taken into use for this analysis (Bazeley, 2007).

4.2.1 Transcriptions of interviews for the qualitative content analysis
The transcripts of the life-world interviews with experts and the young people have been recorded digitally and later transcribed applying explicit transcription conventions chosen for all the interviews within the project in order to secure consistency in the empirical material between the different work packages (Kvale, 2012). This entails:

1) making the subjects anonymous in the text for publishing (research ethical concerns)
2) bringing the text into tabular form with categorization of the speaker (analytical concerns)
3) timestamps for each row in the tabular following the time in seconds of the interview (reliability)

Due to the timestamps it has been possible to raise transcript reliability between the recording and the produced text. This was done by both listening and reading the transcript when coding the data. Due to the categorization it has been possible to make different explorative queries and auto-codings on the text uttered only by the interview subjects. Whereas a number of interviews have served two purposes both in relation to the macro and the meso level analysis; this procedure of data handling has furthermore made it possible to divide/aggregate the transcripts in relation to the explorative queries.

4.2.2 Sampling strategy for the third phase of interview subjects
The sampling strategy of relevant informants for interviewing was done as a follow up on the two-stage sampling applied earlier in the overall case study and presented in the WP3 report. This was then followed up with a third stage of sampling where we have had the young people in focus for interviewing. The first sampling was a purposive sampling of professionals in public institutions and services related geographically to the city district, in order to epistemologically meet both the demands for WP3 and WP4, where an intersection of the research interest has been found, having in mind that WP3 had among its aims to: “scrutinizing the strategies and policies of local actors in deprived city districts of each partner country.” (SocIEtY Project, Annex, p. 3). Therefore, the local level analysis has the same categorization, but now extended with a sample of young people in a similar way as report 3.1:

“Firstly, the purposive sampling covers the educational track from pre-primary (Kindergarten) to vocational training qualifying for access to the labour market (upper secondary education). Secondly, it was intended to cover the different support structures addressing the different 15-24 year olds when following (or not) the ordinary educational track and transition into labour market. Thirdly, the different offers related to spare time activities in the disadvantaged city district have been included in the sample. Compiled the sample covers the three learning arenas, formal, informal and nonformal and thereby also seeks to address the nonformal and informal areas” (WP3 report)

4.2.3 Interviews
14 interviews (12 professionals and 2 young people) were conducted in the follow up sampling procedure. The interviews were conducted using an in advance prepared interview guide. The interview guide consists of the main themes transformed into open questions and possible follow ups. The interviewing was conducted by assistant professor Anna Kathrine Frørup until the 24th of September in connection with four days of field visits. The interviews had the following lengths:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time (hh:mm:ss)</td>
<td>00:25:30</td>
<td>01:05:45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conducted interviews:
1 interview the chairwomen of the committee of children and young people at the city council of Svendborg 38:33
1 interview adviser of young disadvantage mothers and family care worker at the “Modrehuset” [Mothers House] 54:30
1 interview the leader of a kindergarten 01:02:10
1 interview youth education adviser at the local public school 37:10
4.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth with regard to the existing Informational Basis of Judgement of Justice

4.3.1 The local area – a point of concentration of inequality, social problems, and unemployment

Our approach to the local social area has been inspired by Wacquant (2000) who points at four dimensions: stigma, social and economic limitations, (forced) spatial demarcation and (forced) institutional demarcation. Exclusions are taking place – e.g. concerning a certain population (workers, migrants, ethnic or religious groups, etc.), facilities (hospitals, schools, shops and supermarkets, etc.) as well as activities (schools, production, housing, etc.). The three aspects may be combined in several ways. When using two further dimensions (horizontal and vertical) a social housing area can either be placed at the top or at the bottom of society, and people can be forced to live in that area or choose to live there voluntarily. This issue will be further developed for the final version of the report.

Youth living in urban areas on the former Danish “ghetto list” is according to the Ministry of Social Affairs (1) Disadvantaged youth neither in job nor education (NEETs) and (2) Young ethnic minorities. We have a special focus on young mothers/fathers living in this “ghetto” area and female ethnic minorities. Thereby, the geographical focus of study is in direct relation to a specific policy chosen IBJJ, the key policies and the urban area in focus. The idea...
is to address this applying an exclusion model developed by Kronauer (1998). The policy on public housing § 61 a states that: A ghetto area is defined as a natural coherent public housing association unit, to at least 1,000 residents, which meets at least two of the following criteria:

1. The proportion of immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries exceeds 50 per cent.
2. The proportion of residents aged 18-64 years who are not related to labour or education, exceed 40 per cent, calculated as the average over the last 4 years.
3. Number convicted of a criminal offense, Arms Act or the Act on narcotics per 10,000 residents aged 18 and above exceeds 270 persons, calculated as the average over the last 4 years.

If applying the capability approach this may be argued as a non-sufficient measure. The existing statistical measures on the “ghetto area” can be aggregated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle brutto income</td>
<td>155,238 kr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of early retirement</td>
<td>21 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (male/female)</td>
<td>59 % / 41 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24 years</td>
<td>18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34 years</td>
<td>20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49 years</td>
<td>27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64 years</td>
<td>23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+65 years</td>
<td>12 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live alone without children</td>
<td>59 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In relationship with children</td>
<td>17 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live alone with children</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In relationship without children</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with parents</td>
<td>5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive school or no education (highest)</td>
<td>52 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper-secondary</td>
<td>9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education and training</td>
<td>33 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In job</td>
<td>32 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>19 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in education</td>
<td>15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside work force</td>
<td>34 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
These figures may be seen as the distributional context and to some extent covers at least the functionings of certain capabilities. It is worth noticing that within the population of inhabitants nearly every fifth is within the age span 18-24 years of age which is in the intersection of the age span focused on within the EU SocIEtY study.

In relation to poverty it is of interest that among all deprived housing estates on the official list a major increase can be found from 2002 until 2011. The interpretation is that the characteristics of these vulnerable groups have had a major impact on their situation throughout the economic downturn.

It is worth taking note of the very high percentage of people living in poverty within the deprived city area that we have in focus. We, therefore, compare this area and bring it into its positional relation to the other areas on the policy driven informational basis described above, but first a few words on the following correspondence analysis, which is the explorative method for analyzing and relating different data that is part of the policy conception of a ghetto area as well as the newly political decision on a poverty line. The correspondence analysis; Blasius & Greenacre, 1998, Greenacre, 2007) is a method revealing a posteriori knowledge instead of a priori idea of contexts in the data (Murtaugh, 2005, p. 9). This fits well with the relational epistemological understanding within this research whereas any “Statistical models imply a certain philosophy of the social, of action, and of causality. CA is a method that, as Bourdieu ... put[s] it, “thinks” in relations” (Blasius & Greenacre, 1998, p. 177). This is the method Bourdieu has used, but the founder in France is Benzecri who ”echoes Aristotle’s On the Soul that objects do exist, but they are only revealed to us through their relations.” (Murtaugh, 2005, p. 9). Again the epistemological ground relates to the methods and the capability approach that is founded on an Aristotelian view. In practice it will be used to place the positions of the different deprived city areas as a particular subfield of the overall social field and make it possible to reveal the different areas’ similarities as well as differences. The simple correspondence analysis has three directions. It is like a web stretched out between deprived housing estates that have a higher average of inhabitants with no job or education compared to the other “ghettoes” placed at the list. The other two directions are divided between convicted persons pr. 10.000 inhabitants and newcomers. As
can be seen explorative is that the city area of Svendborg (Byparken/Skovparken) to a higher degree is positioned towards the “no job or education” pole. This characteristic reveals that in comparison with other areas the main problem is low education and a high unemployment rate.

If the data are furthermore brought into a linear regression model it is found that even though Denmark have a high level of social security applying what have been known as the flexicurity model, there seem to be less security at the end. As can be seen from the following graph there is a linear relation between disadvantaged city areas on the “ghetto” list, poverty and people having no job nor being in education.
NB: this part will be further developed – if possible with register based aggregations.

4.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

The following model is part of the development between WP2, WP3 and WP4 and thereby become dimensions within the construction of the research object that relates and links the insights in a cumulative way:

| Intention – e.g. the visible and documented political intentions in the field | Administration – e.g. how national and municipal bodies manage the intentions in accordance with their traditions, authority, etc. | Practice – e.g. the practitioners’ level (how front level professionals implement the decisions and instructions) |
| National level – e.g. parliament and ministeries | National – e.g. the framework provided by the state (funding, expertise, etc.) | Local – e.g. the institutions implementing |
| Local level – e.g. municipality council | Local – e.g. municipal management |

4.4.1 Implementation

In most countries the target group is at risk of becoming excluded. Exclusion is thus seen primarily linked to the ordinary or primary labour market. At the same time national policies and action plans are aiming at inclusion for all.

The national policy adopted by parliament is expected to be implemented at local level which in turn will depend on local policies, possibilities, and contextual factors like type of local...
labour market, local educational institutions, etc. In everyday practice, teachers, counselors, pedagogues, and other professionals are the most important part of the chain of implementation. Exactly these professionals have to meet the pupils, students, parents, jobseekers, excluded, etc. and negotiate how to realize the “great plans”.

4.4.2 Exclusion, or poverty?

It is no big deal to write down a long list of social categories which have been targeted under the heading of social exclusion. Talking about unemployment one could find long-term or recurrently unemployed people, people employed in precarious and unskilled jobs, young people unprotected by labour regulations, the low paid and the poor, the unskilled, the illiterate, and school drop-outs, the mentally handicapped and disabled, the addicts, persons with criminal records, foreigners, immigrants, minorities, etc. It is worth noticing that the socio-economic table that draws its empirical comprehensions on existing reports, at the same time become an empirical example of the construction of the informational basis within the same – to some extent stigmatizing – categories. Already at this early stage of inquiry the term exclusion is by no means a one-dimensional concept. Contrary it appears to be a vague term loaded with numerous economic, social, political, and cultural connotations and dimensions (for a similar viewpoint – Silver 1994). In our further elaboration this point is going to be explored in some depth. This is important as the concept is often used to cover a broad range of phenomena which may also be expressed in terms of marginality, foreignness, new poverty, inequality, disaffiliation, deprivation, and destitution.

At the mid 1970s it could be said that in Northern Europe poverty had been reduced to a residual phenomenon and it was expected only to be a question of time before poverty would be eradicated as a widespread and constant condition. Unfortunately, this optimistic prospect has not come through. Mass unemployment and increasing inequality have been the course of development in Europe over the last three decades. First, the rise in inequality followed by a decrease after the second world war has - as Thomas Piketty recently has evidenced - once again changed and we are now once again heading towards the situation in the early 1900s (Piketty, 2014).

The conceptual shift from poverty to social exclusion occurred towards the end of the 1980s. The coming analysis will dwell upon whether we are dealing with a new phenomenon or a new appearance. An important explanation, however, is the political sensitivity of poverty. In Denmark poverty must be eradicated since a lot of resources are spent on welfare systems. If poverty is identified it is a critique of the existing policy measures. Our final report will return to that.

We now turn to the local support networks’ viewpoints – the research object seen from the perspective of professionals within the local support network.

4.4.2.1 School and further education

During the conversations with professionals in education or schooling of the young people several functions have been mentioned.

Although not emphasized directly, but analytically found as latent functions are:

a. Cultural reproduction or the function of enculturation: a widespread spectrum ranging from basic learning and adoption of symbolic systems like language to internalization of value orientations like moral accountability of the individual.

b. Function of qualification: transmission of skills and knowledge necessary for employment. In light of economic competition this has become more decisive.
c. **Function of allocation**: this dimension has to do with social structure itself. Social structure in this perspective means placing people according to education, income, culture and forms of social behavior.

d. **Function of integration and legitimation**: Schooling is a vehicle of societal integration entailing such norms, values and views of the world that support stability of existing political conditions. Education/schooling enables the formation of a cultural and social identity which aims at participation in the inner cohesion of a society and at accepting and further enhancing trust towards the existing social and political order.

### 4.4.2.2 The situation of young people

On a discursive level the situation of young people is mainly described from a social / socio-economic perspective and to a much lesser degree with a specific focus on school and educational issues. The prevailing focus is on the family and young people's social problems as crucial to their (marginalized) situation and difficulties in life, including difficulties at school.

From the perspective of the professionals in institutions that take part within the social support network, these young people come from families with so-called 'heavy stories', and the situation of young people is characterized by neglect, abuse, crime, alcohol, violence, etc. in the family. Under stimulated, aggressive behavior, apathetic young people with a lack of self-esteem (self-worth) are poorly nourished, have poor hygiene, acting like a "yes-man" (in relation to gangs) with a lack of role models, have no labor market attachment.

They are perceived as young people from families traumatized by war and being on the run, young people from vulnerable families without a social network, affected by mental and social problems, poverty, and unemployed (on welfare benefits) for generations. The families live in so-called 'small worlds' and they are dominated by authorities. Also Families of different ethnic background than Danish are mentioned, where the parents are illiterate and do not master the Danish language, do not have the confidence in the Danish society and system. They become described as people who find it difficult to read (and acquiring) the social codes in Denmark and find it difficult to understand the way of living in Denmark (e.g. how to live and why to live in a 'nuclear family').

The children and young people of these marginalized families, following the stakeholders, need to see the "real world" and to get "real food". The "real world" refers to a world outside of the local area, both geographically and culturally/socially.

In a few cases the descriptions of the young people’s problems are focusing on the problem behavior in school; truancy, not doing their homework, language difficulties, cannot manage to go to school because of the chaotic home situation, do not understand what is going on and have a hard time keeping up in class, do not have good work habits, tired of school, getting bad grades, and need alternative forms of instruction/teaching in the school.

In this context, some of the stakeholders believe that the school (the teachers) finds it difficult to understand the connection between problems in the family /at home and a lack of motivation and concentration in school.

The professionals within the local institutions deal with young people from families where education and training has no importance, where the families do not have a realistic idea of the educational system and possibilities or where the family, because of the lack of education and academic experience, is not able to help, inform and motivate their child in proportion to the requirements for the school of today. It also means that parents cannot help with homework, cannot read the letters from the school, cannot have informal talks with the teachers, etc.
The stakeholders’ construction of poverty and disadvantaged youth/families can be observed within a cultural capital perspective as well as and social and economic capital perspective, for example as cultural, social and economic poverty. The construction of the young people's situation and needs can also be observed through descriptions of the knowledge that the stakeholders seem to draw on in their practices. Experiences (in this context referring to life experiences and previous work experience), mediator training, coaching, therapeutic education and a positive psychological approach are emphasized and represent the needs and difficulties of disadvantage youth through social pedagogical (e.g. experience-based practice), psychological and therapeutic interventions, including the need of working with conflicts (mediation) in families, which are out of balance.

4.4.2.3 Social/participatory interventions

Interventions and services are based on the knowledge that the professionals have about the young people and their families, and on the empathy and insight they have with/to the family and their life story (conditions). A (social) pedagogical and psychological/therapeutic understanding and approach is also articulated through the focus on young people's social problem and the way to handle these problems. In general, the purpose of the interventions is to integrate families with different ethnic background than Danish. To a lesser extent ethnic Danish families are mentioned in specific cases.

In a specific school-related perspective the purpose is to include and motivate children, young people and their parents, e.g. keep them at school and/or in an educational process. But still with a specific focus on social problems/integration problems as crucial for educational difficulties.

The various interventions are mostly described as ad hoc processes (flexible work processes) on an adviser basis in the sense that it is an extra person 'hovering over the waters' [!] having an eye on children and young people in difficulties. It is about helping families with language barriers, with a little knowledge to the Danish system and the Danish cultural codes. It may be in the schooling as well as in daily life in the local area where both young people and their families find it difficult to cope with practical as well as social challenges and demands (for example applying for housing grants or scholarships or according to the young people, to spend time with friends, doing homework and other activities).

The predominant method is ‘conversation’ or ‘dialogue’ focusing on strengthening the relationship and creating openness and trust. In several interventions a narrative approach is used to provide insight and recognition about the young people’s own situation and on that basis to reflect on their live situation; take responsibility for their own lives and see the opportunities to act. In this context, the professionals within the social support network also work with young people’s understanding of conflict solution (mediation) and ‘models of vulnerability’ for the purpose of creating insight and opportunity for reflection and action. Despite this focus on conversation and dialog, many professionals point out language problems/barriers as a central problem when they try to communicate and cooperate with young people and their families.

4.4.2.4 Structural explanations as part of the professionals’ knowledge base

Some stakeholders describe the situation of young people from a more structural perspective and with a focus on structural barriers:

- the lack of educational services/possibilities for those who have difficulties up to the 9th-10th grade; that young people is subject to a so-called 'education inflation' where young people forced to take a higher education because "that's what to do", even though they are not qualified.
• For disadvantaged young parents, it is difficult to conduct an education because you must have a minimum of 18 hours a week to achieve SU (State Education grant) and SU loans on VUC (The Adult Education Centre), which is considered to be too much training hours for a new, single mother. They got expelled from the education with a SU debt instead (SU is a state grant for students). The alternative is an early pension. However, this option is diminished since the reform on early retirement 2014 (see appendix).

• According to the UU-Adviser (Youth Education Adviser) 20 percent of young people (with special needs) lacks educational services or possibilities in continuation of 9th or 10th grade.

• A young boy worked extra hard to learn to read and get a very good 9th grade exam. He ended up getting an A (the best grade) in Danish and subsequently it was discovered that he was dyslexic. Because it is not possible to receive help as a dyslexic in 10th grade, the young boy could not continue in the 10th grade, which was otherwise decided. This meant that he was out of school for more than 6 months because he could first start at the VUC (The Adult Education Centre) in January. In the meantime it was difficult for him to keep his reading level.

4.5 Participation and innovation

The idea that lies behind the interview procedure that have been carried out and will be developed further in the continued research is to combine the co-construction as Kvale argues with a pedagogical reflective stance among the interview subjects and thereby already in the interview procedure strengthen the participation of the interviewee further. This may be interpreted as a combination of more traditional methods of interviewing within the social sciences with a pedagogical approach informed by the de-construction of an informational basis in order to enfold ruptures in the existing thinking. In this sense the first interviews, which will be followed up further in WP5 bring in the Kindergarten pedagogical work in relation to young parents applying the pedagogical reflexive interviews with the professionals and support new innovative pedagogical practices for this target group. This also entails the participatory research measures in relation to this alternative CA informed basis for decision making within the housing democracy. This is therefore in the research process related to both the present and the future research. If we for now focus on the insights that can be found at the present we find that the interview subjects point to a range of different activities that may be categorised as social innovation. These are:

• The “Young Mothers Concept” in the nursery where young mothers already in pregnancy show up in the day care institution and are offered some supervision about the parental role in order to make them ready for the baby.

• The Centre of Youth Education Adviser will try to get the educational institutions to co-finance projects such as Mentoring or alternative 10th grade in the purpose of making an alternative schooling for young people with special needs, social as well as educational needs.

• “The Youth Entrance” is a new (upcoming) organization of all the authorities (stakeholders, departments, centers) relevant to the young people’s life, bringing together all this in one building. The purpose of this arrangement is to ensure that there is only one entrance to “the system” around the young people and the purpose is to increase the cooperation among these.

• Toddlers’ cafe is for families where the children are not affiliated day care. The purpose is to teach children to speak Danish (preparing for school) and to give the parents the opportunity to do some (cultural-oriented) activities with their children.
• **Family Courses** giving women/mothers the opportunity to get together and talk about children and parenting. Financial support for this intervention project was rejected by the Ministry of Integration, but Landsbyggefonden (a national umbrella organization and foundation of tenants’ organization) has now funded the project.

• At the local school the **LoMa** program (Local Food) is launched, which is a lunch arrangement at the school where each class doing the lunch for one week, learning to cook and about health and nutrition.

**4.5.1 The relation between social innovation and participation**

The question of steering processes turns out to be crucial: what is steering the interventions processes and working conditions, the stakeholders refer to the municipality as the one having the power to define the overall guidelines or they are referred to as collaborators. A bottom-up construction of practice and processes is articulated again and again: we have to meet young people and their families where they are and help them from that perspective. According to the stakeholders, new interventions are constructed on the basis of the problems and needs articulated by the young people and their families. But the design of social innovation is after all constructed by the stakeholders (and sometimes in cooperation with the municipality) and not in cooperation with the youth.

**A social innovation project – Young Mothers Concept**

“**Young Mother Concept**” was established in two nursery institutions in Svendborg in 2002. Since 2002 there have been about 20 girls affiliated to the project. The manager at the nursery and some of the pedagogues were inspired by a similar project in another municipality, The project was established in collaboration with the Family Department in the municipality. The project is funded by the municipality. The municipality pays the fee 10,000 per mother per month to manage the task. The social worker prepares a plan of action, but the specific task is defined in cooperation between the municipality and the nursery, based on the individual case and the issues that appear.

According to the project the head of the Nursery is part of a cross-functional (inter-disciplinary) team including health care, family department, job center, maternal health, family center, The Mothers House (Family treatment) and the other nursery in the project.

**The target group.**

Mainly girls with a Danish background are referred to the project. The girls are from 16-30 years old, but typically they are around 20 years old when they participate. The target group is described as lonely, network poor and vulnerable young girls (women) who are either referred to the Mothers house (family treatment) or referred to the Young Mothers Concept in the nursery because the municipality or the Family Clinic is concerned about these girls’ parental skills. The girls come mainly from homes/families already known to the system because of abuse, neglect and earlier placement outside home as a part of the family story, why more attention is being paid to these girls when it turns out that they are pregnant. The girls are described as suffering from maternal deprivation and as being attachment disordered both in relation to their family, friends, lovers and children. The girls have no education and no connection to the labor market and are beneficiaries of social security.

**The wishes and dreams of the young mothers according to the professionals.**
According to the pedagogues in the nursery the girls dream about having a small family and to be a parent in a different way than they have experienced from their own childhood. They also want an education and a close connection with the labor market, but these dreams are formulated by the pedagogues on a more general level, without pointing to specific educational or occupational dreams. **Their ability to reach the dreams.** According to the pedagogues the young mothers find it difficult to attend school and work. If it rains or they are tired they do not get up and leave their home. They do not have the drive to leave or to believe that they can. With respect to their family life it is difficult for these girls to create this little family, because most have attachments problems. Therefore, they have a hard time bonding with lovers and keeping them (including the fathers of their babies), and they are in many, changing relationships with boys and have a weak network. Overall in relation to both family dreams, and educational and employment dreams, the girls are – according to the pedagogues - missing psychological resources, including self-esteem and confidence to be able to realize those dreams. **The purpose of the Young Mother Concept** The project aims to prevent placement of the child outside home and the purpose is to support and assess vulnerable mothers' parenting skills. Basically, the girls distrust the system and a central goal is to regain the girl’s confidence in the system and to improve the cooperation. The purpose is also to motivate the young girls for education and work. **Structure and participation** By referral to the “Young Mothers Concept” the social worker and the becoming mother are visiting the nursery hearing about the project and saying hallo to the pedagogues. On this basis the becoming mothers are supposed to either accept or reject to participating in the Concept. The social worker prepares a preliminary action plan with a focus on meeting dates, times, etc., 1 month after starting in the project the action plan is adjusted for the first time. Now the pedagogues have got an impression of the becoming mother and her special needs and these needs are written into the plan and provide the framework for further work. Examples of work items in the action plan:

- The mother has **to learn** to set limits for herself and not to cross the child’s boundaries
- The mother has to learn to solve conflicts
- The mother has to learn to have contact to the child and be able to “read” the child.

The “Young Mothers Concept” is divided into three formal stages but has an additional unformal forth phase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. phase</th>
<th>Before birth</th>
<th>3-4 months</th>
<th>Visiting the nursery several times a week</th>
<th>Supervision about parenting/parents’ skill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. phase</td>
<td>During the maternal leave</td>
<td>5-6 months</td>
<td>The mother taking care of the child at home</td>
<td>The contact pedagogue is visiting the mother at home twice a week, observing the home condition and the mother’s behavior and supporting the mother about parenting and practical issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. phase</td>
<td>After maternal leave</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>The child is starting in the nursery accompanied by the mother, taking care of her own child during the day in the</td>
<td>Supervision about parenting/parents’ skill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>When the child is about 1 year old</th>
<th>nursery</th>
<th>The mothers are connected to the nursery like any other parent, bringing and fetching her child everyday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

## Phase 1
In the first phase of the project (a period of 3-4 months) the becoming mother is visiting the nursery several days a week following the pedagogues in the nursery work. The pedagogues are acting as role models and are supporting and guiding the becoming mother in the role of parent/parenting.

The mothers have to participate in the daily work and handle the children in practice; change the children’s clothes (diapers), bathing them, having contact with them, setting boundaries and solving conflicts.

The pedagogues are observing how they interact with the children: do they have the eye contact, are they able to read the children, set boundaries and teach the children to set boundaries, solve conflicts, etc. According to the pedagogues, the young girls have attachments disorders and difficulties about setting boundaries. They also find it difficult to read the children and stimulate them while ignoring their own needs.

## 2nd phase
In the second phase, the mother has given birth and is taking care of the child at home. The contact pedagogue from the nursery is visiting the mother 1-2 times a week and the mother has the possibility to contact the pedagogue when needed. They are having conversations about the new situation as a mother and the pedagogue supervises and answers questions. In addition, the pedagogue observes the maternal contact with the child and the mother’s attention in relation to the child: f.i. eye contact, do the mother sit with the child or is the child left alone; does she take the baby up when the baby cries; does the mother sit with the child too much, breastfeeding too much, and so on. The pedagogue also observes the child's contact with the mother; is there an eye contact or evasive eyes, life behind the eyes, is the child active, taking contact, etc. The pedagogue also takes notice of the home conditions, meaning whether the home is a mess, dirty, whether the child has clean clothes is taken properly care of, etc.

The purpose of this second phase is in addition to supervising to maintain contact with the mother until she starts in the nursery again after the maternal leave. The purpose is also to make a contact to the child before she/he starts in the nursery in 6 months of age.

## 3rd phase
After the maternal leave the child starts in the nursery and the mother as an assistant.

As in Phase 1, the mother are taking care of the children in the nursery but with a special focus on her own child in order to train and retain parenting skills, supported and supervised by the pedagogues.

At the same time the pedagogues are working more intensive to motivate and push the mother to get an education or a job. The aim is to motivate the mother to be ready to start education training or work when the child is a year old and the third phase will be completed.

During the three formal stages there will be ongoing status meetings and the action plan is adjusted continuously. If the girls have parents who have the resources to participate in the project, they sometimes participate in the process or in the meetings.
**4th phase**
The mother stops attending the nursery while the child continues. The mother is now attending the nursery like every other parent, bringing and fetching her child. It is supposed that the mother should start in education or work.

**How many participants?**
During the years 2002-2014 approximately 20 mothers were assigned to the project. Two mothers can participate at the same time. The girls are aged 16-30 years, with a typical age of about 20 years.
The girls have to show up in the nursery in order to receive social cash assistance.
During the 12 years 1-2 babies have been placed outside home in connection with their mother’s participation in the Young Mother Concept. According to the pedagogues, they have acted on special heavy cases where the mother in one case has been mentally handicapped, meaning that her performance of parenting skills was not considered as realistic.

**Barriers in the young mother life in terms of being a good parent**
The participating girls come from disadvantaged homes where there has been a lack of resources and parenting skills. They suffer from attachment disorder and find it difficult to bond with their children. In addition, the girls have no network and neither family nor any social support in the local environment. The girls have no parenting role models, including support and guidance about parenting.

**Possibilities or barriers regarding to the Young Mothers Concept**
The Young Mother Concept gives young mothers an opportunity to engage in a relationship with caring adults, working on the relationship and on a confidence ratio. In addition, the project gives young mothers the opportunity to be part of a working community and learn the benefits of that: e.g. meeting in time, keeping a job and being responsible for a number of tasks, to be committed, etc.
The pedagogues do not experience that the girls have better opportunities to get into an education or to get a job (participating in the Concept is not a shortcut to education or work), but the pedagogues support with practical issues and the girls get an insight into working life and the basic structure of working life and everyday life, and the pedagogues push them to get further in life.
The arrangement gives the young mothers more confidence both as parents and also in relation to other people and make them belief that everything is possible and that it pays to get up in the morning, even if it rains and arrive at work in time. This knowledge will help to motivate the mothers when after finishing the project they have to be in education and work situation
The young mothers learn, according to the pedagogues, to identify new opportunities and have more confidence in their own skills and abilities – to be able to do something and change things in life.
The girls must experience that they are surrounded by caring adults who support them and show them what to do and what they need and give them the opportunity to show what they can; support them and motivate them, both about parenting, but also about being participants in education and employment. Strengthen self-esteem and self-confidence and "help the girls to find a drive in themself." (interview, pedagogue)
Talking about the organization, the pedagogues did not mention any kind of barrier according to their own practice in the Concept. By contrast, the pedagogues were talking about the freedom about not being a part of the authority in charge (the decision makers), but rather be able to work with the relationship, dialog and the daily activities in the nursery.
What happens to the mothers after participating in the concept?
The contact to the mothers becomes limited when the project is completed and the children have finished nursery going to kindergarten or school. But in some cases mothers are keeping up contact with the nursery or live in the area so that the pedagogues meet them.
The first mother who participated in the project in 2002 lives in the area with her now 12-year-old daughter. The pedagogues meet her often and they do not feel as if there has been twelve years of separation. After the mother stopped in the project she apprenticed to be a hairdresser and took a makeup artist training. Another mother moved to Jutland (another part of Denmark), but when she had to have her second child, she moved back so she could enroll the child in the nursery (but not as part of the project).

There are no mothers who have been assigned to the project by their second child. The assumption of the pedagogues is that the parenting skills are improved after being in the project.

Most of the mothers are getting into education or a job after being a part of the Concept (according to the 4. phase), but there are no knowledge about how life is develops after the child have left for kindergarten or school.114 A few mothers are still connected to the area and meet the pedagogues once in a while.

4.5.2 The young people's voices
An important aspect of the study is the voice of the young people. In the following we present the voices of young mothers participating in the “Young mothers Concept” and the young people’s perspectives on needs, dreams, possibilities, etc.

Reason for participation in the Young Mothers Concept
The municipality was concerned about the girls and their children because of former drug abuse, a conflicted relationship with the young mother’s boyfriend (child's father), growing up with mental illness among parents and with neglect, etc. The girls were about 20 years old when they become pregnant and attached to the project.

The process in the Young mothers Concept
One respondent started in the project right after she became pregnant, but the pedagogues in the nursery quickly assessed that she did not need to be part of the project. Still, she meets up in the nursery right up to birth. This means that after birth and during maternity leave, she gets only 2-3 visits of pedagogues and the visits stopped because she was able to manage the parenting situation. The respondent did not continue in the nursery after childbirth, but was invited to ask the pedagogues for advice as she needed. The daughter has been enrolled in the nursery since finishing of the maternity leave and the respondent has therefore daily contact with the nursery.

The other respondent says that she started the project when she was 3-4 months in her pregnancy and after birth the pedagogues followed her during maternity leave, 1 time per week in her home. When the child was 6 months old, she followed the child in the nursery a few months. Then she stops in the project and continues her educational process. The daughter is still enrolled in the nursery and the mother is in daily contact with the pedagogues.

Both respondents were in the process assessed as attentive mothers with good contact with their children and a good feel for the children's needs and development. Both girls were

114 This information is also retrieved from material about the Young Mothers Concept
generally not in doubt that they would be good parents and was not nervous about not being able to handle the situation as a mother.

Participation

The Young Mothers Concept is described by the girls as an offer, which they had to accept. The alternative was participating in other measures where the mothers should be observed and assessed on their parenting skills: "I was well aware that if I said no to the offer, then there would be even more control when I first got [the child], because why did she say no? What does she have to hide?" (interview, young mother). The social worker introduced them very superficially to the project; one girl says that the social worker did not know enough about the project and made a wrong picture of the project. Later when the girls began attending the nursery, they experienced, that the project was totally different. One of the respondents was given a leaflet, which among other things sad that one had to start in the nursery after childbirth, when the baby was 3 months old, and the respondent was angry not having the same rights as all other (6 months maternity leave). When talking to the pedagogues this issue depends on the individual course. Moreover it was formulated in the leaflet, that the girls would be observed (monitored) and assessed according to their parenting skills. This gave the girls a wrong first impression of the project and the pedagogues.

Both girls expressed - both directly and indirectly – that the attitude of the social workers has been difficult to work with and had made a feeling of aversion towards the project and the pedagogues. One respondent felt immediately that it would be nice and cozy because she wanted to be a pedagogue herself and she is fond of children, but because she was forced to go into the project since she did not feel comfortable.

In contrast to the introduction by the social workers, the project has been positive for both girls and they have experienced being treated inclusive and nice by the pedagogues and have not experienced being monitored. One of the girls says that she never thought that she needed to go to the project, but still choose to see it as a chance to get the support in a new situation in life as a mother. The respondent also says that she knows several who participated in the project and feel that it is a compulsion and feel that they have been monitored, but the respondent has seen it as an opportunity; "What can I get out of it? I am going to be with kids and get an insight into an age that I do not know so much about. At the same time, the pedagogues will know me and my child much better before she has to start here [in the nursery] "(interview, young mother). The respondent has, as mentioned before, daily contact with the nursery, and still use the pedagogues about various issues that she can’t ask her family about, because their approach to parenting is so different from her own. In addition, she experiences it as an advantage to get different answers to her questions from different pedagogues with different experiences rather than offered only one solution. "It gives the opportunity to try some different things and see what works for us" (interview, young mother).

One of the girls has given birth to a child with a minor disability, and this has required some strengths and resources, especially the first few years, where the child has to undergo some tests, surgeries, etc.. This has been demanding for both mother and child and it has retarded the child’s development. That mother has therefore been pleased with the contact to the pedagogues, as she has been able to share concerns about her child's disability before birth and through the child's first year. She said that the very good progress of her child in the nursery is connected to the mother's inside information about the daily life of the nursery including children's social life in the nursery. The mother has had an internal knowledge that
formed the basis for the support she gives her daughter; how children play together, what are children arguing about/having conflicts about, kids are coming home with bruises because they are playing, the children stop crying when the mother left the nursery, and so on. This insider knowledge has made the mother much more comfortable about the child's everyday lives and well-being in the nursery.

The educators, according to the mother, stated that it was good for them to meet a child with this kind of disability, so they got some experience with it, so in that context, the mother also experienced a reciprocal relationship.

The girls have not been participating in the decision about goals and what should be done during the project. They have no recollection of being involved in the targets what was written into the action plan. In contrast, both respondents say that they have been heard by the pedagogues during the process and have been involved in the daily life in the nursery. They have been part of everyday life and have been treated as a colleague. They were offered information about different issues, for example food for small children, and had the opportunity to follow the “lady in the kitchen” if they feel like it: “We were never told that ‘now we just have to observe you feeding you baby with a bottle’ "(interview, young mother)

**Other offers / opportunities**

On the question of whether the two mothers have been involved in other project or measures during their the last 5-10 years, one mother is telling that through pregnancy she went to a psychologist, and when she has given birth, she joined an arrangement for young mothers under 25 years. Initially, she went to the midwife and gradually she became associated with a mother's group for mothers less than 25 years, where she went every 14th days. They have dinner and enjoyed themselves. Connected to the mothers group was a social worker with knowledge about children and a health visitor. At the same time, within this “under 25” arrangement the respondent starts lessons with a therapist. But the interaction between her and the therapist was not that good, so it stopped quickly.

The advantage of this arrangement was the possibility to meet other mothers on a neutral ground so that it was organized and there was room for all. The respondent thinks that this kind of organized arrangement (mothers group) should be offered more widely because it is easier for many mothers to cope with.

The downsize was that the others were too young and only talked about the next party in town. Conversation topics by the mother's group seemed irrelevant and immature in light of the fact that the respondent had a child with a minor disability. The respondent calls for a mothers group with a broader age group.

**Dreams in life**

One of the girls wants to create a different life for her daughter than she had: f.i. give intimacy to her child as her own mother has not been able to because of depressions (and the grandmother to the mother), thus breaking a family pattern. She would also like to eventually find another place to stay because of lack of space and problems with the landlord.

She doesn’t want an education right now because she can’t handle the pressure. But for now she will be pleased with an unskilled job such as a cashier in the supermarket. In the long term she wants to have an education, "it would be cool to be able to say I can do this!" (interview, young mother). The respondent doesn’t know why she is afraid of school and educational situations. She did well in school until about 8th grade, but does not like other people to decide what she should learn and be able to, and so on and she doesn’t like the pressure of examines and good grades.
Barriers in life

One of the respondents says that she got in trouble at school after 8th grade. She did not like the pressure in school, got tired of school and dropped out in most of the 9th grade. The respondent felt confident in one of her teachers and told her about the problems at home. The teacher called a meeting with the mother and the municipality and recommended that the girl should be associated with the school psychologist. The mother refused, and then nothing further happened.

After moving to another part of Denmark together with a boyfriend she at one point admits that she has ended up with the wrong friends and with a substantial abuse problem, the respondent says stop and calls her doctor for help. The doctor offers her conversations every 3 months and some pills. The girl needed psychological help, but could not afford the co-payment.

Has recently started at VUC few times a week, but had to stop because it was too heavy a burden for her. She has been talking to her psychologist about it and has chosen to see the possibility in finding a job without education as an option.

Over time the respondent has been meeting social workers who have not “seen” the respondent and have not talked to the respondent about life and problems: "You look as healthy" even if the respondent was suffering from depression. Do not being approached with involvement and openness of the authorities who make the decisions.

One of the respondents says that her current social worker is open and let the girl participate in decisions and I her own life: "I will not be pressured into anything and I have the right to say “no” without being threatened or deducted in social security"(interview, young mother). The explanation is – according to the respondent - that the social worker is young and "has not been on the stick for so long", and seems like someone who really goes into her work.

People with importance for the young girls are described as people being able to see the problems of the respondents and have been able to act on them; involvement of the respondent in the process of decision making, people getting in a dialogue with the respondents, etc. It means something that other people spend time to talk: "It meant that I had more confidence in the project ... when other people seem interested in me - and really is interested - it is much easier to be yourself and if I have not been able to be myself in this project, it had not given anything. So you pull away and hide behind a wall (...) "(interview, young mother)

Standardized offerings, for example. Mothers groups for mothers of a certain age, not fit for certain needs and standardized offer of medical conversations every 3 months and some pills - and a too expensive psychological treatment – do not meet the needs of a depressive woman and do not look like an opportunity to move on in life. The problem according to the respondent is a lack of doing things more flexible and adequate according to a specific frame/structure.
It is characteristic for the girls is that they in many ways are moving on in life with none or insufficient support – by their own decisions and strength - with a focus on education, on a life without drugs and on another way of being a mother.

4.5.3 The perspectives of the professionals versus the youngsters
In the following we will point out and discus some of the perspectives articulated in the interviews and related to themes like the target group, interventions and services, including possibilities and participation. Finally, the voices of the professionals will be compared with the voices of the young people.

Perspectives on the target group
First, we shed light on the perspectives on the target group and the problem categories connected to the target group, both generally among the professionals in the area and more specific to the Young mothers Concept.
One respondent describes the conditions of her own life situation related to family problems, including growing up with absent parents, neglect and mental illness. She has a very limited network and she has neither education nor job. This picture is consistent with the professionals' descriptions of the problems of the young mothers and more generally the descriptions of family related problems according to young people in the local area. At the same time the young girls do not connect themselves with their families according to their present situation and the future; they disconnect themselves and distance themselves from the family problems – trying to do something else, creating another life.
According to the pedagogues in the nursery attachment disorders commonly form the basis for the girls to be associated with the project. However, it is assumed that none of the interviewed girls has these disorders.
Moreover, it turns out that all the professionals interviewed in the various institutions and offers in the local area emphasize families of different ethnic background than Danish, focusing on the cultural and lingual barrier. Through the 12 years that the Young Mother Concept has been running, there have been only 1-2 women of another ethnic background than Danish connected to the concept out of 20 women in all. One of the issues emphasized in connection with the mothers of Young Mothers Concept is that they are lonely and have a limited network. An assumption may be that there are differences in family structures and values, including the extent of the network in different families depending on cultural background (cf. p. 8 in this report).

Interventions and services – possibilities and participation
As mentioned earlier and summed up on basis of the 12 interviews with professionals in the area the interventions and services are based on the knowledge and insight that the professionals have about the young people and their families. A (social) pedagogical and psychological/therapeutic understanding and approach is articulated based on ‘conversation’ or ‘dialogue’, including a narrative approach, with a focus on strengthening the relationship and aiming at openness, trust and new insights for the young people about them self. The purpose is to meet the young people where they are and in that perspective meet them in their needs.
According to the girls in the Young mother Concept, this kind of approach is reflected in the project, in particular in the relationship with the pedagogues. But this form of intervention is not reflected when the girls are talking about the cooperation with the social worker.
It is important for the girls to be seen and heard as the human beings and personalities they are and with special needs and resources. They react on being put into boxes categorized by
their age, parents' problems, their youth life (previous abuse, lack of education or job) and squeezed into some other boxes that somebody finds adequate for them in their situation. The girls have some idea of needs and resources. They react on not being involved and consulted in decision-making about their own lives and development. They react on not having a choice, feeling forced to accept an offer. One of the girls is fond of children and would like to become a pedagogue. She pursued the dream of getting a Bachelor degree in Social Education. Still, she lost the desire to participate in the project, though she could see the opportunities participating in the project (be in a nursery, be with children, etc..) Because the social worker presented it as something she should. However, when she got started and found out that she was not treated as one that should be forced and did not feel monitored, but felt involved in the everyday life at the nursery and treated as a colleague, she was happy to be there. The second respondent explains that the time together with the pedagogues makes her being herself and not in need of hiding herself. She could thus be present and collaborate with pedagogues.

Social workers supposed to have a different role than the pedagogues in the field. They have the authority to make decisions. This probably creates a different setting between young and professional. However, another attitude could still be used according to the youngsters. The goal of the public administration is to assess the needs of the young people and make decisions about proportional offers. But how can this position become less compulsive oriented and more acceptable, i.e. how do social workers present offers that are actually enforced in an acceptable way, so young people see opportunities in the specific offer; there should be some options when the social workers believe that the offer has something to give and is good for the young and their development. Another aspect to be mentioned is that the two girls from the Young Mother Concept, according to both the pedagogues and the young themselves, had good and natural parenting skills and abilities and felt sure of themselves in their role as mothers. Presumably this creates a more relaxed atmosphere and a more equal relationship between the young mothers and the pedagogues, and gives the young mothers more freedom in their relationship with the pedagogues - and, conversely, gives more freedom to the pedagogues in their relationships with young people; the role as the one to monitor, supervise and assess parent skills is transformed into a more collegial role. The relationship between young and pedagogues can presumably be more strained for the young mothers with less self-confidence and with more questionable parenting abilities. The two interviewees have knowledge about girls participating in the concept who did not like to be involved in the project and who felt monitored and forced.

The information basis – barriers and possibilities
the information basis of the social workers about the Young mothers Concept also represents the information basis of the youth in correlation with the “entrance” of the project. These introductory practices – with a lack of information about the project - impact negatively the girls’ opportunities to start in the project with a positive and open mind. The first presentation of the project gives the young girls reluctance to participate in the project for several reasons. First, the project is introduced as a compulsory; something the girls have to participate in and if not they should be engaged in another effort where they also got monitored and assessed in their parenting skills. Second, the description of the project is focusing on monitoring and parenting assessment. In all, the girls have a hard time seeing themselves within this framework. New information was affecting the girls' information basis with respect to the further practical involvement in the Concept. This new information basis was created on the information basis
of the pedagogues in the nursery. The girls met openness in relation to being a part of daily life in the nursery and through conversations the girls experienced that they were seen and heard and they could open up and identify themselves in the Concept.

4.6 Discussion and conclusions

The aim has been to identify local stakeholders' role and tasks (which covers professionals and local policy makers) as well as their views on youth policies in relation to innovative practices for vulnerable youth living in disadvantaged city areas in Denmark.

We have basically been interested in pursuing how young people's possibilities, wishes and demands are raised, strengthened, transformed or put aside. The question is how professionals are accommodating or incorporating disadvantaged young people's needs in their professional judgment represented by the information basis? And how does this affect young people’s possibilities in life? With a certain focus on one project - The “Young mothers Concept” - it has been possible to grasp the young people’s perspective as well on possibilities, wishes, participation, information basis, etc. within a specific social innovation project.

The information basis according to the life situation of young people is mainly constructed by a social / socio-economic perspective. The prevailing focus is on the family and young people's social problems characterized by neglect, abuse, crime, alcohol, violence as well as families without a social network, affected by mental and social problems, poverty and unemployment. In the interviews a certain focus has been expressed on families with another ethnic background than Danish and their difficulties concerning the language and the cultural and social codes. In a few cases the descriptions of the young people’s problems are focusing on the problem behavior in school but these problems are always one way or another connected to the social problems of the family and the lack of cultural capital within the family and not to school structure or circumstances.

The problem related picture of the life story is also articulated by the young mothers but the young girls do not relate with their families and make a distance to the family problems in order to develop some other conditions in life and for their own child. The general focus on families with another ethnic background than Danish is not corresponding with the low amount of women with another ethnical background participating the “Young Mothers Concept” during time.

In a correspondence analytical perspective, the main problem of Svendborg city (the local area of Byparken and Skovparken) is low education and a high unemployment rate. It is also possible to see a linear relation between disadvantaged city areas on the so called “ghetto list”, poverty and people having no job nor being in education. That is, people from this city area are supposed to live in poverty. Poverty is mentioned in the interviews when the professionals are talking about the problems of the young people, but the specific problems connected to poverty – defining the issues of poverty in the families - are not articulated or discussed.

The information basis according to different interventions and offers has a focus on integration of families with different ethnic background than Danish and to a lesser extent a focus on ethnic Danish families. In a specific school-related perspective the purpose of the interventions is to include and motivate children, young people and their parents to stay in school and in an educational process. Several social innovation projects are running in the local area.

The predominant method within the different services is ‘conversation’ or ‘dialogue’ focusing on strengthening the relationship between professional and target group, creating openness and trust. Mostly a bottom-up construction of practice and processes is articulated, meeting
the young people and their families where they are, trying to help them from that perspective. So according to the professionals, new interventions are constructed on the basis of the problems and needs articulated by the young people and their families – giving space to the voices of the youth – but at the same time the design of social innovation projects is constructed by the professionals and decisions made by the professionals - and sometimes in cooperation with the municipality - but not in cooperation with the youth. According to the girls in the “Young mother Concept”, the dialogical approach is reflected in the project, in the relationship with the pedagogues. By contrast, this approach is not reflected when the girls are talking about the cooperation with the social worker. The girls are talking about being forced to accept the offer and furthermore the information basis of the social workers according to the “Young mothers Concept”, with a focus on monitoring and parent skills assessment, has a negative impact on the information basis of the youth in the introduction phase. New information was affecting the girls' information basis with respect to the further practical involvement in the Concept. This new information basis was created on the information basis of the pedagogues in the nursery based on conversation, dialogue, involvement, etc.

Further perspectives in relation to WP5: Finally, we will account for possible perspectives according to the WP5, based on previous interviews. How do constructions about target groups contain certain problems and offers – and what kind of impact can be seen with respect to the relationship and the cooperation between young people and professionals? What kind of problems does “poverty” reflect in the young people’s life and which impact does “poverty” have for their living, dreams, possibilities, participation, etc.

According to the relationship between professionals and young people; how to involve young people in their own life with regard to the needs of young people on one side and with respect to the role and task of the decision makers on the other side? What kind of barriers are to be identified?

And eventually: what kind of knowledge about the practice of participation is to observe about young mothers with a less positive experience about the project? What kind of possibilities or barriers could be identified?

References

Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

- Kant, I. (1922 [1790]). *Kritik der Urteilskraft: DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN BIBLIOTHEK BAND 39*. LEIPZIG: VERLAG VON FELIX MEINER.
Appendix
The following policy areas which was within focus for WP3 is of relevance for WP4 within the Danish case due to the situation that: “The policies that relate to the deprived city district of interest in Denmark are multidimensional in relation to the areas of “education”, “employment” and “lived experiences”, whereas it is found that a number of different national policies relate to the micro level practice on social innovation and social support measures for disadvantaged youth.” (WP3 report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Policy or Programme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social benefits</td>
<td>Reform on social benefits “Kontanthjælpsreformen”</td>
<td>The reform on social benefits is part of a number of reforms that lately have been worked out. The reform has resulted in a number of revised legislations. The revisions are stated in the two revisions: “Lov om ændring af lov om aktiv socialpolitik, SU-loven, lov om børnetilskud og forskudsvis udbetaling af børnebidrag og forskellige andre love” (<a href="https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.asp?id=152754">link</a>); ” Lov om ændring af lov om en aktiv beskæftigelsesindsats, lov om ansvaret for og styringen af den aktive beskæftigelsesindsats og forskellige andre love” (<a href="https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.asp?id=152756">link</a>)&lt;br&gt;The agreement on the reform can be found on the homepage (<a href="http://bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Kontanthjaelpsreform.aspx">link</a>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social housing</td>
<td>Policy on the support and regulation of social housing</td>
<td>The policy on the regulation of social housing estates has been an issue of major political discussion during 2013. The question has focused on the basis for labelling an housing estate as a “ghetto”. The regulation of this policy area can be found in: “Bekendtgørelse af lov om almene boliger m.v.” (Bekendtgørelse af lov om almene boliger m.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early retirement and disability</td>
<td>Reform of the legislation regarding benefits for early retirement due to disabilities</td>
<td>The reform on benefits and early retirement is part of a number of reforms that lately have been worked out. The changes are available within the active labour market initiatives, the so-called “Bekendtgørelse af lov om en aktiv beskæftigelsesindsats” (<a href="https://www.retsinformation.dk/forms/R0710.aspx?id=146382#Kap12a">link</a>)&lt;br&gt;The political agreement on the reform can be found on the ministries homepage (<a href="http://bm.dk/da/Beskaeftigelsesomraadet/Flere%20i%20arbejde/Reform%20af%20foertidspension%20og%20fleksjob.aspx">link</a>)</td>
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5. ITALY – Local social support networks analysis in Milan (Lombardy) and Naples (Campania) (by Giuseppe Acconcia*, Alberta M.C. Spreafico^, Enrica Chiappero-Martinetti^ and Paolo R. Graziano°)

(* University of Pavia, (^ University of Pavia and the Institute of Advanced Studies of Pavia (IUSS), (°) Bocconi University and IUSS

Abstract

This report analyzes youth policies that have been put in place to tackle inequalities and disadvantage at the meso and micro level. The evaluation of the effectiveness of existing policies and social programmes targeting deprived young populations in Lombardy (Milan) and Campania (Naples) is provided through a review of secondary data, regional and provincial statistics and a qualitative empirical research component comprised of nineteen semi-directive interviews.

In Wp3, a dynamic and plural definition of disadvantaged youth has been provided, in reference with the notion of “corrosive disadvantage”. The most vulnerable amongst young generation have been defined as the long-term unemployed young people (15-24 years old) with low educational levels. Moreover, the Capability Approach has been used to frame the notion of social innovation at the local level.

The definition of disadvantaged youth, provided at the national level, has been challenged or confirmed at the meso and micro level. The economic crisis especially affected the Southern Italian regions where the number of young unemployed (the majority female) and young Neither in Employment nor Education nor Training (NEETs) are high. On the other hand, the young unemployed immigrants in the Northern Italian regions are increasing.

Three specific policies appeared relevant for tackling youth unemployment at the local level: the Youth Guarantee, the apprenticeship’ contracts and the employment support services. With some differences between the two case studies, the three policies seem to not be innovative enough and lacking financial resources.

Disadvantaged youth are not sufficiently involved in the policy making processes. They are not represented enough within unions, the public administration and in the third sector. Young people do not directly participate to the negotiation processes of the major policies tackling unemployment and social exclusion.

At the local level, the definition of social innovation is very broad. Albeit, the existing policies tackling young unemployment are generally perceived as not socially innovative, the Youth Guarantee has been considered as a first attempt to provide a targeted approach towards this concern. However, other, mostly bottom-up, good practices have been addressed within the framework of existing public policies.
The key findings derived from this research lead us to outline a general underdevelopment of the current youth public policies at the local level, especially in the Italian Southern regions. Finally, in reference with the Informational Basis of Judgment of Justice (IBJJ), other forms of disadvantage (e.g. young unemployed with high levels of education, lack of funding for passive policies) and a lack of policy outcomes’ evaluation have been considered.

5.1 Introduction

The research conducted in Wp3, which concentrated on a macro level of analysis, revealed that the most vulnerable sub-group of young people were those long-term unemployed with low educational levels. In this investigation, we build upon the previous findings to sample our target groups of disadvantaged youth at the meso and micro levels. This chapter is focused on vulnerable youth and on its definition at the regional and urban levels with reference to two case studies related to the most populous and developed among Northern (Lombardy) and Southern (Campania) Italian cities: Milan and Naples. The two regions have been chosen in order to disentangle the role of social support networks at meso and micro levels in relation to economic and social inequalities for a broader analysis of the consequences of unemployment on disadvantaged youth.

Lombardy and Campania have a different degree of economic development and distinct labour markets. On the one hand, before the 2008 economic crisis, Lombardy’s labour market grew more than elsewhere in Italy. For this reason, the region kept unemployment levels among the lowest in the country (ISTAT, 2014).

On the other hand, the labour market in Campania has been severely affected by the 2008’s economic crisis. Employment has decreased and, in parallel, the number of people seeking a new work has risen. Therefore, the unemployment rate is one of the highest in Italy (ISTAT, 2014), see Graph I.

Graph I: Unemployment rate in Italy, Campania and Lombardy 2008-2013, (ISTAT, 2014)
The aim of this chapter is to empirically examine and evaluate the effectiveness of existing policies and social programmes at the local level in order to consider more specific policies put in place for disadvantaged youth and their potentially reinforcing effects or lack of thereof. The aim is to disentangle the series of regional and urban interventions targeted at reducing severe inequalities currently present amongst young generations, especially in the context of an economic crisis that is leading to further increased inequalities across levels of human capital attainment, gender and age groups.

This will be done in reference to the Capability Approach that provides the basis for analyzing and evaluating and initiating social innovation at the local level. In other words, it allows to understand the conditions under which individuals can live a life they have reason to value – through “living experiences” and change-oriented “capacity-building” (Chiappero-Martinetti, 2008).

Thus, this chapter:
- Identifies which actors at the local level who are responsible for the development and delivery of employment policies and what is the level of participation of disadvantaged youth;
- Identifies forms of social innovation and its role in the delivery and development of existing and new youth employment policies;
- Evaluates at the meso level the relevant existing employment youth policies in relation to disadvantage;

This chapter will specifically focus on youth employment in Milan and Naples. Moreover, the effectiveness in tackling the youth exclusion of three specific policies will be considered at the local level: Youth Guarantee, apprenticeship contracts and public employment services. Firstly, the Youth Guarantee has the aim of beginning a long-term plan to tackle youth unemployment with the target to favor fixed term contracts and auto-entrepreneurship. Secondly, apprenticeship contracts for young people have the target to favor internships of students and young people looking for a first occupation, especially in disadvantaged areas. Thirdly, public employment providers (Centri per l’impiego) have the aim to facilitate job matching and to favor youth employment at the local level.

The two case studies (Milan and Naples) have a particular interest in relation to disadvantaged youth participation and innovation. The participation of disadvantaged youth in policy making is achieved if young people have effective capability to voice their problems and make them count in the policy-making process. This process requires the active participation of all young people, whatever are their social, educational and ethnic backgrounds.115

Moreover, social innovation relates to social needs that are not yet fulfilled. This implies that social innovation allows discovering new needs or new methods to fulfill unmet needs116.

Finally, the link between social innovation and participation will be discussed: more specifically, the space of local actors to express and enforce their views117 will be explored. Moreover, there is a link between social innovation and education at the meso level

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115 This definition is based on the framework provided at the macro level in Wp3 report.
116 This definition is based on the framework provided at the macro level in Wp3 report.
117 Ibid.
Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

(especially in reference to vocational trainings and apprenticeship’ contracts). New solutions for new demands or needs in the educational field include innovative and participatory forms of education.

5.2 Methods

This chapter will provide an overview of relevant public interventions in the field of youth unemployment policies at the local level in Italy. The methodology adopted has two components:

a) Collection of available regional and urban data

This is will be done through a review of secondary data.

b) Semi-directive interviews

The interviewees are prominent stakeholders engaged in the definition of public policies at the meso level tackling problematic issues related to youth unemployment. The data, collected through the interviews, in combination with the secondary data, will allow a comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of recent public policies aimed at tackling the increasing rates of youth unemployment and labour market inequalities, especially in disadvantaged areas with a perspective regards to the micro-level.

The interviews are problem-centered with the aim to define: subjects and objects of the public interventions, evaluate the effectiveness of these policies, describe the specific needs and demands of unemployed youth at the local level, their level of participation, structural and social factors influencing policies (including market discriminations), derive a definition of social innovation and good practices in place in the urban considered contexts of Milan and Naples. The empirical research will involve local government policy makers (Ministry of Welfare and Youth), public employment services and other employment services’ providers (e.g. public stakeholders, such as Centri per l’impiego, and third sector operators, such as Forum del Terzo Settore), trade unions (namely CGIL and CISL) and business associations (Confindustria)\textsuperscript{118}. Table I shows the numbers of interviewees per relevant entity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I: number of interviewees per type of relevant institution:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional/local government policy makers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment support service providers (public and third sector)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{118} The interviews have been done between 26 April 2014 and 30 June 2014 in Milan and Naples. This is the full list of the interviewees: 1) Pierfrancesco Majorino, Councilman for Welfare, Milan Municipality; 2) Alessandra Clemente, Councilwoman Social Affairs and Youth, Naples Municipality; 3) Luca Sorrentino, President of Legacoop sociali Napoli; 4) Felice Romeo, President Legacoop sociali Lombardia; 5), 6) CGIL Campania (Italian Trade Union Labour Confederation), responsible for Welfare and Youth: Angelo Savio, Secretary general New Job Identities (Nidil), Andrea Pastore, (Nidil) and Antonella Paciglio, Provincial Secretary for Welfare; 8), 9) CGIL Lombardy (Italian Trade Union Labour Confederation), Regional Secretary, Nino Baseotto, responsible for Youth policies and Fulvia Colombini, Youth Guarantee delegate; 10), 11) CISL Campania, Industrial policies and Job market, Carmen Costagliola and Luca Barilà, Vocational training and Work policies; 12), 13), 14) CISL Lombardy, Industrial policies, Welfare and Youth Paola Gilardoni, Regional Secretary, Roberto Benaglia and responsible for the Labour market, Luigi Maffezzoli; 15), 16), Confindustria Napoli (General Italian Industry Confederation), Vincenzo Caputo, director of the Young Entrepreneurs and Confindustria Lombardia. Ilaria Pozzoli, staff and youth policies; 17) 18) Employment support providers Naples-Scampia, director Tiziana Della Volpe; Employment support providers Milan-Quarto Oggiaro, director Francesca Casanova and Luciana Nanotti, Youth Guarantee delegate. All the stakeholders involved in this research gave the permission to use their interviews.
All these policy-makers and stakeholders operate at the local level. They have been selected on the basis of their long and specific experience in defining public policies for youth – especially targeted at unemployment –, for their applied approach towards disadvantaged youth and/or for their social engagement in social innovation practices. Finally, some of the interviewees, especially involved in trade unions, have been engaged in enhancing youth participation in order to provide a better representation of youth rights and present good practices in the definition of policies oriented to youth empowerment, to ameliorate their possibilities in finding a job, to facilitate the entrance in the labour market and face periods of transitions between two jobs. Finally, existing policies (e.g. apprenticeship programmes, Social Card, etc.) will be assessed and innovative strategies will be identified in the field of youth policy.

Thus said, in the next section, a description of the areas in relation to inequality and disadvantaged youth will be provided. In section 5, the specific policies used to tackle inequalities at the regional and urban level amongst youth will be assessed. In section 6, the extent of youth participation in policy-making will be introduced. Moreover, in section 7, innovation will be defined in reference to a number of good practices. Finally, the place of the youth in the making of the Informational basis of judgements of justice will be discussed (IBJJ).

5.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth

The Italian economy has been harshly hit by the 2008 economic crisis. The detrimental effects have been diversified in type and extent across social categories and youth experienced the hardest consequences. Moreover, the Italian labour market is greatly unequal across regions, with the South registering the highest overall unemployment rates (Graph II) as well as youth unemployment\(^{119}\).

Graph II: Unemployment Rate by macro regions, 15 years and over, Italy, 2006Trimester1-2013Trimester2 (ISTAT, our calculations)

\(^{119}\) A more comprehensive analysis on the national labour market and the effects of the economic crisis is provided in Wp3 report.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement). 154
5.3.1 Case selection explanation

The traditional differences among the Italian Southern and Northern regions have increased while the economic crisis was surfacing. Moreover, the distinctions among the two macro regions had differentiated social effects during the economic crisis related to the major difficulties for the disadvantaged areas to contrast the growing inequalities. In the Southern regions, this happened especially for the weakness of industrial productivity and a less innovative and internationalized labour market.

In six years (2007-2013), the Italian GDP decreased by 8.7% (7.1% in the Centre and Northern regions and 13.5% in the Southern, ISTAT 2014). Thus, since the early 2000s the Southern Italian regions have been affected by a stronger impact of the economic decline (refer to Graph II). This has been brought about by a structural transformation of the Italian productive system with a specific decrease of the production levels of the manufacturing sector. As a consequence, the unemployment rates increased in the Southern Italian regions more than in the Northern. As seen in the Graph III, the unemployment rate increased from 13% to 21.7% in the Southern regions compared to 4.6% to 10.3% in the Northern.

Graph III: Different evolutions of GDP in Northern and Southern Italy, 1995-2013

In addition, the number of youth Neither in Employment nor Education nor Training (NEETs) is dramatically high in Italy: it reached 21.4% at the end of 2012 (OECD Employment Outlook, 2013) positioning Italy only after Greece and Turkey amongst OECD countries. The discouraging effects of the crisis on Italian youth are apparent especially in the Southern regions, as shown by the Table II (NEET per region and gender). On the one hand, the NEET in Campania are almost 396,000 (30.4%), half of them did not conclude the primary schools (Italia Lavoro, 2014). On the other hand, in Italy, the lower levels of NEET among the young generations are in Lombardy with 14.7%.

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121 Ibid.
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Table II- NEET (15-24 years) per region and gender - (Italia Lavoro, 2013)
Regions
Piemonte
Valle d'Aosta
Lombardy
Trentino-Alto Adige
Veneto
Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Liguria
Emilia-Romagna
Toscana
Umbria
Marche
Lazio
Abruzzo
Molise
Campania
Puglia
Basilicata
Calabria
Sicilia
Sardegna
Northern Regions
Centre
Southern Regions
Italy

Women
Men
Number of NEET
31,655
33,849
..
..
63,101
69,131
6,229
6,128
40,265
33,574
9,188
8,210
9,231
10,659
28,961
25,605
26,579
23,071
6,415
7,307
10,205
11,745
50,822
56,430
11,956
11,890
2,793
3,225
107,128
117,199
64,247
62,836
6,807
9,057
31,739
39,549
90,491
100,930
18,592
23,670
189,477
187,900
94,021
98,554
333,751
368,356
617,249
654,810

Total
65,505
1,590
132,232
12,357
73,839
17,398
19,890
54,567
49,650
13,722
21,950
107,253
23,846
6,017
224,327
127,083
15,864
71,288
191,420
42,262
377,377
192,575
702,107
1,272,059

Women
NEET Rate
16.8
..
14.4
11.6
18.0
18.2
14.5
16.1
17.1
16.1
14.3
18.7
18.2
17.0
29.5
27.9
21.2
27.0
30.2
23.3
15.8
17.5
27.7
21.0

Men

Total

17.2
..
14.9
10.9
14.3
15.9
15.8
13.4
14.1
17.4
15.7
19.6
17.2
18.8
31.2
25.9
26.7
32.3
32.4
27.9
14.8
17.3
29.3
21.1

17.0
14.1
14.7
11.2
16.1
17.0
15.1
14.7
15.5
16.8
15.0
19.2
17.7
17.9
30.4
26.9
24.0
29.7
31.3
25.7
15.3
17.4
28.5
21.1

As evident in Table III, the young generations (15-29) appeared relatively more prone to be
inactive in the 20-24 years cohort in Lombardy than in Campania were the percentage is
higher among the 25-29 years old.
Table III – NEET Rate (15-29 years) per region and age – (Italia Lavoro 2013)
Total 1515-19 years
29 years
NEET Rate
109,237
9.2
2,417
7.0
229,985
8.9
21,798
9.0
122,164
10.1
28,653
6.3
36,150
8.4
94,291
7.0
92,556
8.7
24,609
10.6
41,102
9.1
189,637
8.5
41,881
11.2
12,822
7.5
396,254
17.9
225,738
18.0
29,987
12.6
125,346
15.8
350,890
17.2
74,420
12.9
347,904
8.8
1,257,338
16.6
644,696
8.7
2,249,937
11.9

15-19 years 20-24 years 25-29 years
Piemonte
Valle d'Aosta
Lombardy
Trentino-Alto Adige
Veneto
Friuli-Venezia Giulia
Liguria
Emilia-Romagna
Toscana
Umbria
Marche
Lazio
Abruzzo
Molise
Campania
Puglia
Basilicata
Calabria
Sicilia
Sardegna
Centre
Southern Regions
Northern Regions
Italy

Number of NEET
17,112
48,393
..
1,208
38,926
93,305
4,922
7,435
22,545
51,293
3,147
14,251
5,329
14,561
12,574
41,993
13,238
36,412
4,054
9,669
6,388
15,562
22,872
84,380
7,103
16,743
1,189
4,829
63,465
160,862
40,844
86,238
3,887
11,977
17,534
53,753
49,984
141,436
9,778
32,484
46,552
146,023
193,785
508,322
104,938
272,440
345,275
926,785

43,732
..
97,754
9,441
48,326
11,254
16,260
39,724
42,906
10,886
19,152
82,384
18,035
6,804
171,927
98,655
14,124
54,058
159,470
32,158
155,329
555,230
267,318
977,877

20-24
years

25-29
years

Total 1529 years

24.3
20.8
20.1
13.5
21.8
27.2
21.5
21.8
21.7
22.2
20.4
29.0
23.4
27.1
42.0
34.9
34.0
41.9
44.1
36.6
25.2
39.3
21.4
29.5

19.6
12.7
18.6
16.1
18.6
19.2
22.8
17.7
22.7
21.7
22.6
25.5
22.7
35.7
44.7
39.1
38.8
40.7
49.6
32.7
24.0
41.9
18.7
28.8

17.9
13.6
16.1
12.9
17.0
17.8
17.8
15.8
18.2
18.6
17.8
21.5
19.5
24.3
35.3
31.1
29.3
33.6
37.6
28.3
19.8
33.2
16.5
23.8

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As for the Capability Approach, not only individuals are central, but the context (physical, natural and socio-economic) in which they operate is vital as well\textsuperscript{122}. For this reason, the urban areas of Milan and Naples will be further analysed in reference to disadvantage and two especially vulnerable districts will be identified for a perspective research focused on disadvantaged youth at the micro level.

5.3.2 The case of Milan

Albeit the general economic crisis and its follow-ups, the Milan labour market appeared well set and less affected than elsewhere in Italy, as confirmed by Pierfrancesco Majorino, Councilman for Welfare at Milan Municipality\textsuperscript{123}.

\#: Milan has a stable economic environment and, in the urban context, there are no areas of major disadvantage. The matter of concern is the general lack of job opportunities that especially affect some segments of the society (the youth), for instance causing them to leave education.

The overall unemployment rate in Lombardy was 8.1\% in 2013. The NEET are 260,000 with 70,000 young abandoning education every year (Lombardy Region, 2014). In the Milan province in 2013 has been 7.7\%, as shown in the Graph IV (ISTAT, 2014).

Graph IV: Unemployment rate in Lombardy and Milan province, 2008-2013 (ISTAT, 2014)

However, among the young generations (15-24 years old), the unemployment rate increased from 15.7 to 33.5\% in 2013, see Graph V.

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\textsuperscript{123} Interview 1.
According to all the interviewees, the disadvantaged youth in Milan are young long-term unemployed (15-24 years old) with low levels of education and young immigrants. 

#: [Milan Municipality] The disadvantaged youth in Milan are young people who obtain social services or are sent to the public administration for a social assistance. The majority of them are between 16 up to 19 years old, they all have a problematic familiar background, with unemployed or immigrant parents living in a context of general poverty\textsuperscript{124}.

#: The majority of the disadvantaged among the youth in Milan left the education in early stages (primary or secondary schools). They apparently do not have a vision for their future; they are often uncertain about the possibility of finding a job and a place in society. Many of them had frustrating experiences in vocational trainings and histories of exploitation in their first jobs\textsuperscript{125}.

#: The Municipal Department for Minors and Families has been in charge of 14,000 minors (2011-2013). The Centre for Job Mediation (CELAV), that is in charge to facilitate the entry in the labour market providing orientation and support to the most vulnerable (with a special matter of concern on the disabled youth) took care of 239 young persons (16-20 years old): the majority are male and there is a 75% of immigrants\textsuperscript{126}.

##: [Milan Employment support providers] The unemployed registered in the Milan CPI are young (30.5%, 15-29 years old), immigrants (40%), with low levels of education (secondary school), 17.7%\textsuperscript{127}.

In order to focus on the most disadvantaged areas in the urban context of Milan the problem centered interviews have been used to consider inequality on the wealth distribution and the poverty diffusion at the district level\textsuperscript{128} (Figure I).

\textsuperscript{124} Interview 1.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{127} Milan Employment support providers, internal report. Interviews 18 and 19.
\textsuperscript{128} Chiappero, Moroni, Nuvolati Gli spazi della povertà, p 109.
In Milan, as for inequalities and poverty diffusion, the most disadvantaged area among the urban districts is the 8th Quarto Oggiaro. In the last years, this quarter has been targeted by a relevant number of policies “towards the disadvantaged youth and to contrast unemployment”\(^{130}\). The main problematic conditions related to youth unemployment in this district will be further discussed at the micro level. However, in this chapter, a reference to the activities provided by the local public employment services will be addressed\(^{131}\).

In Milan, all the involved stakeholders, albeit they shared a common definition of disadvantaged youth, added a diverse range of other vulnerabilities to the notion of social exclusion for young unemployed, not included in the official set of sources considered for the definition of the existing policies tackling youth labour exclusion.

In the framework of *Dote Unica Lavoro*\(^{132}\), three areas of disadvantage have been identified, suitable for the definition provided at the macro level: 1) 18-24 years old; 2) unemployed for more than six months; 3) young students leaving school in an early stage. According to *CISL*\(^{133}\), in Lombardy there is an increasing number of young unemployed with a high level of education (Degree, Masters, etc.) that are obliged to work in a different sector and not in their area of specialization or prone to move abroad to find a suitable employment.

*Legacoopsociali*\(^{134}\) highlighted unavailable loans for young unemployed from the traditional banks. This has been brought by an enhancement of corruption and usury. In reference with new local policies for the implementation of the EXPO 2015’s projects, many firms and cooperatives have been closed for local mafias’ infiltrations.

*CGIL*\(^{135}\) added a range of additional disadvantages for young unemployed with precarious jobs: 1) they cannot access to loans; 2) they are not allowed to sign a contract for renting a flat; 3)
they cannot pay installments for buying a car; 4) the traditional substitutive role of their families, after the economic crisis, is increasingly downsizing.

Finally, the Quarto Oggiaro public employment services\textsuperscript{136} highlighted a specific attempt to favor, on the one hand, the labour entry of former detainees and, on the other, the young disable labour inclusion. The local CPI opened a dedicated office that provided a better match between labour demand and offer for young disable unemployed.

5.3.3 The case of Naples

Naples is the most populated among the Campania provinces and it has been especially affected by the economic crisis. The unemployment rates in the major Campania province reached 25.8\% in 2013 (ISTAT, 2014), while in 2007 it was 12.4\% (Graph VI), with 240,000 NEET between 15-29 years old\textsuperscript{137}. The Naples labour market is affected by different structural weaknesses, as confirmed by Alessandra Clemente, Councilwoman for Welfare and Youth at Naples Municipality\textsuperscript{138}.

\#: The economic crisis increased the public resources to contrast unemployment at the regional and municipal levels but this effort to dedicate more funds to the youth fuelled only the black market.

Graph VI: Unemployment rate Campania and Naples province, 2008-2013 (ISTAT, 2014)

Especially the youth (15-24 years old) has been affected by the economic crisis. In this cohort, in Naples, the unemployment rates increased up to 56.3\% (ISTAT 2014), in 2007 the rate was lower (35.4\%), as shown in Graph VII, with a majority of female young unemployed (55.9\% in Naples province, ISTAT 2014) and young persons with low levels of education.

\textsuperscript{136} Interviews 18 and 19.
\textsuperscript{137} Italia Lavoro, data elaborated by CGIL Campania, internal report: The Youth Guarantee in Campania (2014).
\textsuperscript{138} Interview 2.
According to all the involved interviewees, the disadvantaged youth in Naples are female and long-term young unemployed (15-24 years old) with low levels of education.

### [Naples Municipality] The most disadvantaged among the young people are women and minors who live in disadvantaged areas and are prone to be co-opted in criminal networks. However, in the last years, new forms of disadvantage emerged with unemployed young persons with high education levels (having diplomas or degrees; aged between 18 and 35) unable to take care of their new families\(^\text{139}\).

### [CISL] In Campania, 200,000 are the young unemployed who, when they applied for subsidies at the public employment centres, did not conclude yet the compulsory secondary schools (in addition, 15.2% of the Youth Guarantee applicants had only a primary school certificate)\(^\text{140}\).

In order to focus on the most disadvantaged areas in the urban context of Naples the problem centered interviews have been used to consider inequality on the wealth distribution and the poverty diffusion at the district level (Figure II)\(^\text{141}\).

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\(^{139}\) Interview 2.

\(^{140}\) Interviews 10 and 11. In this instance, the CISL unionists quoted an internal report, based on the discussions in the framework of the local Youth Guarantee workshops involving relevant stakeholders.

\(^{141}\) Source: Naples Municipality.
According to the interviewees, the most disadvantaged area among the urban districts is the 8th. Scampia. In the last years, this quarter has been targeted by a relevant number of policies “towards the disadvantaged youth and to contrast unemployment” with a peculiar attention to the fight against criminality and to favor female entrepreneurs. The main problematic conditions related to disadvantaged youth in this district will be further discussed at the micro level. In this chapter, a reference to the activities provided by the local employment support services (Centri per l’impiego) will be addressed.

In Naples, the disadvantaged youth are perceived as discouraged and inactive, influenced by a context of general degradation of the urban fabric (Confindustria and Legacoop sociali). These NEETs usually are not interested in the activities of the local public employment services. However, they are often employed by the black market in temporary or even stable jobs (Confindustria, CISL and CGIL). Moreover, the number of unemployed young people (24-34 years old) with high levels of education is increasing (CISL and Legacoop sociali). According to CISL, 40% among the students of the five major Campania Universities are late in their academic studies and, as a consequence, enter too late in the labour market.

As for Tiziana Della Volpe, director of the Scampia public employment service centre (CPI), the young unemployed begin to be disadvantaged when they conclude the compulsory primary and secondary schools (16-17 years old). On the one hand, at this early age, many youngsters do not know what a CPI is. On the other hand, if involved in vocational training courses, the young unemployed appeared not interested in the content of the technical teachings and not prone to acquiring new skills. Many of them, in this specific moment of their life, have been already or start being involved in black market activities. Thus, they subscribed to the local Employment support provider only to be entitled of unemployment subsidies.

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142 Interviews 3, 10, 11, 15.
143 Interview 17.
144 Interview 17.
According to the CGIL trade union representatives, the vulnerability in Naples and Campania is growing among young immigrants that moved to Italy before the economic crisis. Especially in the peripheral areas of Eboli and San Nicola Varco where they live in degraded camps working as recruited on a daily basis.

More generally, the most disadvantaged among the young unemployed are not aware of their rights and do not participate in the unions’ activities. Although a general contraction of the local mafias has been confirmed in the Southern Italian regions, the Naples’ corruption system, locally known as Camorra, is perceived as transforming itself, sometimes getting involved in social cooperatives as well, providing new forms of social protection and income distribution.

In both case studies, Milan and Naples, as confirmed by all the interviewees, the local social support networks considered not effective the policies provided at the municipality level (e.g. Social Card), available to contrast unemployment and support the most disadvantaged. Moreover, these local institutions are not enough prone to cooperation. If preliminary contacts among the involved actors (especially municipalities and employment support providers, for example in occasion of the regional meetings for the Youth Guarantee implementation) have been highlighted, the implemented policies appeared to be pursued towards different target groups without a constant participation of the youth in order to better understand its specific needs.

5.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

In the previous chapter, the lack of well-targeted policies and sufficient financial resources dedicated to contrast youth unemployment at the macro level has been highlighted. Moreover, it has been shown that existing policies often appeared to overlap and were scarcely integrated at the national and regional levels. Finally, on the one hand, there is a mismatch (demand/supply) between available educational opportunities and the labour market for young generations, and on the other hand, the policies to subsidize young unemployed or the transition between two jobs are considered to be insufficient.

In the last decades, the aim of the Italian governments has been to strengthen the labour market’s flexibility. This happened with the most relevant labour market reforms: Pacchetto Treu, Legge Biagi and Monti-Fornero. Recently, Decreto del Fai and Decreto Lavoro gave incentives to Italian firms engaged in employing young unemployed. Finally, the most recent Jobs Act (Decreto Poletti, 2014) considered a priority to reinvigorate apprenticeship’ contracts.

At the local level, three specific policies seemed to be relevant for tackling youth unemployment (see Table III): the Youth Guarantee, the apprenticeship’ contracts and the employment support services. In addition, in Southern regions, the importance of credit on tax (credito d’imposta) to contrast youth unemployment has been pointed out by most of the interviewees.

145 See Wp3 reports and the Ministry of Labour’s interview.
146 Interviews 5, 6 and 7. For more details see the DURC website (Document for contribution regularity). This certification is needed to be eligible of local public contracts: http://www.cnce.it/durc/index.html.
147 More details of the national policies to contrast unemployment and reform the labour market are provided in Wp3 report.
148 Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 15.
Table III: Key policies to tackle youth employment at the local level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Laws</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment and training</td>
<td>Youth Guarantee</td>
<td>Beginning a long-term plan to tackle youth unemployment with the aim to favor fixed term contracts, auto-entrepreneurship and to contrast social exclusion in the Southern Italian regions. A consistent support for NEET is provided, especially through new educational trainings. It envisions a general reform of available employment support services and agencies, improving public and private actors’ capability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and apprenticeship</td>
<td>Law 196/1997; Laws 69-76/2013; Law 78/2014</td>
<td>Pacchetto Treu introduced apprenticeship’ contracts for young people (16-24 years old). Decreto del Fare, Decreto Lavoro and Poletti (Jobs Act) reactivated apprenticeship’ contracts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment, apprenticeship and placamento</td>
<td>Youth Guarantee</td>
<td>The public employment support providers have the target to place the unemployed and promote active work policies: work orientation and placement, favoring the match between work offers and demands and internships, etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.1 The Youth Guarantee in Lombardy and Campania

The Youth Guarantee (2014-2020) is a long-term plan to tackle youth unemployment in Italy with the aim to favor fixed term contracts, auto-entrepreneurship and to contrast social exclusion in the Southern Italian regions. The first 1.5 billion of euro (2014-2015) have been allocated at the national level\textsuperscript{149}. The short-term target is to guarantee unemployed youngsters (up to 29 years old, especially targeting the NEET) either educational or work opportunities within four months from graduation or becoming unemployed.

The regional administrations are central for the implementation of the Youth Guarantee. They manage the EU and national funds, allocated from Rome to the single region. In addition, they autonomously define the operative implementation of the local policies for the Youth Guarantee.

In Lombardy, 178 millions of Euro are already available (2014-2015) for the Youth Guarantee. As for the incentives, the National Institute for Social Services (INPS) is involved for delivering incentives to firms for apprenticeship and internship contracts, in the Youth Guarantee framework. Moreover, the Lombardia Region will work in cooperation with the public Labour National and local Agencies (Italia Lavoro - AFOL) for activities of technical support\textsuperscript{150}.

\textsuperscript{149}Source: Ministry of Labour. CGIL Lombardia internal elaboration: “The Youth Guarantee in Lombardy” (22/05/2014). As for the first 794 millions of euro (2014), 294 ml euro to the Northern Italian regions and 500 ml euro to the Southern regions have been allocated.

\textsuperscript{150} See Regional Deliberation X 1761 (08/05/2014).
The funding, allocated for the *Youth Guarantee* at the national level, will be directly sent from the General Treasury Office (*Ragioneria generale dello Stato*) in coordination with the Ministry of Labour and the Region. Finally, universities, vocational training schools, firms, municipalities and employment support providers will be involved to reduce the barriers to the entry in the labour market for young people (Figure III)\(^{151}\).

Figure III: Actors involved in Lombardy for the Youth Guarantee’s implementation (Lombardy Region, 2014)

In Lombardy and Milan, the Municipality and *Confindustria*\(^ {152}\) considered the *Youth Guarantee* a relevant opportunity to contrast youth exclusion from the labour market. However, the unionists, *CGIL* and *CISL* regional Secretaries, Nino Baseotto and Roberto Benaglia, highlighted certain disadvantages of this policy as for insufficient funds and only minor changes in the workings of the labour market\(^ {153}\). Moreover, Baseotto added that positive targets have been achieved with *Dote Unica Lavoro* (Single Labour Endowment)\(^ {154}\) with increasing *Ammortizzatori Sociali in Deroga* (ASDs) and income support policies. This is a special type of benefit introduced in order to cover with a subsidy the unemployed who are not entitled to mobility benefits or have already ended the period of entitlement to unemployment benefits and income supports. However, Luciana Nanotto\(^ {155}\), responsible of the *Youth Guarantee* for the Milan Employment support provider considered the policy as not innovative. Finally, Felice Romeo, President Legacoopsociali Lombardia, added that the Youth Guarantee is not an innovative instrument to tackle youth unemployment at the local level\(^ {156}\).

#: [CISL] The available amount of funding for the Youth Guarantee at the regional level is a first step compared to the precedent policies that did not entail any added funding (e.g. *Decreto del Fare*) to contrast the youth unemployment. However, the funds available for the NEET are insufficient and the 60,000 workers that we expect will be employed thanks to the Youth Guarantee were supposed to have a contract even before that the law was approved\(^ {157}\).

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\(^{151}\) Source: Lombardy Region, elaborated by *CGIL* Lombardia.

\(^{152}\) Interviews 1 and 16.

\(^{153}\) Interviews 8 and 12.

\(^{154}\) See Lombardy Region website. www.regione.lombardia.it

\(^{155}\) Interview 19.

\(^{156}\) Interview 4.

\(^{157}\) Interviews 12, 13 and 14.
### [Milan Municipality] The Youth Guarantee at the regional level has not yet been experimented. However we are working shoulder by shoulder with the provincial public Agency for Education, Orientation and Labour (AFOL) to set the rules for an effective implementation\textsuperscript{158}.

#### [Confindustria] The Youth Guarantee should improve the collaboration between the public and private sectors, for instance to favor the development of the public employment services. In this framework, Finmeccanica and Confindustria signed an agreement with the Ministry of Labour to facilitate the access to the labour market for young students with internship and apprenticeship contracts\textsuperscript{159}.

##### [Milan public employment service employee] We had the target to involve the NEET in the labour market. In this instance, we promoted internships, trainings, labour oriented’ workshops. However, the Lombardy Region is implementing the Youth Guarantee in the framework of the Dote Unica Lavoro. For this reason, we considered the policy not sufficiently innovative\textsuperscript{160}.

In Campania, 200 millions of euros are available for the Youth Guarantee (2014-2015)\textsuperscript{161}. There will be additional 400 millions of euros allocated for the programme from FSE funds in the next years. The involved actors for the programme’s implementation are the provincial administrations, the Regional Ministry of Labour and Education, Labour, Youth and Education regional general directors, the Regional Agency for Labour (ARLAS), Universities and vocational schools, employment support providers (Figure IV)\textsuperscript{162}.

Figure IV: Actors involved in Campania for the Youth Guarantee’s implementation (Campania Region, 2014)

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\textsuperscript{158} Interview 1.

\textsuperscript{159} Interview 16. Internal Confindustria report, President Alberto Ribolla, Conference: Youth Guarantee in Lombardy, Milan, (03/06/2014).

\textsuperscript{160} Interview 19.

\textsuperscript{161} See Regional Deliberation 117 (24/04/2014). The available funds are: 567 millions of euro from Youth Employment Initiative, 567 FSE, 880 millions of euro from the national level.

\textsuperscript{162} Campania Region, elaborated by CGIL Campania.
highlighted a general scepticism of the local entrepreneurs in implementing the national and regional guidelines of the *Youth Guarantee*, while the *CGIL* unionists denounced general lacks in policies’ implementation\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^3\).

#: [Confindustria] In this early stage, both for apprenticeship and internship contracts, the entrepreneurs appeared not motivated to use the available instruments of the *Youth Guarantee* because there are still several procedural limitations that hugely discourage their active participation in the programme\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^4\).

##: [CGIL] The first outcomes of the cliclavoro campaign\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^5\) in the framework of the *Youth Guarantee* are not encouraging. For instance, the allocated 3.5 millions of euros for internship programmes did not favored the creation of new job opportunities. Moreover, the perspective available funds for the *Youth Guarantee* do not consider the unemployed familiar annual earnings and are not targeted at enhancing the fight against crime and black market\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^6\).

### 5.4.2 Apprenticeship’ contracts in Lombardy and Campania

Law 196/1997 (*Pacchetto Treu*) introduced apprenticeship’ contracts for young people (16-24 years old). Last year (2013-2014), three consecutive Laws (76, 69 and 78) had the target to reactivate apprenticeship’ contracts (*Decreto del Fare*, *Decreto Lavoro* and *Decreto Poletti*)\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^7\).

In Milan, all the involved interviewees highlighted a general interest confirmed by the local entrepreneurs for apprenticeship’ contracts in order to favor the labour market entry of young people. However, if *Confindustria*\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^8\) considered as positive the effects of the *Youth Guarantee* on the apprenticeship’ contracts, the *CGIL* and *CISL* unionists\(^1\)\(^6\)\(^9\) outlined a misuse of this type of contracts with a general trend favoring cuts of investments in young workers’ trainings. Thus this instrument seemed to be decreasing its efficacy in contrasting the youth unemployment.

#: [Confindustria] We ask for the inclusion of all types of apprenticeship’ contracts as eligible for the *Youth Guarantee* benefits. Moreover, we support the extension of the subsidies for the youth participation in trainings’ programmes for II level apprenticeship’ contracts (professionalizing apprenticeship)\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^0\).

##: [CGIL] It is the less used among the new contracts. In addition, the Poletti Decree (Law 78/2014) decreased the effectiveness of this type of contract. It canceled the link between compulsory trainings and apprenticeship’ contracts; it transformed them de facto in other kinds of temporary jobs with contributive savings. With the apprenticeship in staff leasing (long-term contracts linked to continuous trainings) are now 46 the ways to access the labour market\(^1\)\(^7\)\(^1\).

In Naples, according to the interviewees the apprenticeship’ contracts are appealing for the local entrepreneurs because they entail incentives and reductions in contributive expenses for
the firms with more than 10 employees that decide to activate apprenticeship’ contracts for young people. Alessandra Clemente, Councilwoman for Welfare and Youth at Naples Municipality, said that the funds available for these contracts are increasing at the local level\textsuperscript{172}. However, according to CGIL Campania\textsuperscript{173}, the apprenticeship’ contracts are only 3 or 4% of the new contracts. Confindustria\textsuperscript{174} added that the Jobs Act did not eliminate the procedural limits for new contracts and discouraged entrepreneurs for employing young people. Finally, employment support provider Naples-Scampia (CPI) director, Tiziana Della Volpe\textsuperscript{175} had comprehensive negative feedbacks on the implementation of this policy at the micro level.

#: [Naples Municipality] In so far, apprenticeship’ contracts did not favor the labour market entry. However, more financial resources are available at the local level: 1,5 millions of euros have been provided by the Campania Region and 3 millions of euros by the Municipalities\textsuperscript{176}.

###: [Scampia Employment Support Provider] The firms did not have contacts with the public employment services (CPI) to activate apprenticeship’ contracts. In addition, it happened often that the professionalizing trainings had no connections with the job offers. In addition, if entrepreneurs needed new apprentices and wanted to employ them to be eligible for the incentives, did not open a selection and never referred to the CPI but they are likely to chose the apprentices among their informal contacts\textsuperscript{177}.

5.4.3 Employment services providers in Milan and Naples

The Youth Guarantee envisioned a general reform of available public employment services (CPI) and agencies, improving public and private actors’ capability. The provincial administration is responsible for the CPI at the local level. The public employment support providers have the target to place the unemployed and promote active work policies: work orientation and placements, favoring the match between work offers and demands and promoting internships, etc. However, as seen in the previous chapter, the resources provided in Italy at the national level for CPI have been constantly insufficient and downsized compared to other European countries\textsuperscript{178}.

As for the Milan case study, all the involved interviewees admitted a lack of resources and effectiveness of the local public employment support providers. A general mismatch between the services offered to the unemployed young people and entrepreneurs has been highlighted\textsuperscript{179}.

#: [CGIL] Public employment service providers did not produce significant outcomes to contrast the youth unemployment. This is the consequence of a more general cut on the public sector activities that brought about by a mismatch between public employment support services and firms’ needs\textsuperscript{180}.

###: [Milan Municipality] The attempt is to create an agreement between local cooperatives to manage the employment support services. In this instance, there is an example of a good practice of the management of the municipal employment support service Centre for Job

\textsuperscript{172} Interview 2.
\textsuperscript{173} Interviews 6 and 7.
\textsuperscript{174} Interview 15.
\textsuperscript{175} Interview 17.
\textsuperscript{176} Interview 2.
\textsuperscript{177} Interview 17.
\textsuperscript{178} See Wp3 report.
\textsuperscript{179} Interviews 4, 8, 9, 13, 14, 18 and 19.
\textsuperscript{180} Interviews 8 and 9.
Mediation (CELAV) by the A&I cooperative (Società Cooperativa Accoglienza e Integrazione)\textsuperscript{181}.

###: [CISL] Public employment services do not have sufficient funding at the local level. A recent attempt to enhance their effectiveness has been done in Milan reforming the number of CPI present in the provincial area. A future national reform of the provincial administrations would provide a consequent major change of the employment support services to link their activities to firms’ needs\textsuperscript{182}.

####: [Quarto Oggiaro public employment service employee] We did not participate to the meetings, promoted by the Lombardy Region, for the implementation of the Youth Guarantee. Moreover, the young unemployed appeared generally not motivated to participate in the framework of the activities provided by the centre. As for “Quattro passi per il lavoro”\textsuperscript{183}, among the 22,800 young unemployed selected only 1,218 took part to the trainings and orientations initiatives provided by the CPI\textsuperscript{184}.

In Naples, all the involved interviewees highlighted general shortcomings of the CPI in tackling youth unemployment at the local level. The Councilwoman of Social Affairs and Youth at the Naples Municipality, Alessandra Clemente\textsuperscript{185} outlined an ongoing reform of municipal public employment service providers. According to the CISL unionists, Carmen Costagliola and Luca Barilà\textsuperscript{186}, the local employment support services are inadequate for an effective delivery of the Youth Guarantee targets. However, the third sector representative, Luca Sorrentino\textsuperscript{187} highlighted more effective but fragmented opportunities provided by the private sector for work orientation and placement.

#: [Naples Municipality] Our target is to transform Informagiovani offices in employment providers. We want to activate centers for work in every Municipality as we have done in piazza Garibaldi and San Giovanni a Teduccio\textsuperscript{188}. We are providing incentives for forming informal groups for a continuous work orientation of the youth\textsuperscript{189}.

##: [CISL] The existing public employment service providers are not efficient enough to provide the services included in the Youth Guarantee. It would be a step forwards to entail bonuses on outcomes for public employment service providers if they allocate new opportunities of placement for young unemployed, involving them in second level negotiations\textsuperscript{190}.

###: [Legacoopsociali] Public employment services are only an unemployment’ registry. The private employment providers are more effective but less coherent than the public ones\textsuperscript{191}.

####: The young unemployed are registered at the local Scampia CPI only in order to have the requisite to be entitled of the Social Card\textsuperscript{192}.

5.4.4 The Social Card and other instruments to tackle the youth social exclusion

As seen in the previous chapter, the resources available for passive labour market policies are generally rising\textsuperscript{193}. However, at the local level the policies aiming at tackling the youth social exclusion appeared still far to be effective. Moreover, the funds for financing vocational trainings to favor the entry of the youngsters in the labour market are decreasing.

\textsuperscript{181} Interview 4.
\textsuperscript{182} Interviews 13, 14.
\textsuperscript{183} This project will be briefly explained in section 7.
\textsuperscript{184} Interviews 18 and 19.
\textsuperscript{185} Interview 2.
\textsuperscript{186} Interviews 10 and 11.
\textsuperscript{187} Interview 3.
\textsuperscript{188} Two Naples disadvantaged districts: the first in the centre, the second in the periphery.
\textsuperscript{189} Interview 2.
\textsuperscript{190} Interviews 10 and 11.
\textsuperscript{191} Interview 3.
\textsuperscript{192} Interview 17.
\textsuperscript{193} See Wp3 report.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
According to Pierfrancesco Majorino, Councilman for Welfare at Milan Municipality, the Social Card has been used to help young families in periods of social and economic exclusion. In addition, the delay at the national level of norms to provide a minimum income has been highlighted by trade union and third sector representatives.

#: [Milan Municipality] The passive policies to contrast the youth exclusion must be instruments that have the target to favor employment opportunities. However, they generally should entail job placement in a stable work environment for the disadvantaged young person. In the past years, the Social Card is an instrument, used at the Municipality level, especially aimed at helping families, with a majority of young parents, to overcome the economic and social isolation and contrast their precarious life conditions.

##: [CGIL] At the national level there are not sufficient initiatives to forge a minimum income income. Moreover, the proposals we are aware of might give to the firms the opportunity to derogate from the standard national work contracts, and this would further impoverish the labour market. Effective policies to help the youngsters’ social exclusion at local level have been microcredit’s initiatives, involving both public and private actors. However, the Social Card did not produce effective outcomes in Lombardy to contrast youth social exclusion.

###: [Legacooopsociali] In every regional meeting focused on labour policies we were involved in, we endorsed the necessity to activate a minimum income scheme, connected to internship programmes at the local level.

In Campania and Naples, the funding for passive policies are perceived by the involved stakeholders as not sufficient and not targeting the disadvantaged youth (Social Card and minimum income included). According to Vincenzo Caputo, Secretary for Youth of the Naples body sector (Confindustria), credito d’imposta (credit on taxes for entrepreneurs who employ new workers) has been the only effective policy to favor the entry of young unemployed in the labour market. Moreover, CGIL and CISL representatives highlighted a general misuse of passive policies tackling youth unemployment at the local level. Finally, Alessandra Clemente, Councilwoman for Welfare and Youth of the Municipality of Naples, pointed out at the need to enhance projects including consumption bonuses for young families.

#: [Confindustria] The credito d’imposta to entrepreneurs is a positive instrument to tackle youth exclusion from the labour market. However, with a stagnating local economy, a bank system in crisis and slow loans supplies, infrastructural and bureaucratic gaps, this policy did not ameliorate the local labour market.

##: [CISL] In Naples, the Social Card’ implementation has been delayed. Moreover, the credito d’imposta is not sufficient to create new jobs. Only microcredit projects targeting specific groups (e.g. unemployed young females) had some effective outcomes. Finally, often the regional vocational training programmes are not connected to placement. Many young people with an apprenticeship in staff leasing’ contract do not find a job in Campania.

###: [CGIL] Credito d’imposta gave some help to disadvantaged people. However, we need more targeted policies. In this instance, we quote microcredit’ initiatives for under 35 years of age women (often unemployed immigrants). In the framework of this project, every applicant

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194 Interview 1.
195 Interviews 4, 8, 9, 13 and 14.
196 Interview 1.
197 Interviews 8 and 9.
198 Interview 4.
199 Interview 15.
200 Interviews 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11.
201 Interview 2.
202 Interview 15.
203 Interviews 10 and 11.
has been entitled of a 25,000 euros loan for start-ups initiatives. This determined a relevant increase of productivity of firms led by female entrepreneurs.

####: [Naples Municipality] We promoted a Card for Youth (financed by PON 2007-2013) to favor critical consumptions and promote legality (Sparagnamm.it). The involved stakeholders are racket free and promote discounts to disadvantaged youth in order to facilitate their consumptions204.

5.5 Participation

The participation of disadvantaged youth in policy making is achieved if young people have effective capability to voice their problems and make them count in the policy-making process. This dynamic requires the active participation of all young people, whatever are their social, educational and ethnic backgrounds205.

As seen in WP3, at the national level youth groups206 are fragmented and ineffective in terms of policy pressure. For this reason, often major national unions act as youth representatives’ substitutes. However, especially in the making process of the Youth Guarantee, as required by European guidelines, youth representatives, unions and sector bodies have been heard207. However, especially youth representatives did not give a relevant contribution to the policy making process.

All the interviewees confirmed that at the meso and micro levels disadvantaged youth have not been involved in policy making and more generally in contributing to defining means to tackle poverty and inequality. In other words, a general exclusion of youth participation in influencing public policies aimed at tackling unemployment has been highlighted both in Lombardy (Milan) and Campania (Naples). It is evident that there is an inadequate contribution of youth groups within unions, third and body sectors in policy making’ processes focused on youth exclusion.

5.5.1 The case of Milan

In Milan, the disadvantaged youth is not enough represented within unions, public administration and third sector bodies. More generally, young people do not participate to the negotiation’ processes on the major policies tackling unemployment and social exclusion. The same dynamic has been repeated with the Youth Guarantee. In this case, even if the youth participation has been encouraged, as confirmed by the Milan Municipality208 and Confindustria209, in Lombardy only senior representatives among the organizations, invited to the major meetings focused on new policies tackling unemployment, participated to the local negotiations. Moreover, the CGIL and CISL representatives210 highlighted a general mistrust among the regional and municipal political leaders on the groups representing young people.

204 Interview 2.
205 See the theoretical framework provided in Wp2.
206 There are youth groups within the framework of the existing unions, inside universities and high schools. See Wp3 report.
207 See Wp3 report.
208 Interview 1.
209 Interview 16.
210 Interviews 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14.
The way in which the Milan Municipality favored the youth representation at the local level is organizing youth centres and information points within the Municipalities to hear the young unemployed’ needs and provide an orientation\footnote{Interview 1.}.

Only the senior presidency of Confindustria participated to the regional meetings focused on the implementation of the Youth Guarantee. Young entrepreneurs have a role on start-ups projects but did not participate to meeting aimed at defining new policies\footnote{Interview 16.}.

More organized spaces to hear the youth needs are needed. The youth is not represented and political leaders distrust the groups representing young people. In addition, the unions are not prone to transform their constituency, for instance especially young employed with precarious jobs are not heard by the trade unions\footnote{Interviews 8 and 9.}.

Youth integration within the leadership of the business organizations is not favored at the local level. The youth are not standard workers so their participation is marginalized\footnote{Interviews 12, 13 and 14.}.

Legacoopsociali participated at the senior level on the municipal and provincial tables on unemployment, we asked for vouchers for start-ups for disadvantaged young workers. An interesting example of youth representation came from Giovani per EXPO (Youth for Expo) that had the mandate to organize young volunteers that will participate at Milan 2015 Expo\footnote{Interview 4. See www.expo2015.org}.

### The case of Naples

As for the Naples case study, the municipality, trade unions, business representatives and public employment service providers were generally heard in occasion of the recent local meetings focused on the Youth Guarantee. However, the Municipality representative for Youth, Alessandra Clemente\footnote{Interview 2.} pointed out that the Campania Region did not facilitate the local initiatives to enhance the youngsters’ participation.

Moreover, the Scampia public employment service representative, Tiziana Della Volpe\footnote{Interview 17.}, added that youth participation to the major local CPI’s initiatives has been not relevant, albeit the economic crisis and rising rates of youth unemployment. Especially a poor participation of the disadvantaged youth to vocational training’s courses, provided by the local public employment services, in the Scampia disadvantaged area, has been highlighted. In addition, the third sector Legacoopsociali representative, Luca Sorrentino\footnote{Interview 3.} outlined a more vibrant participation of the local youth in University unions than within the traditional syndicates in a context of residual available funds for youth associations.

The Municipality decided to hugely favor the youth’s participation. Our department is the exclusive referee for youth policies. The administration decided to separate the Youth from the Social and Equal opportunities’ Departments. We facilitated the youngsters subscription in a Registry of youth associations (from 22, they now are one hundred) and they received funds from the municipality. We strongly supported that a youth representative is nominated in every local municipality. However, the central Municipality has not been heard at the regional level and our initiatives are not facilitated\footnote{Interview 2.}.

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\footnote{Interview 1.}
\footnote{Interview 16.}
\footnote{Interviews 8 and 9.}
\footnote{Interviews 12, 13 and 14.}
\footnote{Interview 4. See www.expo2015.org}
\footnote{Interview 2.}
\footnote{Interview 17.}
\footnote{Interview 3.}
\footnote{Interview 2.}
###: Confindustria Campania has been involved only at the senior representative level in the Youth Guarantee official workshops. In the last decades, we promoted inside the university campus a Youth Observatory for different kind of activities involving firms and to promote an environment favourable for entrepreneurs220.

####: CISL participated to the official meetings for the Youth Guarantee with its senior representatives. We opted for an internal hearing of the youth within the trade union with the help of the Labour market Department. After several interventions of young trade union representatives highlighting a general lack of participation of the youth in the policy making process, we organized a new meeting with the presence of youth representatives within the union221.

####: Legacoopsociali has been invited to the Youth Guarantee regional tables and contributed to the hearing of youth’ requests. Hitherto, a new engagement for the participation of the youth political associations started, albeit an insufficient allocation of funds222.

#####: The Scampia CPI has been visited in the last two years by 150,000 young unemployed. They are from 16 to 40 years old with very low level of education (primary or secondary): 30 people come to the Scampia CPI on daily basis. Although an initial exclusion, eventually we took part to the provincial workshops on the Youth Guarantee223. For the low salary provided, we noticed a poor participation of the disadvantaged youth to vocational training’s courses.

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5.5.3 Non participation

Especially trade union representatives appeared aware of the negative effects of the youth exclusion from the policies process making. For this reason, the trade union representatives considered vital to intervene at the local level in enhancing youth participation in policy making and in tackling unemployment in disadvantaged areas. CGIL formed a National Coordination for Youth that had contacts in every region with youth associations. As confirmed, on the one hand, by Nino Baseotto and Fulvia Colombini (CGIL Lombardy), and, on the other hand, Andrea Pastore, Angelo Savio and Antonella Paciglio (CGIL Campania) the target is to ameliorate the awareness on available opportunities for young unemployed (internships, rights at the regional level, etc.). With this concern, centers for the youth within Camere del Lavoro have been created224.

In our two case studies, as confirmed by some of the involved interviewees225, other forms of complementary participation have been highlighted to favor a more effective and comprehensive participation of the disadvantaged youth in shaping the policy making process. In certain cases, the lack of participation of the youngsters is perceived as brought about by the resilience of the black market, especially in the disadvantaged areas we are focused in (Scampia and Quarto Oggiaro)226.

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220 Interview 15.
221 Interviews 15 and 16.
222 Interview 3.
223 Interview 17.
224 Centers for Syndicalist Labour Unions. See Wp3 reports.
225 Interviews 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17 and 18.
226 Interviews 17 and 18.
#: [CGIL] In Milan, if the unions are unable to involve the youth participation and listen to their needs, there are the CAF (Centres for Fiscal Assistance) who often act as youth unions’ substitute to enhance their participatory processes. For instance, this happened to favor the youth registration in cliclavoro [At an early stage of the Youth Guarantee].

##: In Naples, CISL is not able to promote a more ‘desirable’ youth participation. For this reason now we are changing our strategies and we prefer to ask to the youth to come to the Union because, on the one hand, we are able to listen to their preferences and, on the other, we might contribute to the solutions for their social exclusion. CISL is hearing hundreds of young people (100 only in Naples) making proposals to the regional administration and providing special discounts on culture and ad hoc tariffs for public transports for disadvantaged youth.

###: Youth participation in the framework of the Scampia public employment services’ activities is poor. This is due to the relevance of the black market in this area. Most of the registered unemployed have an informal job, thus, for instance, they do not need to participate to the vocational trainings we organize because the small salary we provide [500 euros] it is often not appealing for them.

The non-inclusion of the voices of the young people may result in a “poor public intervention and a reductionist view of inequality.” For these reasons, the involved stakeholders highlighted a number of practices with the aim to better define a perspective more comprehensive construction of needs (e.g. a more structured involvement of young immigrant in the job market).

The Milan Municipality especially pointed out the need to widen the available resources to support experimental processes of work inclusion for unemployed youth. This can be done with the direct support of small, family-based and individual firms that would like to build-up a path for work experiences and acknowledgments to enhance the youth individual responsibility and participation.

Confindustria quoted an internal report on the firms’ demands of new skills. The aim of this research was to share a common database with the target to improve the evaluation and planning of the firms’ activities, with a specific regard to education and human resources development. As for the schools, the target of this annual paper, has been to identify new needs and skills acquired by young students.

CGIL highlighted an enhanced general interest, in the last decade, towards the disadvantaged youth as a target group for specific policies, with a local placement system more oriented on outcomes.

Moreover, Legacoopsociali quoted a number of structural proposals for a labour market more open to the youth’s needs. According to the third sector representative, the first challenge is the inclusion of foreign and immigrant workers, for instance within the public healthcare system. Two examples have been quoted in this instance, Kantara and Crinali.
cooperatives\textsuperscript{235}. They work in Milan as mediators (e.g. culture, language, etc.) in hospitals and schools to facilitate the social inclusion of disadvantaged women and immigrants.

As for the Naples case study, the third sector provider\textsuperscript{236} highlighted the need of a structural change in the local labour market. As for the allocation of the available public funds, an integrated management is suggested, involving regional, provincial and municipalities for delivering labour policies and with the target to create territorial organisms that better localise the use of available financial resources. For instance, many young artists have been entitled of funds or involved in a growing number of activities in the last years. However, these projects never provided a stable work opportunity\textsuperscript{237}.

According to Confidence\textsuperscript{238}, the available instruments to tackle the youth exclusion from the job market must be oriented to the firms’ needs simplifying the processes and eliminating intermediations. Moreover, CISL\textsuperscript{239} considered the additional need to enhance outcome oriented’ productivity agreements with the aim to meet local entrepreneurs and verify their needs in the framework of a more balanced public/private integrated approach.

Finally, CGIL\textsuperscript{240} envisaged the need of an extraordinary plan for youth employment in the Southern Italian regions strengthening the economic connections with North African and Mediterranean developing countries.

5.6 Innovation

At the meso and micro levels, several new economic challenges have been identified to tackle the social exclusion of the disadvantaged youth. Innovation can refer to innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a new social need\textsuperscript{241}. If at the national level, a general absence of innovative policies oriented to disadvantage youth has been highlighted\textsuperscript{242}, at the local level, a number of good practices involving networks of unions, third and body sectors, municipalities and employment support providers have been quoted by all the involved interviewees, in the framework of the aforementioned case studies that have the aim to disentangle the conditions of young long term-unemployed with low levels of education in the two disadvantaged areas of Milan and Naples.

As for the local level, the major existing policies are generally perceived as not innovative. Even in reference to the Youth Guarantee, the available regional and provincial guidelines seemed not particularly “innovative”\textsuperscript{243}. Moreover, internships and vocational trainings for young workers are often not oriented to the major firm’s needs. In addition, the youth participation in policy making and in tackling unemployment in disadvantaged areas is perceived as insufficient. Finally, the passive policies (included the Social Card and guaranteed minimum income) are considered fully inadequate to tackle the rising numbers of unemployed at the local level, especially in the Italian Southern regions.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{235} For more details see www.kantara.it; www.crinali.org.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{236} Interview 3.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{237} The Napoli Teatro Festival Foundation has been quoted in this instance.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{238} Interview 15.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{239} Interviews 10 and 11.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{240} Interviews 5, 6 and 7.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{241} See Wp3 report.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{242} See Wp3 report.
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{243} Interviews 1 and 2.
5.6.1 The case of Milan

All the interviewed stakeholders gave a very broad definition of innovation. Especially, the trade union representatives highlighted a poor presence of socially innovative policies at the local level. With the exception of the Confindustria representative, Ilaria Pozzoli who outlined the relevance of top-down interventions, all the interviewees agreed that innovation is a bottom-up process leading to the creation of sustainable and long-term jobs. As for the top-down level, a need of growing investments and renewed processes of planning, simplification and controlling at the macro level have been highlighted.

The trade union, third sector and business representatives and public employment services added a need to favor experimental policies in particular in vocational trainings, enabling a constant involvement of entrepreneurs in vocational schools and creating networks of cooperatives or public and private institutions. This could entail: 1) a growing amount of firm investments in education, favoring the transformation of precarious contracts into long-term jobs; 2) the creation of high tech firm clusters to be entitled of additional national and EU funds; 3) a more gender equal work environment; 4) the integration of the immigrants in the local job market; 5) the enhanced youth representation within the syndicates; 4) the fight against black market and corruption; 5) favoring youth consumptions. In this instance a number of good practices have been referred.

#: [Milan Municipality] We built-up and supported projects with the aim to enhance firms’ investments in youth education, offering them financial incentives and specialized staff to promote the youngsters’ formation. With this respect, we favored the creation of integrated educational paths to enhance professional skills of young unemployed. This motivated many young workers and firms to employ who acquired active basic skills. We are constantly planning initiatives networking with public, private and the third sector to achieve these targets.

##: [Confindustria] We favored projects involving young entrepreneurs, with the support of public institutions (Milan municipality and the Lombardy Region). The target has been to favor start-ups (Project 30-40), especially in manufacturing and textile sectors. In this instance, many innovative ideas of young entrepreneurs have been financed. Moreover, we promoted eight high tech clusters (e.g. Agrifood, Energy, BioMedic research and Smart communities). In this instance the aim is to be involved in different projects in the framework of Horizon 2020 (coupling research and innovation to create jobs).

###: [CGIL] We interpreted the concept of innovation leaving a new space to young people under 35 within the unions. We promoted a more gender equal labour market at the local level. Finally, we are involved in different projects that have the aim to work on lands freed by corruption and mafias (in network with LIBERA - Association, names and numbers against mafias). Moreover, to fight against the local corruption we created a Social Observatory on mafias. The black market increased its activities with the economic crisis in the Milan province. Thus, we signed a memorandum of understanding with local entrepreneurs to contrast illegality.

244 Interview 16.
245 Interviews 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18 and 19.
246 Interview 1.
248 http://www.libera.it.
249 Interviews 8 and 9.
Our understanding of innovation is linked to promoting education within firms, especially for the students of vocational training schools. There are several examples in this instance, as for ITS Malpensa Foundation working with several vocational training schools and providing technical internships. In the framework of CISL’s institutions and programmes, FELSA (Precarious and in Staff Leasing Workers), the research for a job of young unemployed is helped and supported. Several initiatives are focused on supporting the economic sectors (e.g. construction, portage) were the black market is more present, there are more workers not unionized, without legal contracts and more accidents and injuries in work places. Finally, for a bottom-up innovation, we promoted the Labour Lab project to support the stabilization of young people with precarious contracts and employed in staff leasing.

Legacoop sociali is promoting several innovative projects to support vocational training’s schools networking with public institutions (e.g. Ente Nazionale Italiano per la Formazione, ENAIP, and regional associations focused on education). In addition, we support a number of good practices such as Carta Equa, in collaboration with UNIPOL Bank and CARITAS Ambrosiana, to facilitate the disadvantaged youth in their daily consumptions. We promoted several start-ups’ workshops and projects networking with banks and cooperatives to finance innovative new firms managed by young entrepreneurs. In addition, Legacoop sociali organized dozens of events (E30) involving workers under their thirties (e.g. Music Festivals Carro Ponte and Piano City). Finally, with the aim to facilitate the young immigrant’s integration in the Milan job market, we worked shoulder by shoulder with the Volunteer Association for Social and Health Assistance and for Foreign Citizens’ Rights (NAGA).

Quarto Oggiaro public employment services] We are promoting several innovative projects with the aim to favor the market labour entry of young unemployed. One of them is Ricollocami, with the support of AFOL and the Municipality: the target is to provide trainings for young unemployed for a renewed market labour entry, to set mobility lists, screenings, interviews being in charge of groups of unemployed. A second project is “Quattro passi per il lavoro”. It had the aim to support students who abandoned the school in early stages. In other words, we provided the instruments for a more effective and oriented labour’s search granting a better understanding of the available passive policies.

5.6.2 The case of Naples

In Naples, the involved stakeholders gave a very broad definition of innovation. They all highlighted the need to intervene in order to downsize the number of young unemployed people who turn to the black-market and local mafias to find a job. This can be done with a more bottom-up effort to create networks between local cooperatives, universities, provincial, regional and municipality administrations, unions and the private sector. However, the target is to consider the policies to innovate the job market and contrast youth unemployment within a top-down level of interventions as well favoring an economic growth at the local level.

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250 Interviews 12, 13 and 14.
251 Cooperative Bank.
252 Association of the Milan Diocese supporting disadvantaged people.
253 Interview 4. See www.naga.it
254 Interviews 18 and 19.
255 Interview 2.
Good practices have been quoted in this instance especially in reference to loans for start-ups for young entrepreneurs. Trade union representatives and public employment services representatives added several examples of vocational training schools involved in projects with the aim to contrast the growing number of students leaving schools at an early stage. Moreover, the need for a more general reorganization oriented to a comprehensive youth representation, within the syndicates’ apparatuses, has been pointed out.

#: [Naples Municipality] Innovation is related to new models of economic growth, favoring competitiveness and entrepreneurship with a precise model of innovation for every sector considered. The disadvantaged youth should be part of an innovative strategy of growth. We promoted a local plan for youth to overcome the traditional idea of “disadvantaged tutelage”. We favored capital venture initiatives, providing public funds for the academic education. We supported young female entrepreneurs, young mothers and female drug addicts. Recently, we promoted a project of housing for young and marginalized immigrants and refugees living downtown Naples.

###: [Confindustria] In our understanding, innovation is related to growing public and private networks with the target to involve in the economic process the most disadvantaged areas. There are several examples in this instance, such as cooperatives to recover urban degraded areas and sustainable mobility involving universities.

####: [CGIL] In our understanding, innovation means reorganization favoring: 1) the youth representation; 2) an education oriented to work. We are involved in several networks with associations at the local level, for instance LIBERA. The target is to transform goods and land properties confiscated to local mafias. We can face the examples of new Coffee factories, in the agri-food sector (Caffè Lazzarelle). However, after a year of activity, they faced many problems to be competitive with other local firms.

#####: [Legacoopsociali] We are involved in many good practices that have as their main target more innovation: 400 millions of euros have been spent at the local level for BROS (Association of precarious workers). This project favored the organization of groups of young unemployed. However, several initiatives of the Campania Region to create long-term work opportunities failed to employ the hundreds of people involved. As for start-ups and smart cities projects, in Naples we are still in a early stage: the Municipality did not publish yet the general criteria to apply. However, good feedbacks came from the EU programme “Jeremi Fund”, with the aim to downsize loans’ requirements for small business.

#####: [Scampia public employment service] We promoted several innovative projects in terms of education in order to favor early school leaving. In the vocational trainings school Virginto IV, we involved secondary school’s students to contrast growing numbers of vulnerable young leaving the school. Moreover, we supported their familiar consumptions in several workshops. In additions, we adhered to the FIXO provincial project, in network with Italia Lavoro, for a better and work oriented education. However, the disadvantaged youth appeared generally not interested in our initiatives.

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256 Interviews 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 17.
257 Interview 2.
258 Interview 15.
259 A cooperative of female detainees who produce a high quality local coffee.
260 Interviews 5, 6 and 7.
261 Projects of requalification of old and abandoned railways by social cooperatives of young people. See Wp3.
262 Interview 4.
263 Interview 17.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
5.6.3 Achieving targets and the perspectives of the disadvantaged youth

At the macro level, a general lack in controlling and evaluating the outcomes of the aforementioned policies has been highlighted. The Ministry of Labour outlined a perspective enhancement of a successful assessment of the policies’ outcomes at the national and local levels through the involvement of ISFOL (Institute for the professional trainings of workers) in Rome, the Regional Agency for Education, and Labour (ARIFL) in Milan and the Regional Agency for Labour (ARLAS) in Naples, in new inquiries on the effectiveness of the available policies, including interviews with the eligible young unemployed. However, the trade union representatives at the macro, meso and micro levels highlighted a general absence in defining the actors responsible for controlling youth unemployment policies’ implementation264.

In the cases of Naples and Milan, disadvantaged youth is not sufficiently heard in the policy making processes. When it occurred, for instance in the framework for the Youth Guarantee, their perspective did not count in shaping the policy making process. This is brought about mainly by the absence of structured youth organizations at the local level and the poor role played by the younger population in unions and business associations.

In Milan, regional rating agencies provided increasing instruments to control and evaluate the outcomes of public policies to contrast youth unemployment. However, the stakeholders involved in this research highlighted a general lack of external controllers for a more comprehensive evaluation of the available youth policies. The Milan Municipality quoted a joint effort of three sectors within the local public administration to monitor the policies talking youth exclusion: 1) work and productivity; 2) minors and youth (Education); 3) social policies (CELAV)265.

However, CISL added that the policies’ outcomes evaluation is still insufficient. The trade union representatives pointed out at the need to involve in the monitoring process external controllers to verify the policy outcome’s transparency, the relationship between firms and unions, the ability to re-employ the personnel within each considered labour provider. In the framework of the Dote Unica Lavoro266, although ARIFL monitored the effectiveness of the policy, a system of integrated controlling networks seems to be needed.

In Naples, the absence of a comprehensive system aimed at controlling and evaluating the existing policies is even more evident. Confindustria and Legacoopsociali267 highlighted that regional public or private rating agencies are not adequate to evaluate the outcomes of the existing policies.

CISL268 added that the monitoring activities provided by Regional Agency for Labour (ARLAS) are insufficient. The Agency did not hear the actors directly involved in the labour market. Apparently, the trade union representatives’ requests to verify the employment outcomes of the apprenticeship contracts have been recently considered with the creation of an Observatory on apprenticeship contracts. However, up-on a total of 18,100 apprenticeship contracts, activated in 2012, only 2,700 have been transformed in long-term jobs at the regional level269.

As for participation processes, the perspective of young people is generally not represented neither echoed in the IBJJ of local policy tackling youth unemployment. This is true for both

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264 See the Wp3 report.
265 Interview 1.
266 See sections 5 and 6.
267 Interviews 3 and 15.
268 Interviews 10 and 11.
269 CISL internal report.
our case studies, Milan and Naples. In the Youth Guarantee there has been a relative effort to hear representatives within the trade unions and business associations, especially in Milan.

However, the youth voice is generally not echoed and their perspective does not count in the IBJJ construction policies. The disadvantaged youth has not been involved in policy making and more generally in contributing to defining means to tackle poverty and inequality. In other words, a general exclusion of youth voices in influencing and shaping public policies aimed at tackling unemployment has been highlighted both in Lombardy (Milan) and Campania (Naples).

It is evident that there is an inadequate contribution of youth groups within unions, third sector and business associations in policy making’ processes focused on youth exclusion at the local level. Even in the occasion of regional official workshops on the Youth Guarantee, involving relevant local stakeholders, unionists, body sector, public administrations and third sector, the instruments to contrast youth exclusion in the labour market has been discussed only by the senior representative level.

Recently and in very limited cases, especially in Milan, when youth representatives have been involved in the policy making processes for the definition of the Youth Guarantee’ local guidelines, a general mistrust, among the regional and municipal political leaders, towards the groups representing young people has been highlighted. This happened because these groups are generally depicted as fragmented, ineffective and lacking of legitimacy for representing the youth demands. This approach once again prevented to make their voice count in the policy guidelines definition and implementation.

5.7 Discussion and conclusions

This report analyzed key local youth policies through a review of secondary data and semi-directive interviews. At the national level, a general definition of disadvantaged youth, an overview of the existing polices tackling youth exclusion and an understanding of participation and social innovation processes had been provided.

At the meso level, the target has been to disentangle the regional and urban interventions aimed at combating inequalities amongst young generations in the most populous and developed among Northern (Lombardy) and Southern (Campania) Italian regions, in the context of an economic crisis that is leading to increased inequalities. Table IV shows the Milan and Naples case studies in a comparative perspective.

Finally, at the micro level, participatory research within the two most disadvantaged districts of Quarto Oggiaro (Milan) and Scampia (Naples) will be carried out involving the local vulnerable youth. This research will be grounded in the Capability Approach, which provided the theoretical framework for evaluating whether individuals could live a life they have reason to value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Milan</th>
<th>Disadvantaged youth</th>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Participation</th>
<th>Innovation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They are long-term unemployed</td>
<td>In Lombardy, 178 millions of euro are already</td>
<td>The disadvantaged youth is not</td>
<td>All the stakeholders gave a very</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
| Naples | (15-24 years old) with low levels of education and young immigrants. It is increasing the number of young unemployed with a high level of education prone to move abroad to find a suitable employment. | available (2014-2015) for the Youth Guarantee. This policy is perceived as not innovative. The apprenticeship contracts are not appealing for firms. A general reform of employment support services is needed. Passive policies to tackle youth exclusion are ineffective. The policy outcome evaluation is insufficient. | broad definition of innovation: mainly a bottom-up process. A need to favor experimental policies in particular in vocational trainings, enabling a constant involvement of entrepreneurs in vocational schools and creating networks of cooperatives or public and private institutions has been highlighted. |
| | They are female and long-term unemployed (15-24 years old) with low levels of education. The unemployment rate among the higher cohorts (25-29/30-34 years) is growing due to many factors (e.g. the students of the major Campania Universities are late in their academic studies and enter too late in the labour market). | In Campania, 200 millions of euros are available for the Youth Guarantee (2014-2015). This policy is in an early stage of implementation. The apprenticeship contracts seemed to be misused. A general shortcomings of the CPI in tackling youth unemployment has been highlighted. Passive policies to tackle youth exclusion are ineffective. The policy outcome evaluation is insufficient. | In Naples, the youngsters’ participation is not supported neither favored. In disadvantaged areas, a poor participation of the vulnerable youth is brought about by the resilience of the black market. |
| | | | All the involved stakeholders gave a very broad definition of innovation: mainly a bottom-up process. They all highlighted the need to intervene in order to downsize the number of young unemployed people who turn to the black-market and local mafias to find a job. |
The traditional differences among the Italian Southern and Northern regions increased throughout the economic crisis. On the one hand, Milan’s labour market appeared well set and less affected by the recession; on the other hand, Naples’ labour market had various structural weaknesses and a growing number of young unemployed.

Disadvantaged youth have been defined in reference to a lack of opportunities in a series of dimensions (familial economic background, access to education, territorial origins, gender and age). The stakeholders interviewed, highlighted that the most disadvantaged amongst young generations are the long-term unemployed young people (the 15 to 24 years old ones) with low educational levels. If in Milan (Lombardy) an increasing number of young immigrants are amongst the most vulnerable, in Naples (Campania) the number of young women excluded from the job market is growing.

Existing policies and social programmes at the local level tackling vulnerable young people have been evaluated and examined. Especially, three specific policies seemed to be relevant for tackling youth unemployment: the Youth Guarantee, the apprenticeship’ contracts and the employment support services. With some differences between Milan and Naples, the three policies appeared to not be innovative enough, lacking financial resources and suffering from a general mismatch (demand/supply) between available educational paths and the labour market opportunities for young generations.

Moreover, it has been reported that disadvantaged youth did not have enough of a voice for participating and influencing public policies aimed at tackling unemployment. Nevertheless in the policy making process of the Youth Guarantee, youth representatives have been heard through senior representatives within the unions, although they did not give a relevant contribution to the policy making process. A general exclusion of youth from influencing public policies aimed at tackling unemployment has been highlighted both in Lombardy (Milan) and Campania (Naples).

At the local level, the definition of social innovation is very broad. Most of the interviewees agreed that the term is related to policies aiming at filling unmet social needs through an enhanced educational and participative process of young people. However, the existing policies tackling young unemployment are generally perceived as not socially innovative. The Youth Guarantee has been considered as a first attempt to use a targeted approach towards this concern. However, other, mostly bottom-up, good practices (e.g. Milan case study: Project 30-40, Social Observatory on mafias, E30; Naples case study: Sparagnamm, BROS, FIXO) have been quoted within the framework of existing public policies.

By adopting the Capability Approach as a grounding framework, social inequality is defined as intrinsically multidimensional and intersectional in its features. Albeit the stakeholders involved in this research shared a common definition of disadvantaged youth, they added a diverse range of other vulnerabilities. However, they appeared not fully aware of the consequences of a diffuse exclusion of a large number of young unemployed in shaping public policies. In addition, a general lack at the meso and micro levels in defining the actors responsible for controlling and evaluating youth unemployment policies’ implementation has been added.

Finally, this chapter on disadvantaged youth at the local level in Italy highlighted a series of limitation of the existing public policies (definition, development and implementation). Also the lack of well-targeted policies and sufficient financial resources to contrast youth unemployment has been highlighted. The young unemployed appeared to not be sufficiently
involved in policy making. All these limitations are brought about by more complex factors, among them a general lack of job opportunities, the emergence of new forms of disadvantage (e.g. young unemployed with high level of education), the resilience of local mafias, the misuse of apprenticeship contracts and the inadequacy of the employment support services’ networks, a lack of funding for passive policies (included the Social Card).
## Appendix 1: Key policies to tackle employment at the local level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Laws</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment and training</td>
<td>Youth Guarantee</td>
<td><strong>Beginning a long-term plan to tackle youth unemployment with the aim to favor fixed term contracts, auto-entrepreneurship and to contrast social exclusion in the Southern Italian regions.</strong> A consistent support for NEET is provided, especially through new educational trainings. It envisions a general reform of available employment support services and agencies, improving public and private actors’ capability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and apprenticeship</td>
<td>Law 196/1997; Laws 69-76/2013; Law 78/2014</td>
<td><strong>Pacchetto Treu</strong> introduced apprenticeship’ contracts for young people (16-24 years old). <strong>Decreto del Fare, Decreto Lavoro</strong> and Poletti (Jobs Act) reactivated apprenticeship’ contracts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment, apprenticeship and placement</td>
<td>Youth Guarantee</td>
<td>The public employment support providers have the target to place the unemployed and promote active work policies: work orientation and placement, favoring the match between work offers and demands and internships, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Card</td>
<td>Laws 112/2008 and 69-76/2013</td>
<td>The Social Card has been approved in 2008 for retired over 65 and poor families only. It extends the number of eligible applicants for Social Cards. It approves a set of measures for disadvantaged areas. The Social Card’s provisions has been extended. It introduces the SIA (Subsidy for an Active Inclusion) has been approved without any reference to the age, work or familiar background of the perspective beneficiaries. SIA entails an active support to the disadvantaged subjects with the aim to help them to emerge from poverty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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6. the NETHERLANDS – Local social support networks analysis in Amsterdam New West (by Evelyne Baillergeau, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Nicole Cuijpers)

University of Amsterdam

Abstract

This report focuses on New West, a borough of capital city Amsterdam. For a long time, New West has been spotted as a priority area for social policy, and a wide array of ‘special programmes’ have been dedicated to New West. In spite of this, in Amsterdam, New West is widely known as an area in which many young people are living, and many of which are in a ‘problematic’ situation in various respects. This report analyses how young people living in New West are constructed as addressees of local social policy and how this framing translates in the views and strategies of men and women taking part in 'local social support networks'.

In New West, social problems affecting young people are mainly viewed as a multidimensional issue. Unemployment is portrayed as the most striking problem but it is closely correlated to a range of social issues such as education, disruptive family environment, Islam, public order and finances (debts). That all these issues are difficult to disentangle is a common idea in the Netherlands in general and in New West in particular, as reflected in both policy documents and the narratives of most respondents.

In policy documents, participation of youth – just as other citizens – is presented as important. The voice of young people is meant to be known and considered in social/youth policy, and the talents of young people are meant to be discovered and to blossom within mainstream society. However, at the grass-roots level, a challenge with regard to participation is getting to know about the views of young people regarding their ‘needs’. Another challenge is that while calls for participation are largely targeting ‘citizens’, it seems that young people do not see themselves as ‘citizens’. Unsurprisingly, formal calls for citizen participation scarcely trigger attention among young people in New West. As a result, their voice is mostly absent from formal participatory arenas.

With regard to what could be heard as ‘social innovation’ along the lines of social policy defined from above, the expectations towards peer work and community-based role models is particularly striking in New West. Peer workers are regarded as key-figures who know best about the issues pertaining to young people and about the ways important ‘messages’ that should be passed on to young people. Whether this meets the expectations and the aspirations of the young people is left to be researched.

Regarding from where comes the knowledge about issues pertaining to young people in New West, next to statistically grounded categories designed to inform social/youth policy and professional knowledge, a few respondents from various backgrounds pointed to the experiential knowledge of front-line professionals who happen to be peer workers, say: frontline youth workers who know about young people and about the area out of their own experience of living there and having been through many challenges young people are facing. Such experiential knowledge of peer workers is discussed.
All in all, we came up with a picture of Amsterdam in which what could be heard as a ‘local social support network’ consists of a wide array of actors, ranging from local government providing guidelines and funding to all kinds of projects to community-based organisations providing young people with spare-time activities and/or pathways to mainstream society via work and formal education. Besides, the way young people are constructed as ‘addressees’ very much relies on an understanding of ‘needs’ framed in terms of problems (to be solved), such as unemployment and so on. As a matter of fact, local social/youth policy is primarily aimed at problem-solving, and so do calls for participation. To what extent does problem-solving connect to the prospect of responding to the aspirations of young people and/or supporting aspirations of young people to arise and blossom? These are possibly in line with each other, but possibly not (fighting youth unemployment by merely promoting cheap labour in a society that values stable jobs and high purchasing power). As a matter of fact, aspirations of young people did not come up very often along the interviews, nor did enquiring about the aspirations of young people as a way to inform social/youth policy. The way needs are assessed and turned into policy and practice categories is largely disconnected from the chances offered to young people to participate.

6.1 Introduction

The Dutch WP4.1. report focuses on New West, a borough of capital city Amsterdam, where many young people are living. For a long time, New West has been spotted as a priority area for social policy, and a wide array of ‘special programmes’ have been dedicated to New West. In spite of this, in Amsterdam, New West is widely known as an area in which many young residents are in a ‘problematic’ situation in various respects. This could be seen as paradox, possibly deriving from the fact that public intervention has always been very present in New West (as a result of the large share of public housing), leading social issues to be highly visible in New West, perhaps more than in other parts of Holland. It most probably holds true for petty crime involving young people from New West. However, there might also be a mismatch between social policy and the ‘needs’ of people living in New West. In a CA perspective, it is interesting to question: In which understanding of needs is social policy grounded? What are the obstacles meant to be tackled so that the well-being of young people can be enhanced? What kind of knowledge is involved in defining ‘needs’ and social issues to be addressed in social policy?

The report analyses how young people (12-24 year olds) living in New West are constructed as addressees of local social policy and to what extent policy talk translates in the views and strategies of men and women taking part in ‘local social support networks’. To this purpose, we investigated what could be heard as ‘social support networks’ regarding young people in Amsterdam and how local youth ‘facilities’ (facilities being generally understood as ‘services provided for a particular purpose’, regardless of whether or not they are directly related to governmental youth policy) ground their interventions: what is the knowledge they use and/or produce of the needs of young people? Besides, we are looking at the space devoted to young people in youth facilities, what is offered to their initiatives and what is expected from them in terms of participation.

Section 3 reviews the research methods, a combination of policy literature analysis and in-depth interviews with stakeholders taking part in local social support networks. Interviews
were carried out so as to explore in an open way the social issues for which attention and action were deemed necessary, and also to identify the sources of knowledge informing youth policy and practice.

Section 4 introduces the borough of New West in light of the reasons why we selected it as a research focus. In New West, social problems affecting young people are mainly viewed as a multidimensional issue. Unemployment is portrayed as the most striking problem but it is closely correlated to a range of issues such as education, disruptive family environment, Islam, public order and finances (debts). That all these problems are difficult to disentangle is a common idea in the Netherlands, as reflected in both policy documents and the narratives of respondents. Addressing such issues falls within a take on youth policy which is largely embedded in a join-up policy culture, which forms the basis of our research.

Section 5 reviews the policy intentions in the matter of youth policy, which indeed reflects a multidimensional understanding of social issues affecting young people in New West. However, section 5 also highlights some background factors that put a multidimensional youth policy under pressure, notably a new stress on responsibilisation and on law and order.

Section 6 focuses on youth participation in New West. In policy documents, participation of youth – just as other citizens – is presented as important. The voice of young people is meant to be known and considered in social/youth policy, and the talents of young people are meant to be discovered and to blossom within mainstream society. To what extent does this translate into practice? Does the case of New West contradict our WP3 research among experts, in which it seemed that the voice of young people does not matter much beyond policy talk? What is known about the voice of young people in New West? To what extent does it play a role in social/youth policy?

Section 7 discusses social innovation along two perspectives: first, what is meant as policy innovation in the matter of youth policy, and second, a more SociEty specific take on social innovation: what are the policy and practice displaying a potential for taking the perspective of young people seriously?

Section 8 discusses the way policy officers and front-line youth professionals get to know about social problems affecting young people. Do they merely rely on policy and official statistically grounded categories? Or do they rather resort to other sources of knowledge such as their own professional and/or experiential knowledge? Upon asking interviewees about what they take the main issues affecting young people to be and what is done about it, we could also address another question: who is held responsible for these problems? This is an important question because the way responsibility is put down to possibly varies from a party to another and variations may lead to misunderstandings and/or tensions, thereby possibly jeopardizing the chances of success of policy and/or interventions in the long run.
6.2 Methods

| Regional/local government policy makers (New West borough council officers) | 3 |
| Training and education providers | |
| Employment support service providers | 1 |
| Citizen’s bodies (e.g. youth parliaments/councils) | |
| Youth work organisations in the broad sense: while most respondents look at youth in a multidimensional perspective, some have a special focus on crime matters; work; mental health; addiction; sport | 9 |
| Think tanks (governmental and non-governmental) | |
| Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising) | |
| Young people | |
| Other types of organisations: rabbi | 1 |

There is much to read about youth in Amsterdam. Just as in the rest of the Netherlands, youth has been a matter of policy for a long time in Amsterdam, leading to a considerable amount of grey literature for us to consider. Youth is also a commonly commented topic in mass media, notably when young people are framed as deviant. To what extent does media coverage reflect the social problems addressed in youth policy?

For the purpose of our research on local social support networks, we mapped all ‘facilities/organisations having a commitment to support youth in New West (n=36) and considered 42 persons for interviews. The report primarily draws upon a series of semi-directed interviews with local 'experts', whom we thought could be seen as taking part in a 'local social support network'.

See table (above) for a brief presentation of respondents

Over the semi-structured interviews (all lasting from 1 hour to 1 hour and a half), local experts were asked about what are the most striking issues affecting young people and how do they know about that; and also about the ways in which youth policy and youth services attempt to meet the needs of young people. Respondents were asked about what kind of support is available to respond to these issues and about remaining issues (which are not approached or ill-approached). Youth participation, how this is interpreted and whether or not young people can influence youth policy) was also discussed during the interviews.

6.3 Description of area In relation to Inequality/ disadvantaged Youth

6.3.1. A general introduction to Amsterdam New West

Amsterdam, capital city of the Netherlands, has about 813,500 inhabitants\textsuperscript{270} and is governed by a mayor, aldermen, and a municipal council. The city is subdivided into seven boroughs. Policy decisions are made by the central city council, and implemented by the administrative committees at borough level.\textsuperscript{271}

\textsuperscript{270} June 2014, \url{http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37230ned&D1=0-17&D2=39.66.88.121&D3=132.145.I&VW=T}
\textsuperscript{271} see e.g. \url{http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/bestuurlijk-stelsel/}

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
For a long time, the borough of New West, has been an area where public intervention is highly present in the life of residents, notably because of the large share of public rental housing units in that area. The borough New West was developed as a garden city in the aftermath of WWII, when there was need for a rapid and cheap extension of the housing stock in Amsterdam. New building blocks in New West were designed for working class households as part of the public rental housing sector run by housing corporations (Teijmant & Sorgedrager, 2009). From the 1980’s onwards, predominantly migrant families – generally coming from Morocco and Turkey after having been stimulated to temporarily work in the Netherlands by a large scale recruitment campaign – settled in the area because of the relatively large number of affordable houses. Since 2001, extensive urban renewal projects have been initiated in New West, and several houses have been demolished and replaced by new ones. Also many of the older flats remain however, although they are often too small and thin-walled to meet the common standards. So, in spite of the urban renewal campaigns, housing conditions are rather low according to Dutch (high) standards, especially in a few districts such as Slotervaart Zuid and Slotervaart Noord, as well as Geuzenveld (see map below).

In 2007 the national government introduced the ‘area-approach’ [wijkaanpak]. Under the then Minister for Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment [Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, VROM] 40 areas were identified as deprived. Based on 18 indicators concerning socio-economic status, physical environment, housing conditions, and safety, was determined that these districts were having more problems than others and therefore in need of extra investments (see e.g. http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/leefbaarheid/aandachtswijken). Currently three Amsterdam boroughs have districts that are included in this list; New West [Nieuw-West], North [Noord], and Southeast [Zuidoost]. Because New West is also the borough with the highest number of young people, we have decided to focus on this borough.

Figure … The boroughs of Amsterdam, with New West in green:
Borough New West has about 47,000 young inhabitants (age 0-24) (see http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/pdf/2013_stadsdelen_in_cijfers.pdf, page 15) -which is 33% of its total population- and although the district council in its youth policy report declares that most of them are doing fine, it also states to have relatively many ‘vulnerable families’ and risk-youth (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 2). Almost 65% of the young inhabitants has a non-western background, mainly Moroccan (± 30%) and Turkish (± 17%) (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 2).

The borough has predominantly been portrayed in the media as an area with problems, mainly claimed to be caused by groups of Moroccan boys who engage in nuisance and/or criminal activities (see e.g. De Jong, 2007).

6.3.2. Social issues commonly associated with New West

In mass media, Amsterdam New West has often been spot-lighted because of petty crime issues or more serious forms of crime, especially since 1998, when riots broke out further to a young man being arrested and badly handled after setting some trash bin in fire. In 2002, filmmaker Theo Van Gogh was murdered in Amsterdam, and the perpetrator was known to be a young Muslim living in New West then. The Netherlands being a rather peaceful society, the event proved highly shocking. Since then, New West comes to the mind of many Dutch

\[272\] Reference date: 1 January 2013.
\[273\] Defined as: ‘These are families that have problems and are not able to function well without some kind of professional help. A family is vulnerable when there are at least 4 risk factors, such as unemployment, single parenting, low education and poverty (Raad van de Kinderbescherming, Ontzorgen en Normaliseren)’ (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 6).
\[274\] Defined as: ‘a young person who shows behaviour that is considered as nuisance-causing or undesirable and at some point may also be defined as delinquent/criminal (Rovers & Kooijmans, Werken met risicojongeren Handboek voor sociale professionals)’ (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 6).
people when there is any event or rumour related to radical Islam and/or examples of difficult match between conservative Islam and dominant life-styles and values in the Netherlands. The extent to which these clichés actually reflect real social life in New West has been often discussed (among others De Jong, 2007; Mepschen, forthcoming).

Very much in line with the ‘area approach’ rationale, both policy documents and narratives of our respondents consistently/homogeneously depicted unemployment as the main problem affecting young people based in New West, but always closely related to other issues such as poverty, low educational record, disruptive family environment, and so on. A few of these issues have been portrayed in statistically-informed surveys.

**Poverty, reference date 2010:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Households with minimum income in New West</td>
<td>11,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with a minimum income and children in New West</td>
<td>4,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent families with minimum income</td>
<td>2,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parents with no to little perspective for employment</td>
<td>1,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in poverty for a long period (more than 3 years)</td>
<td>8,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with problematic debts, enlisted for debt-help</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working poor among the households with a minimum income</td>
<td>2,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with a minimum income, linked to background</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Uitwerkingsplan Armoedebestrijding in Stadsdeel Nieuw-West, 2012: 6)

**Early school leaving (18-22) per borough in percentages, reference date 2012:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New West</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bureau Leerplicht Plus (http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/)
Youth unemployment:

The report on youth policy stated that in New-West ‘youth unemployment is high (14% of youth between 15 and 27) and in particular young people without a basic qualification have difficulties finding a job’ (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 6,24). On top of that, rather high numbers of ‘invisible young people’ are to be added, say: young people who are not registered anywhere, many of which not active on the regular labour market but also not registered as unemployed (Kleiwegt, 2014).

Young people without perspective concerning employment or a future are regarded as more likely to turn towards criminality. Although youth criminality has declined over the past few years, registered criminality in New West is still one of the highest of Amsterdam (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 6).

6.3.3. Local social support networks in New West

What could be heard as ‘local social support network’ in New West? In Amsterdam local social/youth policy is very much in the hands of local governmental bodies (main fund providers). So an influential player is the sub-municipality of New West, as an operating arm of the municipality of Amsterdam. Over the last decades, the old public housing agencies have turned into private organisations, for which public funds are provided under a range of conditions including a degree of assistance to renters who are entitled to that. So Housing corporations are also important players to consider. Besides, a variety of agencies are carrying out social/youth policy. Most of the funds go to major care providers, some of which operating in Amsterdam but also elsewhere. Nonetheless, in New West, part of the professional support offered to young people derives from a commitment of community-based agencies to social problems affecting youth. Yet, most of the community-based agencies approached for the purpose of this research receive project-based public funds (from local government) and some partly rely on such funding. Non-governmental bodies such as mosques also happen to provide social support to youth, as well as a representative of the Jewish community.

Though local support network very much relates to join-up area based policy, the picture would not be fully accurate without mentioning some programmes that are not area-based. As earlier mentioned, the involvement of youth in crime is very often highlighted and much public money is invested in crime problems such as the Top600 programme (targeting a number of young people defined as ‘repeating offenders’ in order to prevent reoffending). Because a number of those young people come or live in New West, some facilities based in New West get some funds in the frame of such a programme, although it is not area-based.

The task to provide social support is predominantly placed with semi-public actors such as schools, the local government, care organisations, youth work, but also by some (smaller-scale) organisations that have developed from community-based initiatives. Although some of them actively reach out to young people by contacting them on the streets, in cafés or other venues, most of the organisations expect young people or their parents to themselves take the initiative and ask for support. When young people get into the picture because of nuisance or criminal activities, contacts take often place within a forced framework, which may lead to a judicial trajectory if they fail to live up to certain conditions.

275 The 14 % only includes young people who are not ‘in education’, see page 24 of the report.
For a long time, New West has been spotted as a priority area for social policy, and a wide array of 'special programmes' have been dedicated to New West. In spite of this, in Amsterdam, New West is widely known as an area in which many young residents are in a 'problematic' situation in various respects. This could be seen as paradox, possibly deriving from the fact that public intervention has always been very present in New West (as a result of the large share of public housing), leading social issues to be highly visible in New West, perhaps more than in other parts of Holland. It most probably holds true for petty crime involving young people from New West. However, it could also be so that there is a mismatch between social policy and the 'needs' of people living in New West. In a CA perspective it is interesting to question: On which understanding of needs is social policy grounded? What kind of knowledge is involved in defining ‘needs’ and social issues to be addressed in social policy?

6.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

In our WP3 report, we argued that social policy addressing youth is not relying on ‘youth disadvantage’ language but rather on youth ‘vulnerability’ and ‘risk’ language, through policies either aimed at 'vulnerable youth' (at risk of unfavourable events for themselves) but even more so at 'risk youth' (regarded as a threat/nuisance for others). What are such vulnerability/risk-based policies in Amsterdam? How is/are their explicit target group framed? How are the 'addressees' constructed in policy intentions? How do policy intentions translate into daily practice among young people and professionals addressing their 'needs'?

The risk and vulnerability language is also very common in Amsterdam, both in policy literature (NJi, 2012: 27) and respondents’ narratives, rather than emphasis on low social economic status, although this would apply according to scholars (De Winter quoted in Hoorik, 2011). Starting from an area under the spotlight and the latter being embedded in intersectional policy culture ('join-up policy' running for a few decades), we came up with considering ‘wijkaanpak’ (area based policy): to what extent does it relate to employment policy? Education policy? Who is committed to this?

Concerning youth policy, the council of New-West follows the youth policy of the municipality which was drafted in 2010; Young Amsterdam 2 [Jong Amsterdam 2]. Central aim is to make sure that ‘children and young people can develop optimally to participate in society in a fully-fledged and responsible way’ (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 5). The policy plan contains 4 main objectives and 9 priorities to which the New-West council has added an extra one because of substantial problems with youth unemployment in the area (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 5).

Objectives:
- Children develop optimally: by provisions of care, early assistance and (financial) support
- Children/young people have a successful school career and obtain a basic qualification
- Children/young people develop their talents
- Children/young people grow up safely as active and responsible citizens

Priorities:
1. Preventing that poverty will be an impediment
2. Preventive care
3. Stimulating parents to support their children
4. Making a good start
5. Offering the best possible education
6. Constant care and education
7. Preventing early school leave
8. Stimulating talent development and community schools
9. Stimulating security and active citizenship
10. Offering perspective to young people with a distance to the labour market

(Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 5).

So policy intentions in the matter of youth policy are very broad ranging and multidimensional in Amsterdam. However, it is important to consider a few influential background factors. Particularly, in 2010-2011, partly as a result of the crisis, Amsterdam municipal youth policy moved away from a focus on poverty reduction twined with rather generous set of youth facilities and adhoc staff (professional youth work operating under the auspices of local government) towards a focus on social support granted to ‘vulnerable’ young people twined with responsibilisation (Eigen Kracht talk) and severe budget cuts in youth facilities and youth work (NJi, 2011 – talentontwikkeling bij risicojongeren; Bos, 2012:2). Besides, some changes were introduced in employment policy, notably a drastic reduction of benefits and activation policy and stronger control. Additionally, regarding school dropout, stronger control mechanisms of truancy were introduced. Overall, a few leading policy documents such as Veiligheid begint vroeg 2010-2011 (V&V) and Aanpak Risicojongeren Top600 2011 instilled a stronger emphasis on law and order in Amsterdam (Bos, 2012). Against such a background, talent development still appears in policy intentions but get under pressure, even more so when young people engaged in such projects personally experience the repressive wind, or the consequences of brutal introduction of activation mechanisms in labour market policy.

In the coalition agreement of 2010, the national government established that professional care for youths was to be transferred from the provincial to the local level, in continuation of the developments initiated in 1989, when youth care was for the largest part transferred from the national to the regional level. Central aim of these changes has been to organise care as much as possible in close proximity of those who are in need of it, and since 2010 the main key words concerning youth care are; nearby, promptly, short term, and ‘personal strength’ [eigen kracht] (see e.g. http://www.nji.nl/Ontwikkelingen-in-jeugdbeleid). These developments can also be traced in the various reports on local youth policy in Amsterdam and the pilots/testing grounds [proeftuinen] that have been created in order to experiment with various aspects of the new youth care system that will be activated on 1 January 2015, and find out which cost reductions may be accomplished with the new approach (see e.g. http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie-diensten/dmo/onderwijs-jeugd/veranderingen/nieuwsbrieven-kind/documenten/proeftuinen/).

All in all, in policy documents, unemployment is portrayed as the most striking problem but it is closely correlated to a range of issues such as education, disruptive family environment, Islam, public order and finances (debts). Nevertheless, policy aimed at youth seems to mainly be directed at repressing problematic behaviour instead of stimulating capabilities. Some changes are visible over the past few years, however, for example appearing from the increased attention for girls in problematic situations. They have been largely ignored until recently, as they tend to largely internalise problems instead of causing trouble or nuisance.
Next to programmes aimed at a general target group, or at boys in particular, several care organisations now also have specific programmes or youth workers addressing girls.

6.5 Participation

Just as highlighted for the Netherlands at large in our WP3 report, young people in Amsterdam are formally given voice in policy matters, as a result of the existence of a whole range of youth boards. Additionally, youth participation is advocated in a few local policy documents, as a concept that should be promoted. However, just as elsewhere, participation could be understood in different ways. What is meant by youth participation in Amsterdam? And to what extent is it actually put into practice?

Thanks to our literature study, we could set apart three different takes on how resident participation (thus not only young people) is understood in local social policy [Amsterdamse wijk aanpak 2010-2011: 51-52]:

- a call for action through which residents need to complement the inputs/efforts of professionals by taking initiatives [very much in line with the eigen kracht talk; rather to be seen as social participation]
- a call for expressing opinion; through giving feedback to government, thereby providing government with a chance to adapt to needs and wishes of residents but also providing governmental action with legitimacy [see draagvlak in our WP3 report and Feringa, 2013 – rather to be seen as political participation].
- a commitment to resident emancipation, heard as building capacity to solve problems and gain confidence in fellow residents/neighbours [possibly seen as economic participation but also as social participation]

Regarding youth in particular, these three takes on participation are also explicit in policy talk (and often not realised in practice, which is acknowledged though in the policy documents).

- Asking young people for feedback, through urging supporting agencies to provide client boards (Koersbesluit Om het Kind 2013, holding for Amsterdam at large). More specifically in New-West, willingness is expressed to invite young people to take part in thinking about projects in order to adapt to demand on the side of young people (Uitvoeringsprogramma Geuzenveld-Slotermeer276, 2008: 33; 38 & 40 - also in Bestuursprogramma 2010-2014: 66).
- Emancipation/education (Coalitieakkoord 2010-2014; see also 'positive participation capacity' in Jong in West/NJI, 2012: 11)
- Action to support addressing problems of surroundings (thus not necessarily of young people: however young people are explicitly expected to feel responsible for their neighbourhood and to take part in political decision-making – Bestuursprogramma 2010-2014:66).

Besides, the borough government explicitly views youth participation as a task for youth work, alongside talent development (Jong in West 2011-2014:10) and school-dropout prevention and nuisance reduction, towards a fully-fledged participation of youth to society (Memo Jongerenwerk 2013). Training for policy officers is advocated, so that they can actively enrol young people in the development of new or existing plans (Jong in West 2011-2014:29)

276 Geuzenveld-Slotermeer is a district in New West. This report does not apply to the whole borough.
Against a broad and diverse understanding of participation in policy documents, participation was – unsurprisingly – diversely understood in our respondents’ narratives. Overall the point is to take part in (mainstream) society where young people are expected to but this can be both understood as voicing one’s opinion in city politics or taking part in social life at local and/or community level.

Interestingly, very few respondents pointed to Young Nieuw West, a local platform – backed by the borough council – in which young people based in New West can express their views and discuss them with borough council representatives. Platform Young Nieuw West is presently attended by a wide diversity of young people, ‘native Dutch’ as well as young people of (a diversity of) foreign descent, boys as well as girls. However, most of these young people seem to be rather successful at school and ready to take part in public life without much external support, unlike young people with whom our respondents are usually working. This sounds very much in line with our WP3 findings at the national level. Many young people do not see themselves as ‘citizens’. So, when calls for participation are largely targeting ‘citizens’, they scarcely trigger attention among young people in New West. As a result, their voice is mostly absent from formal participatory arenas.

However, this does not mean that nothing is done to enhance participation of young people who are not successful at school in New West. So far we could not trace any attempt to guide these young people towards active participation in platform Young Nieuw West (we rather heard that such form of participation was regarded as a too ambitious and demanding goal for young people at the margins of society). Yet, some organisations do encourage young people to organise and/or to take part in some debates at the local level, some of which providing them with a chance of a direct talk with some local politicians and/or civil servants when applicable (notably youth work projects providing budgets for this but not only). Besides, some attempts to enhance youth participation target a contribution to community life, for instance by taking part in cleaning actions of homework support. A striking rationale in this is that, once young people get arguably valuable help or support (such as a chance to enrol in a community football team or support for their homework, or a meeting place), they are expected to give back (to society or community) for what they got.

Whether or not such attempts are successful seems to be diversely appreciated. Some attempts seem to be successful indeed, but some respondents pointed to some remaining obstacles in youth participation, notably some obstacles that could be analysed as lacking capability to participate: some young people seem to lack adequate know-how and/or cultural capital for participation; some people facing light disability issues seem to be in a difficult position regarding participation. Besides, there seem to be other types of barriers. Some respondents mentioned that in New West young people rather engage where they are paid for their commitment (such as surveillance during special events) – which could be seen as related to a lack of cultural capital in the matter of participation (I don’t feel the need or the duty to contribute to social/civil society) but also to the fact that young people arguably need to get money in the short term, notably when they need/want to clear some debts. Such obstacles in youth participation triggered our curiosity for other potential interpretations: perhaps they are expected to give back too early (earlier than they are actually out of major trouble)? Perhaps a special type of authority is needed, or a power of conviction, by which young people consciously feel they were actually helped/secured by the intervention of others and that would be fair to give back? The question of fairness sounds interesting indeed, since some expectations regarding youth participation seem overall legitimate, while some other are
debated. Might it be so that the problem is that young people are not (yet) convinced that it is fair that they have to give back for what they received? As a result of a wide range of budget cuts and reorganisation in social policy, some services disappeared in New West (notably places where young people could get together during their spare time). Besides young people need to take good care of fulfilling obligations applying to them (notably the need to pay for their health insurance). Social provisions are increasingly subjected/conditional to good behaviour and/or personal commitment. Besides, some recent changes are debated in wider circles (and by some respondents), notably the duty to provide care to the neighbours whilst care was previously provided by social professionals. So it might seem unsurprising that young people also do not feel comfortable with such changes.

Overall, young people who prove reluctant to engage in participation where they are expected to might be (over) calculating citizens (don’t regard participation as worthwhile for themselves or for society/community), it can also be that they rather are under-confident with regard to participation (don’t regard themselves worth for participation).

6.6 Social innovation

In this section, social innovation is first discussed along a broad understanding of policy innovation; second with a more Society-specific understanding of social innovation, aimed at assessing the potential of youth policy and practice for taking the perspective of young people seriously.

6.6.1. Policy innovation in youth policy

In our WP3 report we showed that social innovation is not explicitly claimed or discussed in social/youth policy. However we identified three main areas which - Dutch authorities claim – are now undergoing radical changes: youth care; schools and participation law. Only the last two appeared in the narratives of our respondents: schools and participation law. From August 2014 onwards, schools have a so called ‘care-duty’, i.e. they have to make sure that all of their pupils have an appropriate place either at the school at which they are enrolled, or elsewhere within the concerning cooperation of schools and municipalities. Aim is to thus reduce costs of special care-arrangements and diminish the amount of pupils that refrain from the educational system. At time of investigation (June-August 2014), beyond formal education, in theory schools have the duty to provide social support to students. Some secondary schools do have a school social worker, a ZAT team, a school police officer, but it appears that the support that is provided is often very limited. A number of respondents from various backgrounds were very critical regarding the role of local secondary schools, which do not seem to provide much support to early school leavers. So in this respect, policy innovation still has to translate into policy improvement.

So-called ‘participation-law’ will affect young people who are on benefits. From January 2015 onwards, municipalities will be responsible for (young) people who are considered capable to work, but need some kind of support to accomplish this. This means that the condition of (young) people who now receive a special allowance because of a physical or mental impairment will be rejudged, and it is expected (by the government) that about 60% of them upon further consideration appear to after all have opportunities on the labour market and may hence be expected to partially secure their own income (Rijksoverheid, 2014a). That young people are not left to do nothing while getting an allowance sound relevant to all respondents. Some respondents highlighted some negative consequences of such situations,
notably social isolation and poor prospects regarding self-realization. However, cuts on benefits may also have negative consequence, especially if not twined with accurate guidance and adequate training and opportunities on the labour market. Temptations provided by criminal but lucrative activity may increase (again). Some respondents also indicated the tricky situation in which some ‘older’ young people (19 and up) find themselves when after having dedicated their time to earn money in low skilled jobs as soon as allowed to work, instead of focusing on getting a school degree. When facing job loss, it turns out difficult for some to find a new job (because of a low educational record) and difficult to engage back in formal education (regarded as too old, even though some schools have a duty to provide them with help). One can easily imagine that a similar tricky situation may come to apply to young people who used to have an allocation and suddenly loose it as a result of condition reassessment.

6.6.2 A potential for taking the perspective of young people seriously?

Moreover, our interviews inspired us to stress the important role granted to peer work in social/youth policy in New West. Peer workers are regarded as key-figures who know best about the issues pertaining to young people and about the ways important ‘messages’ should be passed on to young people (notably top-down defined expectations towards young people such as to adapt their profile and their behaviour to the needs of the labour market). This seems to have a potential for taking the perspective of young people seriously in youth policy and practice. Yet, whether this meets the expectations and the aspirations of the young people and support enhancing their capability to aspire is left to be researched.

Besides, some interviews suggested a rather positive appraisal of the 'straatcoaches' approach, which seems to have eventually moved away from the initial repressive/punitive perspective towards a more 'social' approach of crime control, in the struggle in favour of positive prospects in the middle term for young people gets special attention. Could we speak of a revival of the Dutch social crime prevention model?

6.7 Informational Basis of Judgements of Justice

How do policy officers think about social problems affecting young people? To what extent does it match the way(s) actors involved in ‘local social support networks’ (in our case, front-line social/youth professionals) think about social problems affecting youth? How do the latter know about social problems affecting young people? Do they merely rely on policy and official statistically grounded categories? Or do they rather resort to other sources of knowledge such as their own professional and/or experiential knowledge? Or to the (experiential) knowledge of young people? To what extent is the voice of the young people considered within interventions and activities carried out by ‘local support networks’? These were the main topics addressed over our research interviews. To what extent do the views of policy officers and front-line professionals seem to reflect the perspective of young people and consider it seriously is also a question we have in mind and we want to raise it as part our WP5 research. This report primarily addresses the other questions mentioned above.

As highlighted in our WP3 report, disadvantage is not explicitly addressed in Dutch youth policy. Rather, social/youth policy talk commonly frames youth in terms of ‘vulnerability’ and ‘risk’, so in a vague fashion. Such vague policy categories are also common at the level of Amsterdam, borough of New West included. Over the interviews however, the most
striking issue affecting young people in unemployment, connected to other related issues such as low educational record, disruptive family environment, debt, mental health issues and so on. Such a view was very consistent, with very little variation among the sample.

With regard to from where comes the knowledge about issues pertaining to young people in New West, some respondents pointed, unsurprisingly, to statistically grounded categories designed to inform social/youth policy, but this is not all. Many respondents from various backgrounds pointed to (or implicitly referred to) their own professional knowledge rooted in experience achieved over the years dedicated to working with young people. However, many respondents also pointed to the experiential knowledge of front-line professionals who happen to be peer workers, say: frontline youth workers who know about young people and about the area out of their own experience of living there and having been through many challenges young people are facing. Because of this, community-based peer workers are regarded as not only in the best position to adequately deliver messages and incentives to young people (a frequent reason for them to be successful in getting a job in the field of youth work nowadays), but also to know best about the needs of young people. Such experiential knowledge of peer workers is most probably highly valuable. Even more so when peer workers’ experiential knowledge is not only of personal order but also of professional order, when over the years, they have built up knowledge and know-how upon interventions and activities with young people (at times also deriving from professional education and training as a social/youth workers). However, it seems that, while the voice of peer workers is considered as a relevant source of knowledge to inform the ‘construction of needs’ and the definition of strategies, the voice of young people themselves is not regarded as necessary. Is the commitment of peer workers and/or role models sufficient to guarantee that youth policy/service considers the perspective of young people seriously? To what extent are peer workers aware of the aspirations of young people? What about their awareness regarding the capability to aspire of young people in New West?

In the Netherlands, the question of the voice of young people is debated (as reflected in the interviews we had with experts in the frame of our WP3 research). As a matter of fact, it seemed to a number of experts that policy-makers and politicians, in spite of a general call for youth participation, do not really take pains to listening to their voice. Does it also apply to New West? We came across contrasted views on this: some respondents pointed to attempts to engage young people in debate with policy officers and local politicians; some refer to the frustration of young people not to feel having the ear of people in power and not to be granted with much alternatives to achieving social status through criminal activity.

Upon asking interviewees about what they take to be the main issues affecting young people and what is done about it, we could also address another question: who is held responsible for these problems? This is an important question because the way responsibility is put down to possibly varies from a party to another and variations may lead to misunderstandings and/or tensions, thereby possibly jeopardizing the chances of success of policy and/or interventions in the long run.

Where is responsibility put down to regarding social problems affecting young people? Actually this is a debatable issue in the Netherlands. Our WP3 report suggested that, nowadays, responsibility is merely put down to young people themselves. Over the last decades, governmentality scholars claimed that responsibilisation at the individual level of
decision-making has been given significant emphasis in all kinds of welfare policy areas (Rose & Miller, 1996). Regarding current youth policy, responsibilisation is an explicit goal in policy talk at various levels. But where is responsibility put down to and about what? Do all actors involved point to the same area/level of decision-making? These questions guided the first steps in our research on social problems affecting young people and responses to what is seen as problematic in Amsterdam New West.

Responsibility either refers to 'having a duty to deal with something or of having control over someone' or to 'being accountable or to blame for something' (Oxford Dictionary). These two dimensions are possibly mutually connected but not necessarily. Someone might be blamed for something without being in control to change anything about it. The other way, someone might be expected to solve some problem without being accountable for it. In our research we are wondering: Are groups in disadvantaged situations held responsible for being in that position? Or is responsibility rather put down to structural factors, lying beyond the command of people in disadvantaged situation? This is often reflected by the strategies held by the social support networks, be they 'institutionalised' or not: is that the point to ask people to adapt their behaviour and/or to look around in their own environment for resources so that they overcome disadvantage? Further on, is the availability of 'informal' social support networks a revelator of emerging social needs or a revelator of a (successful) attempt to ask people in disadvantaged situations to bear responsibility for getting out of their (problematic) situation? We assumed that, in the Netherlands that would probably be the second option, in line with the popular aim (in Dutch politics at the moment) to downsize the commitment of government-funded care providers towards disadvantaged groups. In policy talk as well as in media coverage of situations or events involving youth, there is an enduring focus on appropriate behaviour, thus emphasis on the individual level of decision-making. There is a degree in choice in this, but only certain choices ('good' choices) are rewarded by social inclusion (as suggested by Kemshall, 2010:1252). Through responsibilisation some knowledge of problems and risks is expected and individuals are supposedly able to have a 'prudential eye on the future' (Rose, 2006) and capacity to make 'prudential choice' (Kemshall, 2010:1252).

So far it seems that the picture in New West is slightly more complex than either blaming individual or structure/society at large for the problematic situation in which young people are. Overall, blaming society at large is not explicit in respondents' talk (yet, changes in values were pointed out by some respondents, notably 'materialisme' leading young people to be focused on material goods and rather unwilling to engage in volunteer work anymore). Several of them mentioned that it is important to young people to have the ‘right’ clothes, gadgets, etc. (out of desire to ‘belong’ and be respected by their peers). Some community-based workers are even rather critical towards the expressed feeling of being victims of discrimination that are voiced by some (Moroccan) young people. According to them, young people are responsible for bad behaviour and they need to commit themselves in order to change their behaviour for a way out. Among most respondents, social-economic position of people is framed as an individual feature. But that is not all.

A factor that is increasingly highlighted is light mental disability, quoted by a handful of respondents from various backgrounds. Interestingly, this challenges the individual/structural

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277 Whether or not these attempts are successful in terms of reducing social inequality is left to be discovered. Of course one can think of side effects, such as when families with low level of qualifications have to organise themselves to support school work of their kids with their own resources only, then it is likely that school achievements of these kids differ from their kids from families with higher level of qualifications. Not to mention the impact of lower familiarity with local culture in the case of migrant families. Calls for participation happen to trigger/deepen/sustain social inequality!!
divide. Some would argue that it is an individual feature but is it so? And can we expect young people facing light mental disability to bear responsibility for this and/or to adequately deal with this? Or rather claim societal responsibility for mitigating the challenges of light mental disability (notably attraction by ‘smart’ criminal networks being the only potential providers of social recognition/status – re Teeuwen; De Jong)?

Somewhere beyond the command of young people and society at large, parents were very frequently quoted to play a critical role in the problematic situation of their offspring (many children while having a limited income and a small dwelling; having children at an old age; not committing themselves adequately to education and/or to listen to the needs and the challenges of their offspring, and parents from migrant families not knowing how ‘things work’ in the Netherlands, not being able to communicate adequately in the Netherlands because of insufficient command of the Dutch language). Yet, arguably not all factors are to be on the side of parents, notably being physically ruined by difficult working conditions or becoming unemployed before their offspring are independent (rather structural factors!).

Also frequently blamed is street-life, which is portrayed as a bad alternative to crowded or disruptive domestic environments; 'bad' because of the 'temptation' provided by the presence in public spaces of criminal networks with regard to young people who live in circumstances that make them feel they have nothing to lose. This is very much in line with how street has been portrayed in the media (Kleiwegt, 2014) and very much different from an emancipatory view of public space (which would provide young people with a chance to escape disruptive family environment and to broaden their horizons and social networks). Yet, some respondents suggest that the evil is not in street-life as such but rather to be seen as a consequence of the lack of facilities for young people in public space (youth shelter; neighbourhood centre).

Islam was not explicitly presented by respondents as responsible for problematic situations (unlike media coverage of events and of political debate in the Netherlands at large). However, some culture-related behaviour such as girls not being allowed to behave the way they would like (not as much as boys are allowed) were pointed out by some respondents. However, the way Islam is portrayed in the mass media impacts the way young people have to deal with inter-cultural interactions in the everyday life, which is often denied at the grassroots level. The other way, community solidarity also help to solve some problems. So the role of Islam is rather complex and deserves further attention. Besides, discrimination was recognized by several respondents, but it was also stated that the stigmas related to being a young Moroccan man in Amsterdam New West might also turn into some kind of self-fulfilling prophecy by counting on particular reactions in advance and explaining every adversity as due to discriminative ideas.

The role played by schools beyond formal education (for example welfare, health promotion, crime prevention) was also critically assessed by some respondents. In theory schools have the duty to provide support, some of them do have a school social worker, a ZAT team, a school police officer, but it appears that the support that is provided is often very limited. The way secondary schools (ROC) poorly handle truancy was also blamed by some respondents, as well as contradictions between theory (all age welcome) and practice (difficulties for young people above 19 to engage back in formal education). Generally speaking quite a few respondents mentioned the poor quality of formal education in New West as highly problematic. Because of the scheduling of the research in summertime we could not include school professionals in our sample unfortunately.
However, beyond discourse-analysis of where responsibility is put down for the occurrence of problematic situations, it seems that approaches/practices merely deal with young people as central actors (and responsibility bearers) of a way out of disadvantageous situation (even when mental health is considered), by teaching them (notably among community-based agencies) how to adapt their behaviour and to become obedient/docile with regard to prevailing norms in a work environment and/or to gain confidence among employers. A couple of exception though, notably outer conflict mediation + collaborative action on how young people from New West are portrayed in the outside world (notably on local media – though this might not be intended as a main purpose).

6.8. Discussion and conclusions

Along our WP4 research, we came up with a picture of Amsterdam in which what could be heard as a ‘local social support network’ consists of a wide array of actors, ranging from local government providing guidelines and funding to all kinds of projects to community-based organisations providing young people with spare-time activities and/or pathways to mainstream society.

Besides, we came up with a picture of Amsterdam New West in which the way young people are constructed as 'addressees' very much relies on an understanding of 'needs' framed in terms of problems (to be solved), such as unemployment and so on. As a matter of fact, local social/youth policy is primarily aimed at problem-solving, and so do calls for participation. To what extent does problem-solving connect to the prospect of responding to the aspirations of young people and/or supporting aspirations of young people to arise and blossom? These are possibly in line with each other, but possibly not (fighting youth unemployment by merely promoting cheap labour in a society that values stable jobs and high purchasing power). As a matter of fact, aspirations of young people did not come up very often along the interviews, nor did enquiring about the aspirations of young people as a way to inform social/youth policy. The way needs are assessed and turned into policy and practice categories is largely disconnected from the chances offered to young people to participate. Resorting to experiential knowledge on the side of peer workers (and/or role models) may be a valuable way to inform policy and practice, but this may induce some biases: Is the commitment of peer workers and/or community-based role models sufficient to guarantee that youth policy/service fulfils the aspirations of young people? All in all this is still to be checked.
## Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Policy or Programme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth policy</td>
<td>Young Amsterdam 2 [Jong Amsterdam 2]</td>
<td>Central aim is to make sure that ‘children and young people can develop optimally to participate in society in a full-fledged and responsible way’ (Jong Nieuw-West, 2013: 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban policy</td>
<td>‘area-approach’ [wijkaanpak]</td>
<td>In 2007, under the then Minister for Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment [Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, VROM] 40 areas were identified as deprived. Based on 18 indicators concerning socio-economic status, physical environment, housing conditions, and safety, it was determined that these districts were having more problems than others and therefore in need of extra investments (see e.g. <a href="http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/leefbaarheid/aandachtswijken">http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/leefbaarheid/aandachtswijken</a>). Currently three Amsterdam boroughs have districts that are included in this list; New West [Nieuw-West], North [Noord], and Southeast [Zuidoost].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime control and prevention</td>
<td>Veiligheid begint vroeg 2010-2011 (V&amp;V) [Safety begins early]</td>
<td>In 2009, a local strategy to provide early intervention where young people seem to be likely to engage in a criminal career.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime control and prevention</td>
<td>Aanpak Risicojongeren Top600 2011 [Approach risk youth Top600]</td>
<td>A special collaboration between the city council, police, Public Prosecution and care and youth services aimed at ‘considerably reducing’ the number of violent crimes, raids, street robberies and burglaries (high-impact criminality), focusing on a list of ‘600 habitual offenders’, selected on the basis of criteria from the police and the Public Prosecution. <a href="http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie-diensten/sites/top600/top600-0/top600/">http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie-diensten/sites/top600/top600-0/top600/</a></td>
</tr>
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7. BELGIUM – Local social support networks analysis in Ghent
(by Caroline Vandekinderen and Rudi Roose)

University of Ghent

Abstract

In this report, we focus on the joined-up working towards youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning in the city of Ghent. The system of PVEWL is perceived as an extremely experimental garden for flanking education and employment policy, since challenges with regard to disadvantaged youth are raised to the square. The high unqualified outflow, the difficult employment trajectories and the significant truancy in the system of PVEWL are thoroughly problematized as the loss of a collective investment, but above all as a mortgage on the future perspective of the youngsters. An important answer to processes of social exclusion towards youngsters in education, is the provision of joined-up approaches between actors in education, labor market and social welfare as an innovative method to fulfill this unmet need.

Combining semi-structured interviews and a document analysis, we tried to grasp the production and components of the existing Informational Bases of the Judgements in Justice (IBJJ’s) with regard to joined-up working in the system of PVEWL. The interviews revealed a normative notion of participation and citizenship at work in both discourse and practice, referring to motivation and willfulness as key characteristics of “good” students who are expected to become productive and self-responsible citizens. As such, school failure and drop-out are dominantly framed as a psychosocial deficiency of individuals and families and their active participation is supported in first instance by empowering strategies stimulating an individual process of personal growth and adaptation and ultimately by the use of repressive interventions and the conditionality of rights. This implies the risk of reducing the ambiguity of dealing with disadvantage as a multidimensional and persistent problem to a minimum, while within the Capability Approach, capabilities are not confined to psychological aspects of human “functionings” but rely on an arrangement of living conditions of a material, symbolic, legal and normative kind. Bringing together those conditions (barriers and opportunities) and connecting them to the individual “problem situation” requires a careful interpretation and comprehensive embracing of the perspective of the youngsters, which is rather absent at the level of policy making at this point.

Although the interviewees in the educational field show an awareness of the complex reality of many of the youngsters, they refer at the same time to the limits of their mandate and fall back on the other partners involved in the joined-up working to address the broad range of problems. As such, the interviews illustrated how, in many cases, cooperation takes shape from an organization-oriented perspective, in which joined-up working starts from (or aims at) well-defined mandates, roles, functions and expertise of the different partners rather than it embraces renegotiation and sharing of engagement and expertise to improve the situation of each student in collaboration with the student. As such, we aim to explore and theorize (non-)participation from a student-oriented perspective, assessing the “capacity to aspire” in a broad sense rather than unilaterally problematizing non-participation from a functional perspective, in which compulsory education is an instrument to guarantee the participation of youngsters in formal education to enhance the qualified outcome and employment rates. In
that vein, introducing “success” as a sensitizing concept in the interviews, we observed an interesting tension between a formal and functional definition of success and more nuanced and layered interpretations of the concept, referring to the specific situation and trajectory of the student, his or her goals, concerns, interests and dreams…

7.1 Introduction

In this report, we focus on practices of joined-up working towards youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning in the city of Ghent.

Ghent is the capital of East-Flanders, a province in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. Ghent’s demographic diversity is largely grasped by the catchwords ‘aging, rejuvenation and increasing ethnic diversity due to dynamics of migration’. Ghent explicitly positions itself as a city of education. However, in contrast to Flanders, Ghent counts a lot of students who get behind. In 2010-2011, 15.6% of the students in general secondary education had a school delay of at least one year. In technical education, almost half of the students had fallen behind and in vocational training, up to three fourths of all students had a delay of at least one year.

The participation of youngsters in formal education is deemed essential for their current as well as for their future well-being (Furlong and Cartmell, 2007). Nevertheless, both in the international context as well as in Flanders, research shows that education is not a positive experience for many youngsters since they are the subject of processes of social exclusion from education (Istance, 2011; Unicef, 2012). The socio-economic background and social status of youngsters remain the most powerful factors influencing their performance in the educational system. In this vein, the secondary schools in Ghent have – compared with Flanders – a lot more students with limited educational opportunities. 36% of Ghent’s secondary school population lives in a family in which the mother maximally obtained a diploma of lower secondary education. 63.5% of all students lives in a neighborhood where the percentage of students with an educational delay is 75% higher than in other neighborhoods. 36% of all secondary students had a claim to an education allowance. In a nutshell, Ghent is particularly interesting with regard to disadvantaged youth since the delay in schooling is more than average and students’ SES is lower than average (compared to Flanders).

In 1983, the age of compulsory education in Belgium was raised to 18 years. Simultaneously, the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning (PVEWL) was set up for students between 15 and 18 years old who want to combine learning and working. Since 2008, the Decree Learning and Working (Decreet betreffende het stelsel van leren en werken in de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, 2008) obliges youngsters in the PVEWL system to pursue a full-time engagement (28 hours/week) combining part-time vocational education (2 days/week) and workplace learning (3 days/week). The part-time vocational education of the youngsters can be combined with employment in the Normal Economic Circuit (or regular labor market). However, only 2500 of the 8241 youngsters really worked on the regular labor market in 2011-2012. The others followed a (full-time) ‘personal development trajectory’ (PDT), a ‘pre-trajectory’ or a ‘bridging trajectory’. Regardless of all these different – and often complex – trajectories, students can also receive the label of ‘not immediately available’ (NIA), implying their (temporary) drop-out from the educational system. As such,
the system of PVEWL has a rather negative image and is perceived as the residue of the educational cascade mechanism.

In 2006, it became obvious in Ghent that only one in two young people effectively combined working and learning. Therefore, a platform alternating learning was created to make some basic agreements between different partners and organizations in the PVEWL system. Moreover, the project part-time@work was subsidized to facilitate the collaboration between the different partners within the system of PVEWL, to improve the quality of the part-time education and to strengthen the link with the regular labor market.

However, until today, in Ghent, as compared with Flanders, more students are referred to PDT in 2011-2012 and also more students obtain the label NIA (20% of the PVEWL population). Moreover, the desired full-time engagement of the students in line with the Decree Learning and Working of 2008 is not realized (on average only 65% instead of 100%). Besides, only one to two percent receives a diploma. Furthermore, there is a striking truancy problem.

Therefore, a wide diversity of actors in education and social welfare in Ghent are involved in the trajectories of the youngsters in PVEWL and develop joined-up practices towards these students. This innovative development of joined-up working is facilitated and encouraged by both a flanking educational policy and a flanking employment policy, characterized by open partnership between public and private actors in the broad field of education, training, mediation, welfare and employment, to address education and employment issues in an innovative way.

In the next section (3. Methods), we focus on the methodological part of the research. In chapter four (4. Description of the area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth) we elaborate on Ghent’s demographic diversity and disadvantages (towards youth), with an explicit emphasis on education. The system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning (in Ghent) is introduced in chapter five (5. Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice) as an extremely experimental garden, since challenges with regard to disadvantage are raised to the square. The next chapter (6. Participation) deals with the problematisation of both truancy and the label of NIA, referring to the non-participation of youngsters in (formal) education, and explores practices developed to foster participation in relation to the (implicit) expectations towards the target group, the goal of the PVEWL system and the definitions of success. In chapter seven (7. Social Innovation) we approach joined-up working as an innovative practice and investigate the legitimation, implementation and consequences of cooperation. We conclude this report by reflecting on the informational basis of judgements of justice (IBJJ) and by summarizing some tensions and discussions (8. Discussion and conclusions).

7.2 Methods

7.2.1 Strategies of data-collection

We combined two complementary research techniques: semi-structured interviews (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998) and document analysis (Phillips and Jorgenson, 2002). Both techniques are very suitable to grasp the production and components of the existing Informational Bases of the Judgements in Justice (IBJJ’s).
We carried out 24 semi-structured interviews (which took on average an hour and a half and were audio-taped and transcribed) with a variety of actors involved in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning in Ghent, ranging from policy makers and school directors, to practitioners both in the field of education, welfare work and employment. We recruited the interviewees through our involvement in the ODO (Overleg Deeltijds Onderwijs), a consultation platform for part-time vocational education and workplace learning in Ghent.

| Regional/local government policy makers | 2, 3, 4, 18 |
| Training and education providers | 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 |
| Employment support service providers | 12, 13, 17 |
| Citizen’s bodies (e.g. youth parliaments/councils) |  |
| Youth work organisations |  |
| Think tanks (governmental and non-governmental) |  |
| Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising) | 1, 5, 6, 7 |
| Young people |  |
| Other types of organisations: student counseling center | 19 |

(1) the project manager of part-time@work
(2) the deputy director, department work and economy, city of Ghent
(3) a staff member, department education, city of Ghent
(4) a cabinet member of Rudy Coddens, employment policy
(5) a counselor education and entrepreneurship, East Flanders, unizo
(6) a project developer on age and work, resoc
(7) an employee of the center education legislation and compulsory education counseling
(8) the coordinator of a center PVEWL in Ghent (CDO De Rotonde)
(9) the director of a center PVEWL in Ghent (CLW)
(10) a coach learning trajectory Syntra
(11) the director of a center PVEWL in Eeklo (PCDO) and a student supervisor in this center (PCDO)
(12) a project assistant direction in the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB) East-Flanders
(13) the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB) expert specific customer operation
(14) the coordinator at an organization for personal development trajectories in Ghent (LEJO)
(15) the coordinator sector training and education of an organization for personal development trajectories and pre-trajectories in Ghent (Groep Intro) and a team leader in the same organization
(16) the coordinator with regard to content of an organization for personal development trajectories in Ghent (De Werf)
(17) a member of training staff in an organization for pre-trajectories and employment trajectories in Ghent (Jes)
(18) the cabinet secretary of the alderman for education and youth in Ghent and the project advisor education Ghent
(19) three employees of the student counseling centers in Ghent
(20) the language coach in a center PVEWL in Ghent (CDO De Rotonde)
(21) a trajectory supervisor in a center PVEWL in Ghent (CDO De Rotonde)
(22) a teacher professional knowledge in Syntra
(23) the office coordinator and control cell trajectory supervision of a department of a center PVEWL in Ghent (CLW)
(24) a teacher in a center PVEWL in Ghent (CLW)

Additionally, an extensive document analysis was undertaken. We addressed a wide range of policy documents, which are named in the attachment (see appendix 1) and reference list.

7.2.2 Strategy of data-analysis

The research data were analysed in an interpretative way by means of a “qualitative content analysis” (Wester, 1987). Patton (2002, p. 453) defines this strategy of data-analysis as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings”.

Qualitative content analysis emphasizes an integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). By this means, the perspectives of the producers of the text can be better understood by the investigator as well as the readers of the study’s results (Berg, 2001). We investigated purposively selected policy texts and interviews which could inform the research questions. We moved back and forth between data-collection and data-analysis, in the sense that we used empirically-based feedback loops to support, question or refine our conceptual thoughts about for example disadvantage, participation, innovation, etc. (Patton, 2002). As such, the data were analyzed by engaging in a directed approach (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) in order to provide thick and rich descriptions of the social reality created by these themes/concepts mentioned above, as they are lived out in a particular setting (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009).

7.3 Description of area In relation to Inequality/ disadvantaged Youth

7.3.1 Ghent’s demographic diversity and its disadvantages

Ghent is a compact city and is called a pocket sized metropolis by Charles Landry, international cities consultant. Between 1999 and 2011 the number of Ghent citizens grew by 10%. Forecasts predict that this percentage will increase further, to 15%, by 2018. Ghent counts 247 000 (in 2011) inhabitants, and is by population the second largest city of Belgium. As referred to in the introduction, the demographic diversity is largely grasped by three catchwords: (1) aging, (2) rejuvenation and (3) increasing ethnic diversity due to dynamics of migration. We go deeper into the last two, which are particularly important in the context of this report.

Ghent has a young population. When compared against the Flemish population pyramid, there are greater numbers of people in their twenties and thirties and young children (0-4 years) living in Ghent (Ghent in numbers – Environmental analysis, 2013 // Gent in cijfers - Omgevingsanalyse, 2013). Ghent is further rejuvenated, primarily due to the number of births, which has increased by 38% since 1999, and this growth is set to continue. Obviously, this phenomenon will carry through in the years to come, when the children reach preschool and primary school age. In 2002, one in ten children was born into poor families. During the period 2007-2009, this number increased to 15%.
Ghent is also changing in ethnic diversity, towards a more diverse ethnic-cultural composition: over the past ten years (2001-2011) this share has increased from 12% to 18.8%. The largest group is still of Turkish origin, but the expansion of the European Union with a number of Middle and East European countries in 2004 and 2007, resulted in a high number of arrivals of new EU citizens in recent times, especially of Bulgarian and Slovakian origin (Ghent in numbers – Environmental analysis, 2013).

Ghent’s diversity is a typical urban characteristic, and it pushes a complex mixture of inequalities to the fore, which in some cases may lead to poverty. Single persons, single parents, ethnic-cultural minorities and the elderly have an increased risk of ending up in poverty. It is precisely these population groups (with the exception of the elderly) which, in comparison to Flanders as a whole, are more present in Ghent. Figures show that social inequalities (for example between immigrants and the indigenous population) are at stake in education (in Flanders this gap is larger than anywhere else in the Western world), employment, housing and health.

7.3.1.1 Employment/Income

In 2009, the employment rate – the share of employed persons of the population on working-age – in Ghent was 63.2%, which is considerably below the Flemish average of 68% (Roggemans, Cops and Kolijn, 2013). Inactivity and unemployment imply an increased risk of poverty and social exclusion (Ghent in numbers – Environmental analysis, 2013). 52.9% of the jobseekers is between 25 and 50 years old. 23.1% of them are younger than 25 years, while this age category represents 13.7% of the total population of Ghent. 46.8% of the 13,972 unemployed maximally finished the fourth year of secondary school, 30.6% of them finished the sixth year of secondary school or accomplished an additional seventh year, and 22.7% attended higher education (at college or university). One third (35.7%) of the registered unemployed jobseekers are immigrants. Generally in Flanders, people from ethnic minorities work more often in sectors that are susceptible to economic fluctuations, pay less or offer an uncertain status. Non-Europeans have a lower level of activity and are more frequently unemployed. In Ghent, this mainly affects people of Turkish and Moroccan origin. One in five of them were unemployed in March 2010. For other non-EU citizens we perceive similar results: 18% are unemployed. The new EU citizens do slightly better with an unemployment rate of 14%, but according to the Integration Department of Ghent, this number is considerably higher, since the unemployment rate of this group is estimated as one in three. It is argued that these higher unemployment rates are not only due to low or under-qualification or limited knowledge of the language, but also due to discrimination on the labour market (Ghent in numbers – Environmental analysis, 2013).

In 2011, 3.6% of Ghent’s population (aged between 18 and 65 years) had a living wage. The category of young people between 18 and 24 years old is with 25% overrepresented in this group. In 2011, 59% of the living wages were entitled to persons with a non-Belgian nationality (Ghent in numbers – Environmental analysis, 2013).

7.3.1.2 Housing

The risk of poverty in Belgium differs markedly depending on whether citizens are a tenant or a property owner: for tenants this risk is 28%, for property owners 10%. Ghent has a relatively large rental market (47% of the overall housing market). In Ghent, demand (from the growing number of families) and supply (with an increasing number of houses) remain unbalanced. Both the increasing housing density (“apartmentisation” is ever increasing) and
the increasing population density are indications of the intensified use of space. The Ghent housing study (Stad Gent, 2009) revealed that between 2007 and 2017 around 6600 to 8500 additional properties will be needed. The pressure on space for housing remains. Moreover, housing is becoming increasingly expensive. Ghent seemed to be immune to these price increases until recently. The gap is rapidly closing, leading to problems of unaffordable housing being felt more keenly than in many other cities. The price increase has been most dramatic in the lower-priced categories of housing.

The building of social housing in Ghent (and Antwerp) is the best developed in Belgium, both in terms of share and number of available properties per 100 households. Yet the sector is still battling with various bottlenecks, such as the slow throughput time of building and renovation projects and old patrimony. Despite the fact that housing supply is well-developed, the housing demand continues to outstrip it. At the end of 2011 there were 7,892 prospective tenant files.

As Belgium’s oldest industrial city, Ghent has an old, relatively low-quality housing stock in the 19th-century belt. The 19th-century belt neighborhoods are heavily populated, with relatively high numbers of ethnic-cultural minorities and an income below that of the Ghent median (Ghent in numbers, Environmental analysis, 2013, p. 124).

7.3.1.3 Health

Life expectancy, health, lifestyle and access to care are strongly linked to people’s level of education and income. In Ghent, the elderly, people in lower income groups and the unemployed are more likely to experience health problems. A higher diploma, an income and a permanent job are linked to better wellbeing.

7.3.1.4 Education

Ghent explicitly positions itself as a city of education. During the last 25 years, the student population increased from almost 20 000 students to 67 000 students, which implies that on 100 inhabitants of the city, there are 2.6 students. That makes Ghent officially the biggest student city of Flanders. Beside a broad range of institutions for higher education, Ghent counts 26 721 students in its secondary schools. In 2010-2011, 7431 students (27.8% of the total student population) were registered in the first two years of secondary school. 6354 (85.5%) in the a-class and 1077 (14.5%) in the b-class (pre-vocational education for youngsters who did not obtain the final attainment level of primary school). In the year three to six, 17 515 students were registered in Ghent’s secondary schools. The majority of these students (8089 students or 46.2%) were registered in general secondary education. 4274 students (24.4%) followed technical education and 3347 students (19.1%) a vocational training. 927 students (5.3%) were registered in secondary art education and 602 students (3.4%) were registered in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning (Roggemans, Cops and Kolijn, 2013).

15% of the children born in Ghent live in a disadvantaged family (in 2009). Combined with the above described demographic tendency of rejuvenation, the number of disadvantaged children at the school gates is simply increasing. The number of children in primary education that does not have Dutch as their mother tongue, is 30 percent (Ghent’s education policy plan framed in flanking educational policy on a local level, 2008-2013 // Gents onderwijsplan in het kader van het flankerend onderwijsbeleid op lokaal niveau, 2008-2013). Compared to Flanders, the number of school children with an educational delay is at a high level in Ghent’s schools., As mentioned in the introduction, in 2010-2011, in general secondary education,
about one sixth of the students had a delay in their school career of at least one year. In the technical education, almost half of the students had fallen behind and in vocational training, up to three fourths of all students had a delay of at least one year (Roggemans, Cops and Kolijn, 2013).

In the introduction, we already illustrated that secondary schools in Ghent have – compared with Flanders – a lot more students with limited educational opportunities. Moreover, it is estimated that one in seven youngsters in Ghent leaves school without a diploma of secondary education, while a diploma is still the entry ticket to the diploma-centric Flemish market (Roggemans, Cops and Kolijn, 2013). In a nutshell, what makes Ghent of particular interest in relation to disadvantaged youth are – beside the increase of migration – both the findings that the SES is lower than average (compared to Flanders) and the delay in schooling is more than average, reaching peaks in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, on which we will elaborate in the next section.

7.3.2 Social mobility through education?

In the environmental analysis of Ghent (2013), it is stated that the main challenge for the city lies in facilitating individual social progress – ‘social mobility’. Examples of starting points for social innovation and social policy would be childcare, truancy, unqualified school dropout, social activation and (neighborhood) integration in general, linked to affordable housing and healthcare, with the focus on specific areas that are regarded as transit zones – where social mobility is possible – rather than as problem areas. Since we focus on youngsters, the social mobility enhancing policy measures with regard to education are of particular interest, the more so because both in the international context as well as in Flanders, the socio-economic background and social status of youngsters remain very powerful factors influencing students’ performance in the educational system. Social inequality and exclusion are already noticeable in pre-primary education, showing less frequent participation of toddlers from lower-income families. This trend continues at primary level with more frequent grade retention and more frequent referrals to special education. Children from a lower socio-economic background in Flanders are five times more likely to repeat grade one, while the chance on grade retention by sixth grade is 7.2 times larger for this group of children. Moreover, they are 8 to 10 times more often referred to special education. This process of educational delay and social exclusion from the education system continues in secondary education, where a so-called educational cascade mechanism is structurally at play and particularly affects young people from poor families. In Flanders, youngsters from a high SES background are generally (approximately 93.3%) engaged in academic educational tracks, while children from a low SES background are over-represented in technical and especially in vocational training (approximately 55%) (Eurydice, 2007). Research also indicates that about 1 in 7 youngsters in Flanders quit school without qualifications. However, the chance to drop out of the educational system unqualified is 12 times higher for low SES students (i.e. 26% versus 3%) (Unicef, 2012)

This pattern is very recognizable, yet even more present in the context of Ghent, as explained above, and is explicitly addressed in Ghent’s educational plan framed in the context of flanking educational policy on local level (2008-2013). Flanking educational policy is the set of actions of a local government starting from the local situation and complementary to Flemish educational policy, to develop an educational policy in cooperation with a diversity of local actors (Decree on Flanking Education Policy, 30 November 2007 // Decreet
Flankerend Onderwijs, 30 november 2007). In 2012, the Decree was amended to align more consistently with the Decree on Planning Burden (planlastendecreet).

The alderman of education of the City of Ghent took the initiative, in collaboration with all Ghent’s educational partners, to set up a “Policy Group Education Ghent” as a central body in a structured manner to reflect on school level transcending and network crossing issues. The aim is to foster the communication between the different school systems and educational partners through a bimonthly consultation, so to formulate policy recommendations particularly with regard to the establishment of an educational policy plan and the creation and composition of thematic commissions in respect of specific projects.

In its flanking educational policy, Ghent wants to explicitly draw the card of initiatives and measures in favor of disadvantaged pupils and students. The six strategic goals formulated in the plan are (1) promoting equal opportunities on all levels of education, (2) enhancing the cooperation between the educational actors in Ghent, (3) fostering innovation in Ghent, (4) setting out a coordinated and integrated policy for Ghent as a student city, (5) creating a safe and healthy school environment and (6) encouraging and supporting parent involvement (Ghent’s education policy plan framed in flanking educational policy on a local level, 2008-2013). We will elaborate on the operationalization of this first three strategic goals in the next section.

### 7.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

As argued above, Ghent is particularly interesting with regard to disadvantaged youth since the number of immigrants is higher than in Flanders, the SES is lower than average (compared to Flanders) and the delay in schooling is more than average. Our third respondent sharply substantiated the relevance to develop our case study in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning in Ghent, as a place where we find many of Ghent’s youngsters in disadvantaged situations:

> The system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning is an extremely experimental garden, since challenges are raised to the square. All issues situated within the flanking policy, are magnified in this system.

#### 7.4.1 The system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning

Our explicit target group are youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning (PVEWL). In 1983, the age of compulsory education was raised to 18 years. Simultaneously, the system of PVEWL was set up for students between 15 and 18 years old, on the one hand to enable them in the development of skills through work experiences and on the other hand to provide care for youngsters with care issues (Termote and Galand, 2012; Center for the fight against poverty, insecurity and social exclusion // Steunpunt tot bestrijding van armoede, bestaansonzekerheid en sociale uitsluiting, 2011).

In 2007-2008, 6689 students were attending this system. In 2012-2013, Flanders already counted 8636 students in the PVEWL system. PVEWL is in the first place popular with boys: there are twice as much boys attending the system than girls (educational statistics, www.ond.vlaanderen.be).

Before 2008, about 35 percent of the youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning had, in addition to two days of classes, no day-activity
The Decree Learning and Working (Decreet betreffende het Stelsel van Leren en Werken in de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, 10 juli 2008) obliges youngsters in the PVEWL system to pursue a full-time engagement (28 hours/week) combining part-time vocational education (2 days/week) and workplace learning (3 days/week). The intentions of the Decree are: (1) realizing the fulltime engagement for as many youngsters, (2) increasing the alignment between part-time vocational secondary education, apprenticeships and part-time training and retaining in the same time the multi-trackness, (3) offering a program tailored to each young person and (4) providing every youngster with a valuable qualification.

The Decree Learning and Working is based on three main principles: (1) learning and working is a quality bearing, qualifying, full learning pathway, (2) learning and working provides an answer to the learning styles and support needs of its pupils, translated into a correct orientation, counseling and customized methodologies and learning, (3) learning and working provides a sufficient stepping stone into the labor market and into lifelong learning. There are employment-oriented trainings offered with (alternating) work experience, and there is a ‘warm’ transfer between education and the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB).

The part-time vocational education of the youngsters can be combined with employment in the normal economic circuit (NEC) (or regular labor market). However, as mentioned in the introduction, in 2011-2012 only 2500 of the 8241 youngsters really worked on the regular labor market. The others were following a (full-time) ‘personal development trajectory’ (PDT), a ‘pre-trajectory’ or a ‘bridging trajectory’ (educational statistics, www.ond.vlaanderen.be)

A personal development trajectory is defined in the Decree as a program for disadvantaged young people in difficult situations in which, through intensive individual counseling and appropriate activities, self-advisability and social functioning is raised and in which they are prepared for an employment-oriented program. A pre-trajectory is a specific training and guidance module aimed at young people with inadequate attitudes and skills who do not have a clear career path yet, on the condition that the trajectory fits into an employment-oriented context. A bridging project is a form of employment for young people who are prepared to work, but whose work attitudes and skills need further development (Decree Learning and Working, 2008).

However, regardless of this range of trajectories, students can also get the label of not immediately available (NIA), which implies their (temporary) drop-out of the educational system. Only 44.70% of the students who graduated in 2011 found a job during the six months after graduation (educational statistics, www.ond.vlaanderen.be). As a consequence, the system of PVEWL has a rather negative image and is perceived as the residue of the educational cascade mechanism.

7.4.2 Situation in Ghent with regard to PVEWL

Respondent 2 described the situation in Ghent before the Decree Learning and Working was introduced as follows:

The minister of Education threatened by saying: “If you do not perform better with the employment counselors and with the full-time engagement, I will take employment counselors away from the schools and organize it in collaboration with the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency
(VDAB).” As such, the centers PVEWL were afraid and all of them were present when the responsible person of the cabinet in charge of part-time education came. The Decree was coming and everyone had a terrible fright. In that sense, I could start a partnership in a good manner. Because, the situation in Ghent was really dramatic, in the sense that the numbers were absolutely not good. We aren’t good yet, but at that point in time... Recently, the alderman of education asked me: “Are we doing well?” And I said: “Are we doing well??? Let me use the following picture: we are in the Tour de France and we have long been driving with that broom wagon next to us, and the peloton rides on five minutes before us and rides pretty hard and we must try to catch up. So what we have done by now, Mr. Alderman, we have made connection with the tail of the pack.

In Ghent, in 2006, only one in two young people effectively combined working and learning. Therefore, a platform alternating learning - PAL (later, the name changed into regional consultation platform // regional overlegplatform - ROP) was created to make some basic agreements between different partners and organizations in the PVEWL system.

Moreover, against the background of the flanking educational policy, the project part-time@work was subsidized from 2006 until 2014 (as an operational goal of the first strategic goal ‘promoting equal opportunities on all levels of education’) to (1) facilitate the collaboration between the different partners within the system of PVEWL, (2) improve the quality of the part-time education and (3) strengthen the link with the regular labor market (Ghent’s education policy plan framed in flanking education policy on a local level, 2008-2013). In other words, the general aim was to provide youngsters with tailored trajectories, as explicated in the Decree Learning and Working. Part-time@work is one of the non-profit organization “Ghent, City into Force” (Gent, Stad in Werking, GSiW) projects, on which we elaborate further.

Today in Ghent, about 600 students follow a training in one of the two centers for part-time education and workplace learning in Ghent: CDO De Rotonde and CDO CLW (2 days school, 3 days working) and about 350 students are registered in Syntra (indentures: 1 day school and 4 days working) (report ODO, 16/11/2012, not available for consultation). However, until today, in Ghent, as compared with Flanders, more students are referred to a personal development trajectory (PDT, organized in Ghent by Groep Intro, Lejo, De Werf) and also more students obtain the label NIA (20% of the PVEWL population). The two centers for part-time education and workplace learning use a non-limitative list to categorize this group. Existing categories are: teenage pregnancy, psychiatry, disappeared without a trace, youth court, ... Regardless of the big proportion of youngsters with the label “not immediate available”, little is known about them, as respondent 1 acknowledged:

Despite all the available tools, processes and staffing, we do not succeed to reach a large group, 20-25% - of the youngsters. How is it possible that we fail to counsel these youngsters? Does it say something about our way of working? Does it say something about our way of looking at those youngsters? Does it say something about the lack of expertise in working with those youngsters? Or are we just working super-inefficient? May we assume that our offer of part-time learning and working is sufficient, but that we just apply it wrong? Or can we possibly get to know something about those young people, something that we have been overlooking, so that a slight adjustment of our system, our projects, our approach within the schools, might already have a lot of effect? There is a very large group of young people for whom the system has no answer at all. That was actually my first concern because I felt that no one around the table [at the regional platform] really knew who these youngsters are. There were a few ideas, but no one could really grasp it, while we are talking about quite a number of young people. I am convinced that the system of PVEWL reaches a large group of students, but there remains a considerable group that does not get into the system, but instead wanders somewhere.

As stated in the introduction, the desired full-time engagement of the students is not realized, but is in Ghent on average 65% instead of 100%. Besides, only one to two percent of the
The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

students in the system PVEWL in Ghent receives a diploma. Furthermore, a striking truancy problem is reported.

To address the truancy problem, a center for education legislation and compulsory education is organized in Ghent (an operational goal of the first strategic goal of Ghent’s flanking education policy) as a platform for compulsory counseling, mapping out individual trajectories to motivate students and to prevent a total dropout (Ghent’s education policy plan framed in flanking education policy on a local level, 2008-2013). On a Flemish level, the action plan "A comprehensive approach to truancy and absenteeism" (Een sluitende aanpak van spijbelen en schoolverzuim) was presented to the Flemish Parliament in 2006. Hence, in the coalition 2009-2014 "A vigorous Flanders in decisive times. For an innovative, sustainable and caring society" (Een daadkrachtig Vlaanderen in beslissende tijden. Voor een vernieuwende, duurzame en warme samenleving) it was decided to intensify the efforts to undertake action against truancy in Flanders and Brussels.

In a new action plan "Truancy and other forms of inappropriate behavior" (Spijbelen en andere vormen van onaangepast gedrag) actions were proposed concerning truancy, school shooting incidents, violence incidents (fights or stabbings), stealing, threats and extortion, robberies, weapons possession, nuisance (on bus, near the school, on the bus or train station), ethnic-cultural conflicts, vandalism, arson, ... The actions are situated on a continuum of mapping, information/awareness, preventive work to sanctions. This action plan is aimed at all students in the Flemish schools. In addition, a number of special target groups are listed, for which additional actions are needed: young people receiving voluntary or enforced assistance, Central and Eastern European youngsters, travelers, newcomers and illegal students, Brussels’ youngsters in compulsory education, home education, luxury absenteeism and teenage mothers (Actieplan spijbelen en andere vormen van grensoverschrijdend gedrag, maart 2012).

In recent years, targets were set with regard to reducing the number of early school leavers both at a Flemish (Pact 2020) and a European (EU 2020) level. The EU 2020 target assumes a reduction of the number of early school leavers under 10%. With the Pact 2020, Flanders aspires to halve the proportion of early school leavers. Concretely, this means a decrease in the number of early school leavers from 8.6% to 4.3% by 2020 (Lamote, 2014).

In September 2013, the Flemish government approved the Action Plan Early School Leaving, which is the result of an intensive deliberation with diverse actors in the field of education, social partners, labor unions, Syntra, the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB), the Flemish board of education (VLOR), the socio-economic board of Flanders (SERV) et cetera. The action plan argues that reducing the drop-out requires first and foremost a preventive approach, followed by interventions when a student threatens to leave and complemented by compensatory actions for the youngsters who drop out unqualified. Furthermore, the action plan contains measures concerning monitoring, analysis/identification and coordination of policy (Actieplan vroegtijdig schoolverlaten, 2013). Early school leaving and unqualified drop-out is largely perceived as an urban problem, linked to disadvantaged families with a migration history (Lamote, 2014). In Ghent, 22% of the students leave school without a diploma, which is a lot higher than the Flemish average (14%) and the Lisbon target (10%) (Belga, 2013). Therefore, Ghent’s alderman for education wants to introduce a comprehensive Action Plan against Unqualified School Leaving, especially since early and unqualified school leaving are defined as structural risk factors for youth unemployment by the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB, Sustainable Education // Duurzaam Onderwijs, 2013). Other significant risk
factors uncovered by the analysis of the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB) are: a low labor market oriented study choice, youngsters with a current or former nationality outside the EU, youngsters living in poor families, urban environment, accumulation of the previous factors (Sustainable Education, 2013).

In February 2013, youth unemployment in Ghent was with 24.8%, considerably higher than the Flemish average of 16.6% (Lamote, 2014). The flanking educational policy reflects the widely supported idea that the problem of early school leaving (and youth unemployment) goes beyond education and that education should enter into strategic partnerships and coalitions with partners outside education, for example the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB), welfare services….

In line with this idea, “Ghent, City into Force” (Gent, Stad in Werking - GSiW) develops, since 1998, an innovative approach to employment issues. GSiW is an open partnership striving for more and better work, supported by the City of Ghent. The partnership works with players on and off the field who are committed to a common strategy to develop and set up initiatives. The partnership between public and private actors in the broad field of education, training, mediation, welfare and work is very important to perform a flanking employment policy.

The City of Ghent funds the partnership, providing the operating budget and the staffing of the Department for Work. The Policy Group GSiW is composed of public and private actors (organizations) that play an important role in the employment field and flanking policies. In addition, experts can contribute to the policy-making process. The analysis, preparation and implementation of a strategic plan proceeds in an integrated way, taking into account as much as possible relevant policy areas and different angles. The strategic plans are realized in action groups, who work with a bottom-up approach to develop and operationalize actions. During the period 2011-2013, “education and labor market” was one of the three field of actions and continues to be addressed in 2014-2016 under the theme “youngsters and (un)employment”. We briefly explain some of the initiatives that Ghent organized in the context of the (un)employment of youngsters in attachment (see appendix 2) since these initiatives target disadvantaged youngsters, but go beyond the scope of the system of PVEWL on which we focus in our research.

It might be clear that a wide diversity of actors in education, the labor market and social welfare in Ghent are involved in the trajectories of the youngsters in PVEWL and develop joined-up practices towards these students. In the following sections, we will explore more in depth how this joined-up working within the system of PVEWL possibly fosters the participation of youngsters and whether (and how) it improves the quality of support offered to disadvantaged youngsters.

### 7.5 Participation

In Belgium, education is compulsory until the age of 18 years. As such, both truancy and the label of NIA are highly problematized in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, because of the non-participation of the youngsters in (formal) education, as the following quote (respondent 9) illustrates:

The worst are those who radically refuse to attend school. They are registered, but they simply do not come. As long as young people are willing to see that there is a problem, and agree on the fact that they
should do something about it, for example, address their drug addiction, then you can go along a trajectory with them. It will be necessary to install a loop, so that they can work on their drug problem, but in the end at some point, they are helped and can go further in their trajectory. But those who do not come… We call in the truancy police and their case will appear in court, but that will take months or even years. When we talk about these extreme cases, we still speak of about 10% of our youngsters with whom we can do nothing at all. But every minor (-18) is obliged to be enrolled in a school. So they must be registered somewhere. We just need to be able to prove the verifier that we have done all that is possible within our legal venues to reach them and get them to school. That is, to demonstrate that you have done a number of home visits and phone calls, that you called in the truancy police and court… And then, the verifier will agree that you have done all the possible. The only big stick we have, is calling the police. They pick up the truants, bring them to school and then, the youngsters stay here for one hour, two hours, and during the break, they see the open gate – we are an open school – and they leave again. Truancy police says: we are not a taxi service, we cannot stand there all day long, morning and noon, to pick them up and bring them to school. So there are still a lot of young people around. And sometimes, one has to appear in the juvenile court, but a real measure by which something is done immediately, no… We notice that not many youngsters get out of this loop and we do not succeed in hunting out many of this 10 percent. So we must be honest and admit that there is a 10% of our young people that we can never go along through a trajectory.

As mentioned above, to address the truancy problem, a center for educational legislation and compulsory education is organized in Ghent. Respondent 7, who is an employee of this center, explained the main tasks of it:

Originally, it was first and foremost an analysis of absences in Ghent. So annually, we made a number of reports, at request of the alderman, about the number of truants. A second task we have, is entering into consultation to create a structural framework in which everyone’s tasks and roles are clear. What is the task of the school, of the student counseling center? What is the role of doctors, social care service? For example, previously, the social care service did orientation sometimes, when they had a first talk with the family after receiving a signal about truancy. But not seldom, they re-did the work of the student counseling center. To avoid losing that time, the role and task of each actor was made explicit in the step-by-step plan, developed in consultation with social care (police), education, student counseling centers and the youth office of the public prosecutor (…) A third task is to offer support in cases in which the student counseling center got stuck.

The mentioned step-by-step plan to combat and/or prevent truancy was set out in more detail during the interview with respondent 7.

[When a youngster got 10 b-codes (= absence during half a day), the student counseling center is called in]. From 30 b-codes on, it can be declared at the social welfare service connected to the police. That does not necessarily happen. It is possible that the employee of the student counseling center who is guiding the youngster, sees progress and decides to undertake further steps together with a day care center or a social welfare organisation. If the social welfare service connected to the police is called in, they visit the family and an anti-truancy-contract is drafted, which is signed by both the parents and the young person. This procedures no longer applies for youngsters older than eighteen. Also youngsters in their last year of compulsory education, will not be addressed by the social care service. A school can submit a case they worry about at the Flemish level, but no further steps will be undertaken for students following their final year of compulsory education, since he/she will be 18 until anything is done. There is so much work that it is necessary to set a number of priorities. (…) So that anti-truancy-contract get signed by the youngster and the parents and the school will be informed. At a first unlegitimized absence, a police report (fixed template) is prepared and passed, and then, they can be invited by the public prosecutor dealing with youngsters (…) They will be asked to come along and there will be a deliberation about what to do. If unwillingness persists, the youth office of the public prosecutor can forward the file to the police court and parents are then sanctioned by a fine. If a youngster receives twice 30 b-codes during two consecutive school years, parents must – in case they received an education allowance, reimburse it. (…) Normally, in case of truancy, the student counseling center first takes all possible steps in collaboration with external services, before referring the file to the police. It is a continuum. And the focus should be on the counseling of the youngster. But if they see that this does not work, or if there is an unwillingness, referring to the police is an option.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
This interview reveals a dual dynamic. In first instance, there is a heavily investment in the counseling of young people (and their parents) to enhance their participation. However, despite all the efforts, it seems difficult to reach the most disadvantaged (young) people, who do not participate in the services provided. As such, we see at this point, that empowering practices (f.e. counseling) shift into responsibilising practices (for example drafting of an anti-truancy-contract) and lead in the end to repressive interventions (for example fine) and the conditionality of rights. This dynamic is also very well illustrated in the following excerpt of an interview with respondent 23 (coordinator of a PVEWL center PVEWL):

I: When I started, part-time education was perceived as something non-committal. "Are you tired from school, you can go to school for two days, and for the rest you should not do much. In the best case, you have a job if you want to work." Now, it no longer goes that way. That is the big difference and that is positive. There are many young people who have a full-time commitment and who want to achieve something. It is clearly stated at the registration moment: "It is not just going to school for two days. (...) It is important what they do in their trajectory. It is a school where you can obtain something through an individual trajectory" (...) You can be here without doing anything, but then you obtain nothing, that should be obvious. If you choose to attend school for two days and to do nothing beyond this? But the law also says that unwillingness is not tolerated and, as a school, you have to give k-codes. And k-codes are treated as illegal absences. The repercussions are, when a youngster stops in part-time education at the end of compulsory education, he gets an informative form. And when you were an irregular student, with many illegal absences, it will be written on the form and then you have no right to welfare benefits at all. Those are the new measures of the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB). If you have not been at school for two years, you have no right to benefits. It is pushing many young people into poverty. So many repercussions on their family.

C: How do you position yourself as a school towards this new evolution. How do you deal with that? I: Informing the students, and certainly pointing them to the fact: "if you receive a letter from the National Employment Office (Rijksdienst voor Arbeidsvoorziening // RVA), accept the invitation." Try to do an effort and learn to apply for a job, learn to sell yourself. And we also insist that they get to know themselves and ask themselves: what are my qualities? There is also a small book "Steps to Work" and they need to write where they have been. That's their applying book and they learn that they need to gather evidence, that they need to justify what they do.

We see that the quote starts by mentioning the opportunities created by the new Decree, and many of the interviewees agree on the fact that the new Decree Learning and Working, generated a lot of possibilities since it provides a legal framework for the qualification of the youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and learning. Further in the quote, the concept of “unwillingness” is introduced. The Decree stipulates a rigorous approach of “unwillingness” of youngsters to engage fulltime. In practice, k-codes are adjusted by the trajectory coach in case that students show no efforts. At the same time, schools, as they are aware of the consequences of prolonged absence, try to inform and responsibilise youngsters to take their engagement seriously, the more that their non-participation in education has repercussions on their right to receive benefits once they leave school (+18). If students in the end do not participate, they will become aware by financial penalties. The same dynamic is sketched by respondent 12 concerning the operation of the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB).

Non-participation is most often problematized by the interviewees as a mortgage on the future perspectives of the youngsters, since it devaluates their chances to receive a diploma and their opportunities to participate successfully in the regular labor market. Respondent 2 explicitly addressed this topic, by introducing the term ‘citizenship’ and by linking the youngsters’ individual well-being to the expectations and realities of a participation society:

I do not see the contradiction between working for business or working to become a better citizen. How can you make good citizens, how can you elevate people, how you can make people smarter and wiser and provide them with a valuable life, if you do not even take into account what job they are going to do.
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and how they are going to earn their money. Yeah sorry, I do not see the contradictions. Of course I am an economist, and not a historian or a language teacher. But I do not see how you can become a better citizen without taking into account that we are in a participation society, in which as many people as possible need to be activated and as many people as possible need to have a job. How to create a wealthy society if people are not working, if people are not employed?

Respondent 6 – also situated in the domain of the labor market – formulated the same point of view:

The individual can only come to full advantage when he finds a place in society, can act, can work in our case. You can be an anarchist, saying: “I am against that social order, I am against making money and being part of the economy”. That's your full right to think so, but if you choose this role, you must also know that you are excluded, you're going to stand outside society. Most people or not making that choice, most are willing to take a role in the society which, you can find it a pity or good, is strong economically colored. Your feeling, your well-being, your health, your roof above your head, your clothes... all depends on the money you'll get. Your leisure depends of it. And education should impart to this understanding. After all, we are in such a pattern, and it is our role to arm this youngsters for it.

Although the respondents from the field of education formulated this functional education logic slightly more nuanced by also introducing the importance of citizenship education, general development and broader competence, there was an absolute unanimity in the interviews about the main objective of part-time education, formulated in terms of delivering well-earned certificates to the youngsters and arming them with diplomas for the labor market. Since the Decree Learning and Working, the qualification impulse strongly resonates in the system of PVEWL. As an illustration, respondent 7 formulates the final goal of the center of legislation and compulsory education as follows:

The ultimate goal is to improve the qualified outflow.

In the same vein, almost all respondents working in the PVEWL centers state:

What is the purpose of part-time education? That you turn out qualified and that you are equipped for the labor market (respondent 23).

Nevertheless, more than once, a reality check unavoidably forced respondents to slightly adjust their ambitious goals, as these quotes of respondent 9 en 20 illustrate, referring to the specificity of the target group:

The ultimate goal is to focus on the labor market. Eventually, as a school in the system of PVEWL, I should focus on this. Nevertheless, due to the situation in the city of Ghent, we must also pay a lot of attention to all those social situations, to all those students who are not yet ready to work, in fact, not even ready to learn. We have to pay a lot of attention to this, but that’s not so appreciated by many people and they prefer to be silent about it. They prefer not to know that there are still so many young people with whom society does not know what to do. But we have to keep them going at school until they are at least 18 years old (respondent 9).

We assume: you come to part-time education, because you are tired of day school, you do not want to sit at a chair all day long to study, you want to combine that with work, possibly get a degree and maybe you can continue working at the place where you were employed during school. But the young people who come here are in a situation of survival, they have to make money. Money that they may have to send to their families. Others come from a situation where mom and dad might not work, where they have to baby-sit on the other children, where housing is cramped, where so many other problems are at stake, so you cannot say to the youngsters: now, you have to participate in that ideal form of part-time education (respondent 20).
This reflection on the singularity of many of the youngsters in the system, represents the broad range of considerations about the “target group” of the system of PVEWL. The real target group, aimed to benefit from the system, is characterized by a willingness to work and motivation, as explained by respondent 9 and 20:

Young people who are motivated, but do not like school and abstract thinking. Those who really want to practice. Part-time education is cut on their size. Those youngsters usually have a “joie de vivre”. They arrive and they want to work. They have style and a good attitude. They are friendly and into the bargain want to work (respondent 20).

So for that group, magnificent. We are truly meaningful for this group of young people who really want (respondent 9).

In the same vein, the absence of those characteristics is perceived as a criterion for referring the youngsters to a personal development trajectory, as stated by respondent 24:

If they really have no purpose and do not want to participate in a trajectory.

According to respondents 19, other reasons for referring youngsters to a PDT are:

Multi-problems, truancy, skills that are not yet mastered, orienting themselves, working on attitudes, reaching the unreachable students and orienting them towards school.

So the ideal youngster is well motivated and prepared to work, but in reality – as it became obvious during the interviews – a lot of youngsters do not meet these criteria yet. As a consequence, practitioners are struggling with the tension between formal and functional definitions of success implying that the youngster is active on the labor market and/or obtains a diploma on the one hand, and more nuanced and layered interpretations of the concept, referring to the specific situation and trajectory of the student, his or her goals and dreams… at the other hand, as it became clear by introducing ‘success’ as a sensitizing concept in the interviews:

When youngsters can continue studying because they obtained a diploma, we have succeeded. Then it's up to them to prove it. When we impart certain skills from workshops to youngsters and when they can start in a company, we succeeded as well. But when we get a youngster who was derailed, back in the circuit, I see this also as a success. Hence, what is a success story? You cannot say, "If we achieve this, it is successful." For one youngster it is this, for another youngster, it is something different. We have very heterogeneous groups. (...) We really start from the youngster and we look – in consultation with the youngster – what he/she can do and how far he/she wants to go. And it is not solely conveying knowledge, but also chatting with young people and motivating them. Offering them seven or nine chances (respondent 10).

For me, it’s about what the youngster wanted to reach, did he achieve it? These might be very small things, but if that is important at that moment for that young person in his personal life and can help him to undertake further steps, than it is successful for me. It is not successful for me when youngsters stagnate, or stay away (respondent 14).

Regardless of this very careful but challenging balancing act of practitioners between the individual aspirations and societal expectations, everyday practices show that the functional logic of education and its emphasis on qualification and work-related engagement not seldom excludes youngsters from educational systems:

The trajectory and student counselors said: we have so many difficult youngsters, if we invest all our time and effort in them, there is no time left for the youngsters who are doing well. So that's the constant consideration made by trajectory or student counselors: how much time do I put in those...
youngsters who are doing well, to ensure that it continues to go well and is there still time for those youngsters, whose situation that I cannot set right on my own, but requires a very large network to be involved, while the time to mobilize this network is lacking. That's a kind of balance they made. Also because of the educational logic. A center in the system of PVEWL is judged not only on the attendance at school, but above all on the full-time engagement rate. They are mainly judged on the criterions of how many young people there are, how many are actually present in your class time, and how many are engaged in a work-related trajectory or a labor-oriented process. This is full-time engagement, and the higher that is, the better of course. Then you score. You do not score with reactivating the drop-outs or NIA youngsters. That is not the core mission of the part-time education. And then you obviously get involved in a very different story about competition, resources and staffing: fewer pupils imply less staffing. And less teachers is scaling down instead of scaling up. The schools are judged according to this logic.

Respondent 19 formulated the dilemma of the system PVEWL as follows: “Are you going to measure quality on the basis of certain objective, measurable numbers [with reference to qualification outflow, employment rates…], or are you also looking at qualitative elements?”

Respondents 15 expressed their fear that ‘employment’ will function as the dominant criterion to evaluate the system:

Those youngsters start in the system of PVEWL and there are different stages, but all of them – even a personal development trajectory – should eventually be integrated into the labor market, to employment. I’m afraid that – now the evaluation of the Decree is coming – this line of approach will be used to look at the system. And then, you can throw away the PDT’s and even the pre-trajectories, so to speak. For some youngsters, it is simply not achievable. (...) The PDT’s are questioned, because policy only looks at the percentages of qualified and unqualified outflow. But what are we going to do with the youngsters who cannot achieve this? We cannot drop all of them in welfare organisations. I think that we should continue an approach of youth work and education to strengthen those youngsters without harping at any price on a diploma.

Although qualifying is acknowledged as a very important responsibility for education and the focus on qualification in the Decree Learning and Working creates chances for some students, it is also acknowledged by some respondents, that it creates a rest category, as respondents 19 show:

I1: I think there used to be more room for out of the box thinking. Now part-time education is pushed into those qualifications so the space around gets lost. As a consequence, you get a residual group in part-time education.
I2: I feel the difference since youngsters can achieve a diploma in part-time education. It became more schoolish.
I1: They say more easily: "He does not belong here" (...) I think it's important to acknowledge that the Decree has the ability to motivate young people to graduate, but there's also a cream off effect, so that you create a residual group again.
I2: I still find it difficult, the whole of Europe bets on that unqualified outflow, assuming that qualifications actually solve all problems, while if you look at our youngsters… It is a broader problem, when you see the setting of young people, the stimulation and the context in which they live by which they do not come to undertake further steps.

In the same vein, respondent 16 (working in an organization that provides PDT’s) observed excluding side effects of the Decree which requires youngsters to be registered in a center PVEWL (directed towards qualification), to get access to a center for PDT’s, which used to stand on their own before the Decree, without qualification intention:

The advantage is that the trajectories progress faster, and there are smoother transitions between the trajectories. The disadvantage is that we no longer reach our original rest group. Nowadays, we reach them less, since the norm has raised. The conditions for youngsters to start within a PDT is that they meet the conditions of part-time education, while we previously did not have those conditions. Now we find that we do not achieve that really disadvantaged youngsters, because they do not meet the
conditions of part-time education. We notice that a new residual group is created by the new Decree, we become aware of this by the questions we cannot answer, because the youngster does not comply with the conditions of part-time education. For example, we notice that some youngsters in institutions are not enrolled in a school. Fortunately, the institution still provides a framework for them. Other youngsters have not been to school for two years. They are often deregistered by the student counseling centers and they say they will register in another school but this didn’t work out. You have many school hoppers who have been on five, six, seven schools in two or three years. You have a lot of young people who are not registered at the beginning of the school year, or youngsters who are suspended at the end of the school year and nothing is done with it. Or they are registered, but they just don’t come and there is no following up the next school year. Truancy police also says that they do not intervene when youngsters are older than seventeen. The truancy officers often say that they do nothing anymore with 17 year olds as well. These are not positive signals. And it is the work we have been doing for years, but there is actually a lack of money and structures to take care of these youngsters.

In this whole discussion about full-time engagement and the tackling of truancy, one of the respondents raised the critical issue about whose responsibility the participation of youngsters actually is, pointing to the broad field of (full-time) education:

One speaks all the time about full-time engagement, but who should take the responsibility for it? Education of course! What happens now? It was even in the news today, an increase of 6% this year of the number of excluded young people. So what do they [schools of full-time education] do? They throw them out and drop them in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, which no longer belongs to the school, but is a separate center. That’s wrong. I think everyone has his responsibility, so education takes the responsibility to provide full-time trajectories for all youngsters. When the system of PVEWL does not succeed in filling in the work component of the trajectory, that is the responsibility of education and not of the student. That is madness. They are of school age and you say, education is compulsory, but you, as a student, have to take up your engagement? Which engagement? That they have to work, but nobody wants them. What is this bullshit? So it should not be that young people are pushed out the full-time system and pushed into a part-time system, in which they cannot take up the part-time work component and therefore necessarily have to fail. For me it is the responsibility of education to offer a full-time trajectory, and if there is no job available for young people than they should remain the students in full-time education. A full-time school should never say to a young person: “go to the part-time learning system, that’s another pen. Away from our pen and into another pen, and we pull our hands away from it (respondent 2).

Reference is made to the exclusion-mechanisms of full-time schools (known as the cascade mechanism) and as such, the problems of the system PVEWL are linked also to the broader educational system. Respondent 18 made a similar analysis of problems typically attributed to the system of PVEWL:

The truancy problem is simply wrong. Why? It is because people are skipping school, they go to part-time education. So, it is important to acquire insights about how students enroll in part-time education. Because you get high numbers of truancy in the system of PVEWL, but that’s because the influx are truants. (…) What is the cascade mechanism? It is tik tik tok and tok, and we are at the bottom. Large schools manage to remove more than two thirds of their students of their school in the course of their trajectory. They start with 8 classes in the first year, and end up with 3 classes in the sixth year. They are not blamed. The system of PVEWL is blamed, because they have a large unqualified outflow, which is caused by the large schools.

7.6 Social innovation

As introduced above, since 1998, “Ghent, City into Force” (Gent, Stad in Werking, GSiW) is an open partnership between players on and off the field who are committed to a common strategy to develop and set up initiatives to address employment issues in an innovative way. In this vein, in 2006, the platform alternating learning was created to foster cooperation and to
make some basic agreements between different partners and organizations in the PVEWL system. Moreover – as mentioned above - the innovative project part-time@work was subsidized since 2006 until 2014 (as an operational goal of the first strategic goal of Ghent’s flanking education policy ‘promoting equal opportunities on all levels of education’) to (1) facilitate the collaboration between the different partners within the system of PVEWL, (2) improve the quality of the part-time education and (3) strengthen the link with the regular labor market.

It might be clear that a wide diversity of actors in education, the labor market and social welfare in Ghent are involved in the trajectories of the youngsters in PVEWL and develop joined-up practices towards these students, to provide youngsters with tailored trajectories, as made explicit in the Decree Learning and Working, and also expressed by respondent 3, involved in Ghent’s policy making:

As I said we work very fragmented. Why do I think a flanking educational policy is important? I believe that we have to think in chains, taking the young people as our starting point. Again the example of Muhammad, who was stuck at some point and was referred to the system of PVEWL. He has his capacities. A good counselor picks these up and ensures that a talk is taking place with the youngster about his dreams and ambitions. How do you think you could get there? What kind of path should you follow? We’ll try to draw this trajectory together and map what is needed. If that means that you have to go back to a full-time school, we will take care of that. That is the mission! If that means he has to achieve more insight in certain jobs… Driving around with a cool truck is something completely different than that silly thing on the playground at school. Let him spend a day in a competition center of the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB) or in a real company. Also make sure that your teachers are well trained. That they know what they are doing and that they have the opportunity to follow further training courses. That’s the way those systems exist. And then you have such a chain, make sure that all the cubes connect nicely together. And organize your joined-up work. That goes far beyond education alone, but also use work and economy, what can they offer for you. On the other hand, when it comes to poverty issues. Why are some young people in part-time education? Because they have to make money for their families. Why are they not at school? Because they have to interpret for their parents during a doctor’s visit. Or stand in line at the food distribution. Or delivering pizzas because they have to make money. So the grey area between welfare and education, how do you ensure that welfare is addressed by social welfare services and that education can be addressed in schools?

This excerpt on the one hand explicitly states that cooperation has to get organized around and according to the specific life world and concerns of the youngster. On the other hand, it also mentions the division of tasks and responsibilities as an important aspect of the cooperation between the different partners. Many of the respondents’ contributions relating to cooperation, were built around this tension between a student-oriented perspective on the one hand and an organizational perspective on the other hand. Not seldom, the legitimacy of the urge for cooperation fell back on creating optimal chances for the youngster and his/her future perspectives, as respondent 7 explained:

Walking on the streets, you see youngsters who like to be suspended as they don’t have to go to school then. That is hedged truancy because of a discipline measure. But how can we possibly organize an internal time-out on school, so that the youngster can pass in a positive way his time at school, maybe working on his commitment? But that is not part of a teacher’s task, as this requires other competences. So the system of PVEWL should mainly engage with education, but since the right on education is threatened because the youngsters are involved in difficult situations, you need a large partnership with welfare services.

At the same time, the quote illustrates very well that cooperation is perceived as absolutely necessary since these youngsters’ issues and concerns go beyond the responsibility of education. As such, joined-up working is about defining mandates, roles, functions and...
expertise of the different partners in relation to the trajectory of a student. In the same vein, the cooperation with the organizations that provide personal development trajectories is legitimized by referring to the limits of the authorities of education:

There is a need for personal development trajectories, because the problems we are confronted with are too extensive and are no longer our responsibility as education. I think everyone needs to understand that people working in our school have been trained in the education sector, some of them studied social work and there is a social engagement, but in the first place we are education. And then there are certain issues that reach beyond what we can give, also with regard to the intensity of supervision. Here we have 166 students, while in personal development trajectories, they have a group of 8 (respondent 8).

Respondent 23 goes even further in demarcating the responsibility of the centers PVEWL in joined-up working, formulating its tasks in terms of referring the youngsters to the right form of support:

As school, we have a key position, since we have to ensure that the youngsters reach the right persons and services.

Another aspect mentioned as important regarding the cooperation concerns the unity of the applied procedures, as brought in by respondent 7:

In Ghent, we invest a lot in the unity of procedures so the youngster doesn’t have to tell his story five times over and over again to several social workers. And narrowing the meshes of the net. I find that very important. We have invested a lot of time in networking [and in the drawing of the step-by-step plan]. It is interesting to see if it works now. Is it known and followed by everyone?

However, respondent 3 warned for the potential danger of an unwanted side-effect of procedural and organization-oriented interpretations of joined-up working, namely that the life worlds and concerns of the youngsters function no longer as a qualitative line of action:

The system of PVEWL is quite complicated, with all those intermediaries and all those different partners. And you inevitably fall into discussions about your own structures. How do we organize ourselves? How do we ensure the transfer of information? How do we ensure that everyone knows each other? That the phone numbers are correct, that the forms are correct? That everyone understands a notification, a waiting list... in the same way. That kind of basic things: working arrangements and processes. In other words it is not about the young person and what he might experience as being supportive. For us, this is insufficiently perceived as a qualitative guideline. Is what we do okay? Based on the question: does it arouse the student’s intrinsic motivation?

It indisputably became clear during the interviews, although it was seldom concretized in what way, that the intention is always to put the student central in the organization of the trajectory and in the required joined-up working to realize this trajectory:

I think anyway, in education the student should be the starting point: what is needed so he can put a step forward? (respondent 7)

Nevertheless, at the same time, many respondents mentioned the actual limits of the system and of joined-up working as restrictions in realizing a trajectory from a student-oriented perspective:

It also partly has to do with our own structure, for example, we know that you have the profile bridge project, but we simply have no offer for you at this time. That certainly plays. I guess that is not to be underestimated. It may occur that a youngster reached all the competences on which he worked in a pre-trajectory and should find a place in a bridge project. But we have no idea how long this transition takes on average. We try to keep this period as short as possible but it can happen that it takes a long time and...
then the youngster has no full-time engagement. He cannot stay in the pre-trajectory, because he has to make way for the next youngster. But the result may be that at the end of the day, the youngster lost his motivation and is back to square one, because he had to wait a few months. So those are the dilemmas: keeping him longer in the pre-trajectory, but in fact, he does not longer belong to the target group. And the service for vocational education (DBO // dienst beroepsopleiding) observes this conscientiously, what is understandable, keeping the waiting list in mind. But then we are pigeon-holing and people are no pigeons, so that always pinches a bit. Moreover, the financing is not ok, as you cannot take into account peak moments and low moments. So I think the system is quite complex and inflexible. Thought from the perspective of the system and not necessarily from the perspective of a youngster. We are constantly organizing what we call ‘warm transfers’ between the school and the organization, from step 1 to 2 to 3 ..., since almost all trajectories are provided by different organizations. Many remaining questions... (respondent 3).

As respondent 3 formulated, the operation of the system – based on joined-up working – sometimes takes precedence over the interests of the youngsters. Moreover, it became clear through the interviews, that joined-up working does not necessarily prevent youngsters from being excluded, neither does it automatically improve the quality of support offered to disadvantaged youngsters, as respondent 3 explained:

Previously, in part-time education, one was almost by definition a social worker, supporting youngsters endlessly: we should endlessly create opportunities. The ‘no pain no gain discourse’ and conditionality recently came in. This is also strengthened by the phase model: PDT, pre-trajectory, bridging project, regular employment... This division is inherently part of the system, but entails some challenges. One of the problems is that the use of the phases is not constant during a scholastic year. There are always peaks and lows. For example a pre-trajectory is typically much demanded in the beginning of the year, and much less at the end. That is logical, because the intention is that they move into a bridging project or further. While that bridging project traditionally comes in later. But you have your staff, and if your organization only organizes a pre-trajectory, you need a lot of staff at the beginning of the year and maybe by April nobody anymore. That's one thing. Two, as organization, you have a certain number of places. Last year, the pre-trajectories were confronted with an incredible bottleneck effect, since there were not enough places. Much more demand than supply, resulting in waiting lists longer than 4 months. These constant waiting lists also bring along some questions. And you are forced much harder to ask the question whether some youngsters occupy undeservedly the places that could be used by other youngsters, who as a consequence, do not get the chance. For example, when I’m placed in a pre-trajectory, and I come late systematically or skip regularly, one should have the courage to ask whether I actually have the right profile and whether I’m really on the right place. And if not, I should be written out to make room for someone who does take that chance?

Respondent 2 even goes a step further, radically questioning the organization of the system and of joined-up working as an innovative practice, arguing that joined-up working might instead create an opening for schools to devolve the responsibility for the trajectory of its students onto other organizations rather than to realize a trajectory that youngsters have reason to value.

This orientation is new, and that is because of the system. The system should be different, and schools should take the responsibility of the trajectories of youngsters, instead of dumping them. There used to be centers for part-time education and centers for part-time training. The centers of part-time training were organized for the youngsters who could really not function within the school system. As a compensation to be able to meet compulsory education, those youngsters were offered part-time work on the one hand and general education, working on their problems on the other hand. In practice, this was only a part-time engagement, since the job component was not completed. Moreover, they could not get a qualification, since the center could not qualify youngsters. It was the trash bin of the system. And the minister wanted to scrap this. Rightly. But what has he done? I find it terrible. Now you register in a school PVEWL and after a while, the school says: that’s a weak student, we will refer him to a personal development trajectory [organized by the former part-time training centers, but now part of the system PVEWL]. It used to be more or less a choice of the youngster or the parent, who decided not to want a diploma. In education, they always say that parents are not involved, but in fact, they treat parents as if they are not involved. If you want parents to be involved, you should treat them in a proper...
way, and not dump them as if they are not involved. So you have to imagine, you are a dad with a problem-son and you were able to say: you know what son, we are no longer going to school, I have another solution for you, we go to a center for part-time training, and you will do all nice kinds of things and you can still go working. But that’s impossible now. It becomes clear when this dad goes registering his son at a center PVEWL, that qualification is important, and that his son will get a job. And after two weeks they say: “You know what, boy, you don’t have to come here anymore, you are worthless and we will send you to another place.” (…) I think we need to do two things: to support people in what they are doing, but also in thinking out of the box, and saying: look guys, the system that we are in is not good and we should change it. Someone has to say it, but no one does. No one says how the system might be different.

This is in line with the objections raised by respondent 10, who challenged the organization of the Regional Platform since it did not succeed in realizing a coordination (between the different centers PVEWL and Syntra) that is driven by a student-oriented perspective rather than a school-oriented perspective:

The intent of the minister of Education was to install a regional organization. Basically what the regional platform could have been, but stayed a dead letter of the law and a missed opportunity: ensuring the contacts with the business world, creating employment opportunities, coordinating training and apprenticeship in companies… So that young people would have a maximum range of all available places in all possible professions. This seems quite logical. There are a lot of youngsters who do not know very well what they want and they just get a glimpse of the offer. If you come to us [Syntra], you do not get the offer of part-time and vice versa. So this should not depend on the schools, but on a central body. It also would be much better for the firms, because then, we can spread a clear profile and clear message and present them a maximal offer of students, not depending on a specific school whether someone is suitable or not for a job. And that is in part what is going wrong. (…) Why should three schools in Ghent offer the training catering, each with a handful of students? I do not think this is good in terms of investment, nor in terms of quality, since basically none of them has enough students to organize it well… (…) It also never happened that a student, following a pre-trajectory, comes to the conclusion: I choose a profession in Syntra. They will always stay in the same school. Very remarkable. I find that strange, since the various centers also partly have a different offer. I do not think that one pre-trajectory dares to say: we are not letting you return to your school, because it is the school that enrolls the students in the pre-trajectory. As a consequence, they are completely dependent on the school to get youngsters in their program. So the student will stick to the school where he initially is registered [even though it is not the best option for the student]. The interest of the schools takes precedence on the interests of the youngsters.

Respondent 3 (policy making partner) acknowledges these problems and suggests an improvement of and closer collaboration within the network to overcome those difficulties.

But that network. It is absolutely our ambition to make the network firmer, more purposeful and more powerful. Today, it is a wide river on which a whole fleet sails, both large and small boats and to the left and to the right and at different speeds and all with a different map. And it’s our ambition to organize this.

In a way, it is surprising that purposiveness and unanimity of the different partners is proposed without clear reference to a discussion about the different perspectives on the underlying definition of problems, the expected purpose and the course to follow, in relation to the perspective of youngsters.

Concerning the question about the concrete perspective of youngsters in the collaboration, different partners referred to the trajectory crossing competence instrument (TOCI // trajectoverschrijdend compentie-instrument), as explained by respondent 3:

To approach the perspective of the youngsters, since a while, we work with the trajectory crossing competence instrument. We basically looked over all trajectories and phases, and we distinguished a group of competences or attitudes that comes back everywhere and on which everyone is working. We
have eight skills: punctuality, perseverance, initiative, self-reliance, communication, cooperation, respect and dealing with feedback. We also have the action plans of course. And progress reports. Anyway, we have the tools, provided on a Flemish level by the service vocational education (DBO // dienst beroepsopleiding).

It might be interesting to explore to what extent such instruments potentially initiate discussion between the partners on the problem definitions and in which sense it reflects the perspective of youngsters. Respondent 17 also touched upon this topic of formulating problem definitions and help requests, as a very important issue, that nevertheless often goes beyond the scope of the organizations providing pre-trajectories or employment trajectories, since the financing operates with another logic:

What we see is that a lot of young people need much more psychosocial help. I think they become aware of this as they get older, at the point where they effectively see that their behavior is dysfunctional. When they start questioning this, they see that they need help, and they need to speak with someone. I think there is not enough space for this in part-time education, nor in our projects. (...) And you are confronted sometimes with the problem about what you can do within a trajectory. What are you paid for? On the basis of what are you assessed? We are financed by tenders and stuff, and then you actually get paid for each tick. And you put a tick if someone has a job. You are not putting a tick if you have formulated a request for help, or an appropriate request for help together with the youngster. That is of course almost fatal in your work with those youngsters.

Respondent 18 acknowledged that the logic of financing cannot be denied in the everyday practice, but this respondent also referred to the enormous enthusiasm of the people who are working with these youngsters. Also respondent 16 mentioned that they use their professional discretion in approaching their task as determined by Decree, since they put a qualitative program for and counseling of the youngsters on the foreground, although the individual approach and counseling of youngsters is under fire due to a fixed financing system, forcing organizations to make choices.

7.7 Discussion and conclusions

Through both the document-analysis and the interviews, we tried to capture the normative dimensions of the discourses of policy makers and practitioners and to grasp the components of their Informational Basis of the Judgements in Justice (IBJJ), which points to the question which knowledge and information is judged as meaningful by the actors involved, and used as the foundation of a pedagogy of social inclusion.

We revealed that there is a thorough problematisation of the unqualified outflow, difficult employment trajectories and significant truancy in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, as the loss of a collective investment, but above all as a mortgage on the future perspective of the youngsters. It is exactly in this context and on the basis of this kind of problem analysis that the Decree Learning and Working was launched in 2008, in which the main objectives meet specifically the ascertained problems, aiming to realize a full time engagement for each youngster through an individual trajectory, combining both education and training in order to provide every youngster with a valuable qualification.

Notwithstanding the Decree, the number of not immediately available students (NIA) stays high (20-25%) in Ghent, with 10% of them defined as “highly problematic”. Moreover, the desired full-time engagement of the students is not realized (on average 65% instead of 100%), there is a striking truancy problem, and only one to two percent receives a diploma.
This “persistent” non-participation and drop-out largely informs and inspires the debate about a pedagogy of social inclusion, since from a policy perspective, an educational trajectory within the system of part-time vocational learning and workplace learning is categorized as successful when a youngster is active on the labor market and/or obtains a diploma. Nevertheless, introducing “success” as a sensitizing concept in the interviews, we observed an interesting tension between this formal and functional definition of success and more nuanced and layered interpretations of the concept, referring to the specific situation and trajectory of the student, his or her goals, concerns, interests and dreams…

However, the interviews also often revealed a normative notion of participation, translating participation in terms of “good, socially adaptive and integrative behavior”, which would clearly be problematic from a Capability Approach perspective, since participation is narrowed down to loyalty (adaptation to the system) and voice (active involvement of citizens into political decision-making processes) (Ley, 2013) and might function as an affirmative or conformist social act. As Bonvin (2013) asserted, it is important to identify what the cost of non-participation is. Or in other words, how is the right to education available for those who do not participate at all or not with the expected “energy”? (Bonvin, 2013). Many of the respondents acknowledged that no one really can grasp who these ‘non-participating’ youngsters are. While, from a Capability Approach, it is important to explore the perspective of these youngsters who drop-out, or according to Hirschman’s (1970) triptych, participate by the way of exit. As such, we aim to problematize non-participation from the idea of the right on education and we want to gain insight in the meaning of (non)participation in education for the youngsters from a student-oriented perspective, assessing the “capacity to aspire” in a broad sense (i.e. encompassing the capacity to formulate one’s goals and aspirations and not reduced to the – rhetorical, political, etc. – means of having an effective voice) (Bonvin, 2013).

Moreover, with regard to participation, we need to explore more in depth the dynamics by which youngsters are excluded from the system, in spite of the joined-up practices which aim to provide every youngster with an appropriate trajectory. Because, in line with the existing body of international research, also in the system of PVEWL in Ghent, an important answer to processes of social exclusion towards youngsters in education, (implying that their inclusion/participation is socially constructed as a need) is the provision of joined-up approaches between actors in education, labor market and social welfare as an innovative method to fulfill this unmet need (Raffe, 2010). However, through the contributions of different respondents, it became clear that joined-up working does not necessarily prevent youngsters from being excluded, neither does it improve the quality of education and social support offered to disadvantaged youngsters. The interviews illustrated how, in many cases, cooperation takes shape from an organization-oriented perspective, in which joined-up working starts from (or sometimes even aims at) well-defined mandates, roles, functions and expertise of the different partners. The continued failure of trajectories – despite the joined-up working - was often attributed to organizational contexts that are considered to be restrictive or shortcoming (Healy, 2000) and as a consequence, a plea was made – legitimized by referring to the student’s chances – for more smooth trajectories (with warm transitions between the diverse tracks) and consequently, a more harmonized and matched collaboration. However, the concretization and implementation of this cooperation was trapped in, on the one hand, a continued debate about tasks, roles, mandates, and on the other hand, the question about a common perspective and engagement towards youngsters and unanimity within the network. In this vein, Bergold and Thomas (2012) argue oppositely that “it is not a question of creating a conflict-free space, but rather of ensuring that the conflicts that are revealed can be
jointly discussed” by “creating a safe space in which openness, differences of opinion, conflicts, etc. are permitted”. Joined-up working as a product of dissensus (Biesta, 2011a) might create space for a student-perspective instead of an organizational perspective as it might enable discussions concerning renegotiation and sharing of engagement and expertise to improve the situation of each student in collaboration with the student that participates in the process of the construction of social problems (Garrett, 2003). Therefore, we need to further theorize this perspective on joined-up working and explore how policies and practices of joined-up working can realize an education which youngsters deem meaningful, in which context and on what basis? How can joined-up working effectively contribute to the enhancement of capabilities of disadvantaged young people?

Another suggested reason for failure – referred to by Ledoux (2004) as “blaming the clients” - were the characteristics of the target group: their inability or lack of willingness/motivation to work and their often problematic social background. As such, school failure is dominantly framed as a psychosocial deficiency of individuals and families and as a cultural gap (not adapting to the school culture and work ethos) that should be bridged, by supporting their active participation through empowering strategies stimulating an individual process of personal growth and adaptation (see: personal development trajectories, pre-trajectories, interventions of student counseling centers in case of truancy).

This reflects a normative notion of citizenship mainly based on a norm of active and “good” citizenship that is imposed on individuals and persistently at work in both discourse and practice (Roets et al., 2012), as the interviews revealed, referring to motivation and willfulness as key characteristics of “good” students who are expected to become productive and self-responsible citizens (Cruikshank, 1999). However, Biesta (2011a, 2011b) pointed out that translating participation in social terms, that is, in terms of “good, socially adaptive and integrative behavior”, contains the potential danger of both pinning down citizens to a particular civic identity, in accordance with a well-defined and singular order of the democratic political game, and the erosion of more political interpretations of democratic citizenship, that see the meaning of citizenship as essentially contested (Biesta, 2011a, 2011b).

Besides, it has been stated that empowering people by stimulating their personal growth risks reducing the ambiguity of dealing with disadvantage as a multidimensional and persistent problem to a minimum, because it is predominantly defined as an individual problem (Roose, Roets and Bouverne-De Bie, 2012). As D'Cruz, Gillingham and Mendez (2007, p. 76) state: “the social and political causes of the problems of individuals are downplayed while the knowledge and skills of the individual are emphasized [sic] . . . [and] social problems become individualized [sic] rather than considered as the consequences of relations between individuals and social structures”.

Moreover, when empowering strategies fail, repressive interventions are introduced, reflecting the conditionality of citizenship: citizens have no rights but responsibilities, and rights shift into social obligations (Roets et al., 2012). This tension is very present in the tension between on the one hand, the right on education (as an emancipatory practice) and on the other hand, the compulsory nature of education. As a consequence, practitioners in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, are constantly working on the continuum of motivating and cajoling youngsters towards trajectories and projects that enhance their autonomy and self-development, while controlling the deviant aspects of non-participation and resistance strategies” (Jordan, 2001, p. 10). In this vein, McNay (2009, p.
65), asserted that “the organization of society around a multiplicity of individual enterprises profoundly depoliticizes social and political relations by fragmenting collective values of care, duty and obligation and displacing them back on to the managed autonomy of the individual”, since bad choices and acts are reframed as being the result of willfulness, as implied in the judgment of full responsibility (e.g. “if you choose the role of an anarchist, you must also know that you are excluded”). This ideology of individual choice and opportunity becomes tricky when it masks the effects of social inequality and disregards the fact that some citizens have few available choices and resources (Lister, 2004). The increasing use of a language of “choice” implies equality of access and denies actual structural positions of disadvantage (Burman, 1994).

Within the Capability Approach, capabilities are not confined to psychological aspects of human “functionings” but capabilities rely on an arrangement of living conditions of a material, symbolic, legal and normative kind that are necessary to allow the “flourishing” of individual capabilities. Bringing together those conditions (barriers and opportunities) and connecting them to the individual “problem situation” requires a careful interpretation and comprehensive embracing of the perspective of the youngsters (Lorenz, 2013), which is rather absent at the level of policy making at this point, as respondent 2 and 3 stated:

I think we have a lot of information, but we really lack the perspective of the young people. It is very fragmented present in the minds of the people who are working day in day out with the youngsters, but they are often not really aware of it. Moreover, it is not structured at all. It is absolutely not explicit or available for consultation or policy analysis. I really feel that we are missing this part of the story. (respondent 3)

The way they [policy] particularly treat low-skilled youngsters, as if they do not think and do not know what is going on, but rather tell them what they should do. That is wrong. Those young people know very well what is going on, that the successful others may continue partying and that the party is over for them. And what’s more, they know it already since their six years, since they got their first school report, they know that the party is over. Those youngsters know it very well. (respondent 2)

In this vein, our aim in the next research phase, is to link endogenous aspirations, concerns and views of youngsters in the system of PVEWL with exogenous dynamics at play in the system, since the vital issue at stake in practice is the role that the practitioners in the system of PVEWL perform while shaping the relationship between the individual aspirations and expectations of society, balancing the tension between their emancipation task and mandate of control, producing and working with changing problem constructions in collaboration with the youngsters and engaging with the life world of students and supporting them on an individual level while at the same time keeping open the discussion on the structural dimensions of social problems and the broader social and political context in which practitioners operate (Garrett, 2003). Therefore, we want to conclude by briefly mapping some main tensions that we unveiled in our research, very well realizing that the practitioners who are day in and day out working with great enthusiasm with this youngsters are often captured in very difficult and ambiguous realities and policies, partly linked to their specific position in the educational system.

1) tension between the functional interpretation of education, in which compulsory education can be an instrument to guarantee the participation of youngsters in formal education to enhance the qualified outcome and employment rates on the one hand and the problematisation of non-participation in formal education from the right to education, which unavoidably introduces the perspective of the youngsters on the other hand.
2) tension between a formal and functional definition of success perceived as enhancing a qualified outflow and employment, and more nuanced and layered interpretations of the concept, referring to the specific situation and trajectory of the student, his or her goals and dreams…

3) tension between on the one hand empowering support to youngsters, to foster their participation in educational systems and the labor market, and on the other hand, the use of repressive interventions and the conditionality of rights.

4) tension between on the one hand organization-oriented joined-up working, in which practitioners conceptualize and enact their cooperation from a predefined mandate, in which it is stipulated that each organization has its own role, function and expertise and on the other hand joined-up working from a student-oriented perspective, in which practitioners conceptualize and enact their joined-up working as a renegotiation and sharing of their engagement and expertise to improve the situation of each student in collaboration with the student.

Although our analysis of the system PVEWL provoked some critical questions, we also believe – based on the interviews with very engaged professionals that every answer formulated by practitioners in working with youngsters (while this would remain incomplete) might hold the potential to shift evident meanings and enable them to act while transforming realities into open-ended issues.
### Appendix 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Area</th>
<th>Policy or Programme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix 2

Het beroepenhuis: The house of professions is a permanent job fair where youngsters on the threshold of secondary education, can become acquainted with different professions and education.
Platform alternerend leren: the platform alternate learning was introduced above
Deeltijds@work: part-time@work was introduced above
Jongerenwerkplan: the youth work plan is a mediation and guidance initiative for all job seekers below 25 years old, conform to the European youth guarantee plan, which sets out that all young people under the age of 25 should receive a good-quality offer of employment, continued education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving formal education (draft council conclusions on enhancing social inclusion of young people not in employment, education or training).
Jobkot: In Jobkot young people can ask (with or without appointment) all their possible questions about work: rights and obligations, summer jobs, apply for jobs, prepare a CV, constraints etc.. This accessible way a bridge is beaten between the youngster and the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency (VDAB).
Word Wijs: "Be Wise! "is supervised bij stap (studieadviespunt Gent) and coaches unqualified young people between 18 and 25 years in their educational perspective in collaboration with partners in the fields of education, labour market and welfare.
Werkinlevingstrajecten: In the work experience trajectories, some unqualified youngsters who cannot enter the job market straight away, require extra help which they receive via the work experience trajectories for youngsters (werkinlevingstrajecten voor Jongeren, WIJ). These trajectories are organized in 13 Flemish cities and last one year up to 18 months. Through group sessions, individually coaching, vocational exploration, competence-enhancing actions (training and workplace learning) and mediation actions of their supporters, access to the labour market is facilitated.
Take off: Take Off is an ESF project with multiple GSiW partners, offering intensive coaching to disadvantaged and hard to reach young people. These are young people who are not in education, not supported and not working, often with a lot of problems. The ultimate goal is to empower young people for a work or training program, but the coaching process is characterized by an integrated approach.
References

Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

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The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
8. SPAIN – Local social support networks analysis in Valencia, Quart de Poblet (by Sergio Belda and Alejandra Boni)

*Universitat Politecnica de Valencia*

**Abstract**

This report focuses on local youth policies in the municipality of Quart de Poblet (Valencian Autonomous Community, Spain). It will also approach other local policies directly affecting youth, namely social services and employment, and how they are connected with youth policies.

Quart is a town of 25.200 inhabitants in the metropolitan area of Valencia. It can be considered as an average Spanish municipality in terms of the situation of youth, who face dramatic levels of unemployment (almost 50%) and other social risks.

Apart from these problems, Quart presents a vibrant civil society, a culture of citizen engagement, and a local government which has developed a comprehensive and participatory approach to youth public policies, in close collaboration with local associations. In a very difficult socio-economic and institutional context as the Spanish one, characterized by simplistic views on the problems the youth face and on the necessary policies to approach them –which, besides, are not a priority- and by current reduction of resources, Quart may be an inspiring example for local policies in another municipalities.

This chapter provides a capability approach informed analysis of policies and strategies, mapping current policy processes and local social support networks in Quart. The report addresses and connects the following issues:

a) Particular problems the youth face and the related construction of youth public policies. This includes an analysis on how key target groups are considered; how policy strategies are defined; and related specific programs and practices.

b) Visions and processes of participation. Including analysis on perspectives, spaces and barriers for youth participation.

c) Visions and processes of social innovation in youth policies.

We find that Quart policies are grounded in a multidimensional perspective on the disadvantages the youth face, which is shared among all key stakeholders. The municipality is coherently articulating a comprehensive policy which tries to connect “soft” youth policies and “hard” policies, based in a participatory approach which may also be promoting permanent innovations. However, it seems that youth in Quart still find relevant barriers for participation, which are both intrinsic and extrinsic.
8.1 Introduction

This report focuses on local youth policies in the municipality of Quart de Poblet (Valencian Autonomous Community, Spain). It also approaches other local policies directly affecting youth, namely social services and employment. By youth, we essentially consider people among 16-29 years old, which are usually the target of youth policies in Spain (see Hueso and Boni, 2013). However, we will occasionally refer to adolescents between 13 and 15 years old, as well as to young adults between 30-34 years old, which are targeted by some policies we will consider.

Quart is a town of around 25,200 inhabitants (Direccion de Analisis y Politicas Publicas de la Generalitat, 2014a) in the metropolitan area of Valencia. It can be considered as an average Spanish municipality in terms of the situation of youth, who face dramatic unemployment rates (almost 50%) and other social risks. Even though a lot of specific problems affect particular youngsters, youth in Quart as a whole are considered to be in a situation of vulnerability, as it is the case of Spanish young people more in general (Hueso and Boni, 2013).

Quart has always been considered as having a vibrant civil society. This also includes youth, who present higher levels of engagement in associations than the average in the Valencian Community or in Spain. Together with this culture of citizen engagement, the local government of Quart has been recognized by its participatory approach to public policies, and by its close collaboration with local associations. This is particularly true in the case of youth policies, which have also been a priority for Quart local governments for the last 25 years. It has to be mentioned that, broadly speaking, public policies in Quart have not experienced rapid changes in the last decades. Among other issues, this is due to the fact that the political party in power, the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) has been ruling the local government for the last 35 years. The current major has been in power since 1999.

Even if Quart may be considered an exception in a landscape of limited and conservative youth policies at local level, it can be also seen as an inspiring example which is, however, not free of problems and limitations.

This report provides a capability approach informed analysis of policies and strategies, mapping current policy processes and local social support networks. Its rational is the following one:

First, a broad description of the area is presented. Based both on quantitative data coming from secondary sources and on empirical data obtained for this research, some key characteristics of Quart will be presented: key problems, the existence of a solid social fabric, and the participatory approach of public policies. These ideas will help us to better introduce key stakeholders in the area regarding youth policies, and its relationships with public institutions.

Secondly, we will approach how problems and target groups are framed by youth policies and other closely related policies. We will then go into the perspectives, visions, purposes and strategies of public policies. Special relevance is given to a key characteristic of local action:

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278 Spain is a highly decentralized state, divided administratively and politically into 17 Autonomous Communities (and 2 autonomous cities) which are governed according to the national constitution and their own Statutes of Autonomy, which contain all the competences they assume, varying from one community to another.

279 We will sometimes refer to Quart de Poblet just as “Quart”, as it is common in the area.
coordination and connections between “soft” and “hard” policies. We will see how youth policies, formally oriented to provide leisure alternatives to youngsters, are relevant to face other problems such as unemployment.

Thirdly, we will examine participation processes. We will see how participation is a key question to coordinate policies, and we will analyze different channels that allow youth to have their voice represented, and how they work. We will also highlight intrinsic and extrinsic barriers for the participation of the youth.

Fourthly, we will analyze different perspectives on social innovation that the stakeholders have, and how process of change in public intervention take place. We will highlight approach both up-down and bottom-up innovation processes.

In the different chapters, as well as in the final discussion, we will also address the issue of the Informational Basis of the Judgement of Justice (IBJJ) of youth policies in Quart. The IBJJ, an idea introduced by Sen (1990), refers to the information on which a judgment is made. Specifically, we address the the political, professional and discursive construction of the “disadvantaged” youth and their need for help within the local policy context; the rhetoric used by policy makers and stakeholders about participation and social innovation; and the extent to which the perspective of young people are represented and echoed in the IBJJ.

In the final remarks, the report also re-connects the discussions with the broader theoretical framework developed in WP2 and with the macro socio-economic and political context treated in WP3, and highlights key findings which may be relevant for WP5.

8.2 Methods

Methods used for the elaboration of the report were:

a) **Review of statistical data.** To provide an overall view of the area, data from official organisms, as the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, the Institut Valencià de Estadística and the Instituto de la Juventud de España have been used.

b) **Review of policy documents and reports.** Several reports and policy documents elaborated by different departments of the municipality of Quart were reviewed.

c) **Interviews and focus groups.** The empirical research consisted of 14 interviews and 2 focus groups. The selection tried to cover all relevant stakeholders in the local networks: policy makers, staff from different departments in the municipality, implementers, and young people engaged in local participatory processes.

Data collection was undertaken between March and July 2014.

Interviews were all face-to-face and conducted in Quart or Valencia. Interviews were semi-structured and used open-ended questions about key topics with the aim to understand policy processes, different perspectives on key ideas and how IBJJ is constructed. Selection of informants was made following recommendations given by staff in the Youth Department of Quart, and was completed through snowball sampling, until saturation seemed to be reached.
Together with semi-structured individual interviews, 2 focus groups were conducted with young people engaged in two training programs of the municipality. Youth aged from 18 to 35 took part in these groups. Insights from these groups helped to deep in the perspectives of young people in Quart whose participation in associations is limited.

Table 1 reflects sample composition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional/local government policy makers</td>
<td>5 people</td>
<td>1 Youth Councilor&lt;br&gt;4 municipality civil servants (1 from Youth Department, 1 from Social Services Department, 1 from Sports Department, 1 from Economic Development Department).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training and education providers</td>
<td>2 people</td>
<td>2 Social Educators (1 specialized on drug prevention, 1 on childhood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment support service providers</td>
<td>1 person</td>
<td>1 implementer of employment program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen’s bodies (e.g. youth parliaments/councils)</td>
<td>1 person</td>
<td>1 member of Local Youth Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work organisations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Think tanks (governmental and non-governmental)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising)</td>
<td>5 people</td>
<td>2 Coordinators of Casas de la Juventud (Youth Clubs)&lt;br&gt;3 Members of youth associations subcontracted by the municipality for managing particular programs (implementers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people</td>
<td>2 focus groups (50 people)</td>
<td>2 focus group (one with 16 and one with 34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A thematic content analysis was conducted to process primary data, drawing on the key themes identified for WP4. Quotations have been translated from Spanish or Catalan into English by the authors, and have been anonymized for the report, as it was agreed with interviewees.

8.3 Description of area In relation to Inequality/disadvantaged Youth

8.3.1 Framing the case study

8.3.1.1 General description and indicators of the area

The Valencian Community is the fourth Spanish Autonomous Community in demographic and economic terms (around 5.100.000 inhabitants, 10,8 % of Spanish total population, and 9,5% of Spanish total GPB, see Table 2). Its capital, Valencia, is the center of the 3rd Spanish metropolitan area, composed by 45 municipalities, and with a population of around 1.775.000 (Ministerio de Fomento, 2010).
In terms of employment and in other key indicators commonly used to assess welfare (GPB per capita and population in risk of social exclusion\(^{280}\)), the region performs slightly worse than the average Spanish level: a per capita rent of 19.964 euros vs. the 22.772 Spanish average; and a 27.3% of the population under risk of social exclusion vs. the Spanish average rate of 31.7%. These percentages have increased by at least 10 points in the last 6 years (INE, 2010 and 2014b).

The Valencian Community presents a dramatic situation of the labor market, with an unemployment rate of 27% in 2013, which is even worse than the Spanish average rate of 25% (see Table 2). These levels of unemployment, which raised around 18 percentage points from 2007, have been dramatically high during the last 5 years (more than 20%), both at the Spanish and at the Valencian level.

As it is the case of the rest of Spain, risk of social exclusion and unemployment is affecting youth with much more intensity: 45,5% of the Valencian youth who actively seek for a job are unemployed (44,6% in Spain), and 34,5% are in risk of social exclusion (33% is the national average, see Table 2).

Quart de Poblet is one of the 532 local authorities in the Valencian Community. With 19,6 sq. km. and a population of 25.200, it is the 45th municipality in terms of population in the region (IVE, 2013b). It is part of the metropolitan area of the Valencia, being the 11th municipality of the area in terms of population (IVE, 2013b).

Quart is strongly linked at a functional level with the city of Valencia –which is 5 kilometers away- and other towns in the metropolitan area. Given its proximity to the capital and its strategic position, close to big infrastructures (highways and airport), Quart is one of the most industrialized municipalities in the region, even if most activities are related to industrial sectors with limited added-value (Quart de Poblet, 2013a). However, Quart has conserved its own identity and a certain small-town atmosphere.

Regarding some key social, demographic and economic indicators, Quart seems to be close to the average levels of the Valencian Community. It also true for the situation of youth, which are 15,63% of the city population, a proportion close to the national and regional ones (see table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spain</th>
<th>Valencian Community</th>
<th>Valencia Province</th>
<th>Quart de Poblet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>47.059.533</td>
<td>5.104.365</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>25.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population between 16-29</td>
<td>15,1%</td>
<td>15,01%</td>
<td>14,98%</td>
<td>15,63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population in risk of social exclusion</td>
<td>27,3%</td>
<td>31,7%</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{280}\) The National Statistics Institute, in line with the EU, measures the overall poverty risk or social exclusion rate calculating the population in any of these situations: risk of poverty (60% of the median income per consumption unit), severe material deprivation and households without jobs or with low employment intensity (members worked for less than 20% of their total potential) (Boni and Hueso, 2013).
Table 2: Key indicators of the area


8.3.1.2 Problems faced by youth in Quart

Two perspectives seem to co-exist regarding problems faced by youth in Quart, which arise from the empirical data:

Most of the persons interviewed, and particularly youth themselves, consider being young as “a problem” in itself, a factor of disadvantage and of exposition to risk of social exclusion. This idea was also present at the macro-level in the Spanish context (Hueso and Boni, 2013).

Apart from this, both people working in the youth sector in Quart and young people consulted stated that youth face different specific problems. Among those, issues related with employment are considered by far the most important problems: together with “unemployment” or “lack of job opportunities”, social workers and youth themselves mention “precariousness in the jobs young people can get”, or “overqualification of youth for the jobs they can get”. Other key problems, which are considered to be in the bases of the lack of job opportunities for the youth, are: increasing limitations in the access to education, given the rise in the costs (for example, Valencian public universities have increased its fees by 59% since 2008\(^\text{281}\)) and the lack of previous job experience, which is demanded by companies. Consequently, young people find themselves in a vicious circle, as they can never get a first job and get some experience.

Beyond unemployment, other issues mentioned by both workers in the youth sector and the youth themselves are drugs consumption and “unhealthy” leisure, like “staying all the day in the park and wandering in the street” (social educator 1). Social workers also mention problems of school dropout or conflictive family environments. Lack of enough public infrastructures for leisure was mentioned by youth.

Informants, and namely youth themselves, also state that all these situations lead to the “impossibility of emancipation”. “Emancipation” is considered in a comprehensive sense: for example, a youth stated that it implies “something more than just having your own house and your own money… it means also to be able to be self-sufficient, take your decisions, have

\(^{281}\) http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2012/06/18=valencia/1340050552_189109.html
other experiences, meet other places and people, have wonderful experiences” (youth in discussion group 2).

Together with the “impossibility to emancipate”, the “impossibility to have aspirations” is also mentioned. This idea is illustrated by some youth, in ironic terms: “by now I have my aspiration almost fulfilled, as I am working as an intern, but my aspiration in to continue to be an intern forever” (youngster in discussion group 1); or in more dramatic terms: “It is difficult [to have aspirations], and even to think about the future, as you do not even know where are you going to be in six months” (youngster in discussion group 1).

8.3.1.3 Civil society, associations and youth.
As it was mentioned, Quart de Poblet has a reputation of having a vibrant civil society. This idea seems to be supported both by the number of active associations in the municipality (156, a high number for the size of the town, and almost the double of the average of a Spanish municipality with this population), and by the perceptions of civil servants interviewed who have worked in different municipalities.

Civic participation through community-based initiatives seems to be common among youth. 20 formal youth associations are active in the municipality, and 40% of youngsters take part in some kind of association –sports, musical, leisure, cultural, religious, self-help and community working groups, etc.- (Quart Jove, 2012). This is over the national average, as just 22% of the Spanish youth actively participate in associations (INJUVE, 2013).

Youth in Quart also have the perception that young people in the town are more engaged in associations than in other cities. This is recognized by both youth who already are participating in associations and by those who are not engaged in any of them.

Another widespread perception among both municipality employees and youth themselves is that the municipality tries to offer spaces and facilities to promote different associative activities. As we will see, promotion of community-led initiatives has been a key strategy in local youth policies.

8.3.1.4 Priorities for public policies
Broadly speaking, youth seem to have the perception that the local government, even with its big limitations, tries to care about their problems, at least in comparison with other municipalities close to Quart: “the local government cares about us, they do things, at least if you compare it with Manises… There they don’t have anything!” (youngster in discussion group 2). The perception of several employees in the youth sector is that youth policies are a priority in Quart, something which does not seem to be common in the Valencian Community (Hueso and Boni 2013). This idea seems also to be supported by the fact that, in a context of sever reductions in the local budget due to the economic crisis, reductions of resources for youth policies have been very limited.

8.3.1.5 Interest of the case study and explanation of choice
Several reasons, some of which were just mentioned, make the case of youth policies of Quart de Poblet of particular interest:

- Participation is a key issue for local policies and for youth policies in particular.
- Local policies in general and youth policies in particular have had a sustained strategy in the last decades.
Youth policies and youth in general are priority for the local government.

Even if Quart can be considered an exception in terms of its progressive policies, its general characteristics are similar to the regional and national average. It seems that Quart replicates most of the key problems the youth face at the regional and national level, so its practice can be inspiring for other local governments, and particularly those in metropolitan areas of medium-big cities.

8.3.2 Institutions, stakeholders and relationships

Here we will describe the main public institutions and other stakeholders regarding local youth policies and other key policies at the local level affecting youth. We will also highlight some aspects of the relationships among stakeholders.

8.3.2.1 Public institutions in Quart regarding youth

- **Youth Department**, known as **Quart Jove** (Youth Quart). It is the area of the municipality in charge of policies specifically addressing youth. It is responsible of what can be considered “soft policies” related with leisure, promotion of participation, information and orientation, etc, targeting “normalized youth”. Moreover, this Department gives advice and support to other departments dealing with youth in specific situations of risk which develop other “soft “ or “hard” policies (namely social services and employment policies). The department has a staff of 4 people, and it is under the responsibility of the Youth Councilor of Quart.

- A number of other departments of the municipality are in charge of policies affecting youth: Social Services, Economic Development, Sports, Culture, Environment, etc. However, we will focus in two key areas: **Social Services Department** and **Economic Development Department**. We selected these two areas because they develop policies addressing most of the key problems identified before: school dropout, drugs addiction, difficult family environments and other socio-economic problems (Social Services Department); and employment (Economic Development Department).

Every employee interviewed remarks the existence of a very good coordination among areas, and that this coordination has always been a political priority of the local council in the last decade: “Coordination, links and bridges among departments are a key part of our working methodology” (policy maker 1). Coherently, different spaces for dialogue and coordination exist.

It is very relevant to remember that, even if Spanish municipalities have been developing and implementing its own youth policies and programs in the last decades, they do not have the legal competence to do so. Competences on youth policies belong to the Autonomous Communities or to the national government, as recognized by the Constitution and the Autonomic Statutes (Hueso and Boni, 2013). This irregular legal loophole has been accepted or assumed by all stakeholders, and has been tolerated by regional and national governments. However, the situation has changed completely since November 2013, when a new “Law of Local Reform” was approved at the national level. This law responds to the priority interest of the national government in the reduction of public expenditures and on fiscal stability, as it was presented in the macro-context analysis (Hueso and Boni 2013). The law aims at
impeding the development of policies and programs by local governments in policy areas in which they have no competencies. As a result, from the 1st January 2015, any expenditure on youth policies and programs made by local governments will be blocked. This will also be the case of other local policies as social services or employment. The opinion of most of the civil servants interviewed is that regional and national governments (who formally have the competencies) will not develop new policies or programs to replace those promoted by local governments and which will be blocked, both because lack of resources and of political will.

This is a dramatic confusing and uncertain scenario. Local governments all round Spain are mobilizing in order to make the national government amend or withdraw the law\textsuperscript{282}. Local workers on the youth sector are worried, but most of them believe that something will be done before 2015. Otherwise, it seems that the situation may become chaotic.

8.3.2.2 Other stakeholders

We now identify other stakeholders engaged in youth policies in Quart, as well as its relationship with Quart departments:

- **Other municipalities in the metropolitan area of Valencia.** Quart is part of a network of 16 municipalities in the metropolitan area of Valencia, called joves.net, which coordinate to offer shared leisure activities for the Youth. Even if the scope of the collaboration is very limited and so are the resources, this network is a rare case of collaboration among municipalities in the Valencian Community regarding youth policies.

- **Other Spanish municipalities.** Quart has permanent exchanges with other local governments in the Valencian Community and in Spain, with whom Quart shares approaches and ideas regarding youth policies: “We always like to meet other experiences, and we are always researching in order to find interesting things… We love replicate what other people do!” (policy maker 1).

- **Provincial, autonomic and national governments.** In the field of youth policies, cooperation between Quart and public administrations is very limited. Policy makers and other employees expose that there are no master plans or strategies at higher levels of government which they can follow, and nor any policies or programs they can implement. Besides, they do not receive any financial support at all from these spheres of government. The only exceptions are some resources the autonomic government transferred in the past for the implementation of youth information points, and small grants occasionally coming from the provincial government. This lack of collaboration is particularly striking if we consider that Quart (as any other local government) do not formally have the competencies of youth issues, and that youth policies and programs should be developed (and financed) by higher levels of government.

Some interviewees also pose that relationships between Quart and the autonomic government has always been quite complicated, given the different political orientation of the parties in power in the last decades (the Valencian Community has been ruled by the Popular Party since 1995). They suggest that, because of that, Quart has received little support and resources from the Valencian government.

\textsuperscript{282} See, for example http://noalareformalocal.blogspot.no/
- **Youth associations (formal and informal).** Public youth policies are mainly oriented to the creation, promotion and strengthening of youth associations of any kind. Moreover, associations are considered by the Youth Department as spaces to propose and vehicles to implement youth policies: “We are not doing things… It is people who propose and do! (…) People will always propose things which are more interesting that those that we can propose” (policy maker 2). A wide range of youth organizations exist in Quart, with different kind of relationships with the municipality. We can mention the following:

  - **Casas de la Juventud (Youth Clubs).** These clubs are a key instrument of local youth policy. Even if they are self-managed by youth, they are heavily supported by the municipality, who considers them as “incubators of associations and community-based initiatives (coordinator of Casa 1).

  - **Other youth associations.** Most youth local associations are dedicated to recreational and cultural activities (from music or comic to cooking or environmental activities), and receive support from the municipality in different ways, from grants to the provision of physical spaces and technical resources. A few associations, some of them linked to the indignados (“indignants”) movement, are more reluctant to a close cooperation with the municipality, but they still have some relationship and use local facilities for their meetings.

  - **Associations offering services to the municipality.** A few -more professionalized- associations are sub-contracted by the local government in order to manage some programs and services. They operate as small cooperative social enterprises. Most of them were born in Quart, promoted by youth who have always been very active in the local associative life.

### 8.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

#### 8.4.1 Policy areas, target groups and strategies

**8.4.1.1 Policy areas and problems faced**

In this report, we focus on local policies specifically addressing young people, which are considered “youth policies”. These local youth policies can be considered as “soft policies”, as they deal with issues related with leisure and recreation, and have a more open, participatory and life-world oriented approach. Moreover, we will approach the coordination of these policies with some other key local policies addressing broader groups, but which affect youth with regard to different particular problems the y face (from drug addictions to lack of work experience). Specifically, we will approach employment and social services policies.

For professionals engaged in local youth policies and programs (both civil servants and people working in sub-contracted associations, and both policy makers and implementers), and even if youth policies are formally oriented to leisure and recreation, their main goal is to promote youth participation. For them, participation allows facing different and interlinked “soft” problems that youth experience: “unhealthy”, purely consumerist and individualistic...
leisure; the lack of civic and political values and of critical perspectives towards reality; depoliticization and lack of interest on public issues, etc.

However, dealing with these kinds of apparently “soft” problems it is also useful to address other “hard” problems the youth face, as unemployment. For example, by learning to participate and self-manage their own leisure activities, the youth can develop skills (as teamwork), attitudes (like proactivity), values and relationships which may relevant when seeking for a job or for self-employment. Putting in this way, youth policies are not just about proposing recreational activities, but about using leisure as an “excuse” to promote participation, which has a broader impact in youth people lives.

8.4.1.2 Target groups
Youth policies in Quart target “normalized youth”. In the definition of workers of the youth sector in Quart, these are average young persons who do not have “serious particular problems” (as attitudinal problems, drug addictions, etc.). However, to be a normalized youth does not mean that the youngster is free of risk. It just implies that, as one interviewee stated, “the youth is free of specific problems that require personalized attention of professionals” (policy maker 3). These normalized young are usually well educated (at least secondary studies), live in “normalized” families with a reasonable socio-economic position, are included in the different social environments they move, etc. However, they equally have big problems to fulfill aspirations, due to the limited opportunities they have and the problems they face, namely unemployment but not only. Moreover, every youngster is exposed to other problems considered “normal” in their age: consumerism and individualism, unhealthy leisure, identity problems…

Local youth policies try to offer leisure activities to normalized youth. However, as it was mentioned, an underlying idea is to “use” these leisure activities as entry points to deal with broader problems youth people face, from unemployment or individualism to general lack of aspirations.

It is important to note that even if the term “normalized youth” is used by the workers interviewed, they all affirm that do not really like it at all. Interestingly, for a couple of interviewees, the term refers to a problem itself, as “normal” youth are individualist, consumerist, non interested in public issues… and “included” in a system that depoliticizes the people. Consequently, youth policies should “de-normalize” normalized youth, as they are normalized, standardized, by a consumerist and individualist society” (policy maker 1).

On the other hand, youngsters with particular problems or in situation of serious exclusion, usually called “youth in a situation of risk”, who need specific professional assistance (by social workers, therapists, etc.) are targeted by policies developed by other departments. This is the case of youth with problems of drugs-consumption, school drop-out, dysfunctional family-backgrounds, serious economic problems, etc. These groups cannot be targeted by youth policies, as “youth centers and other spaces are not prepared to deal with youngsters in this situation” (Youth Club coordinator 1). However, the idea that youth policies have to be connected with other policies is central for policy makers and implementers. When they are in the position to do so, youth in situation of risk of exclusion targeted by other policies can engage activities with “normalized” young, in order to strengthen their processes of social inclusion.
8.4.1.3 Purpose and strategy
The general purpose of youth policies in Quart is defined in different but close terms by workers: “to politicize the youth” (subcontracted worker); “to develop the political-ideological aspects of their life” (subcontracted worker); “to make them engage politically” (policy maker 1); “to make the youth take care of their community (…) to work for the common good” (coordinator of a Casa 1); “to open spaces to promote their civic and political engagement within the community” (coordinator of a Casa 2). It is to say that the term “politicize” does not seem to mean the adscription to any particular ideology or political party for the interviewees, but “to engage in public issues, to do things for the community they live in, regardless of the particular political option they have” (subcontracted worker). As it is stated in the 2013 Activity Report of the Youth Department, the goal of the department is to “strengthen and consolidate a social network of the youth in the town which should promote their full participation and integration in the local public life, through specific actions and programs promoted by the City Council” (Quart Jove, 2014).

The strategy to achieve this general purpose is “education for participation”, based in the idea of “opening spaces for participation and give youth the opportunity to learn how to participate” (policy maker 1). Key aspects of this strategy can be mentioned:

- To ensure that young people can find spaces addressed to different age ranges, so they can take part in associations since they are child and until become adults. Also, that youth find attractive these spaces and the activities carried there. The municipality tries to promote what it calls the “itinerary of participation”, that is, several kinds of associations, linked among them, which attend different age ranges and interests the youth may have.

- To support proposals coming from the associations (from cooking to comic, role-playing games, environmental volunteering, etc.), in order to strengthen them. Activities proposed by the associations are seen as “excuses” or “entry points” for youth to self-organize, to empower and to learn how to participate. Moreover, these activities are considered as a way of building community and civil society in Quart: “The idea is not only that youth have to self-manage, but also that they have to open new spaces, and that they have to do something good for the town, in order to build community… and everything that has an impact in the community is political!” (policy maker 2).

- To move the municipality from proposing activities for youngster to a role of supporter of initiatives which are self-managed by youth: “What we want to do is nothing. We [Youth Department] want to be just people who support bottom-up processes, run by the youth. In the end, every social and cultural area of the municipality has the same philosophy (policy maker 1)). “It is not us [the municipality] who offer different activities to youth. It is the people, the associations, who create the offer. Why should we propose things, if associations can already do that, and much better than us?” (subcontracted worker 1)

8.4.1.4 Key policies
Here we consider some key policies developed by the municipality to implement the strategy mentioned:

- **Support of Casas de la Juventud (Youth Clubs) in Quart**
Casas de la Juventud is a grassroots movement that, especially during the 80s, was developed in Spain, aimed at building self-managed youth clubs, called casas, “were young people could participate, share their worries and develop their own initiatives and projects oriented to the common good” (Federació Valenciana de Cases de Joventut, 2014). Today, the movement is much more weakened, but Casas still exist in at least ten towns in the Valencian Community.

From the late 80s, the municipality of Quart de Poblet decided to support Casas as a key public policy, as long as the ideas and philosophy of the movement was coincident with the one of the municipality, aligned with the idea of “education in participation”.

Casas have a number of clear but flexible guidelines:

- Each particular casa is organized as an independent association (even if it is part of a federation), and it is self-managed by its members. Some receive some kind of public support. Each casa has a physical space, which is sometimes provided by the local government of the town in which it is settled –as it is in the case of Quart.

- Within each casa, different working thematic groups develop and propose activities (for example: comic, cinema, music, role-playing games, theater, etc.). Each casa has to have a Board, composed by people from the various groups, and one or more “dynamizing volunteers” or coordinators, responsible of the energization and the good overall functioning of the casa, according to the values of the movement.

- Young people engaged in the casa can assume the level of responsibility that they want in a particular moment. It is called the “ladder of participation”. For example a person can just engage in the particular activities of a group, join the board or become a dynamizing volunteer. This offers flexible options for participation.

- Casas have a set of “democratic, laic and progressive” values which have to be respected: plurality, equality, solidarity, environmental protection, social inclusion, etc. (Federació Valenciana de Cases de Joventut, 2014).

In the case of Quart, three casas exist. Two of them are more oriented to teenagers, between 12 and 17 years old, and one to elder youth, between 17 and 25 (even if some individuals in their thirties still participate). The Youth Department has an agreement with these casas to support them. It provides the physical facilities and a small grant each year. In the case of the two casas oriented to teenagers, the municipality provides resources for hiring a person as a “dynamizing volunteer”, in order to support the creation of new groups and the regular functioning of the club (which is more complicated in the case of casas managed by teenagers).

In the physical space of one of the casas, another initiative promoted by the municipality works, the esplais (“recreation”, in catalan). These are child clubs, in which children in primary school, form 6 to 12 years old, take part. With the esplais and the casas, the municipality can offer a full “itinerary of participation”: people can participate in a esplai from 6 to 12 years old, then move to one of the casas for teenagers, from 13 to 17, and then to the casa for elder youth. The idea is that, after experiencing the “itinerary”, the youth has developed a certain culture of participation which may lead him/her into other associations spaces (student unions, political parties of different colors, labor unions, social movements, etc.). This seems to be the case of a number of young people interviewed, which went into
formal politics (as the youth councilor of Quart himself) or created social cooperatives (as three youth who were interviewed and now offer services for managing social programs for the youth and which are sub-contracted in several municipalities, including Quart). A youngster states: “When you leave a casa de la Juventud you are addicted to participation (…) It does not matter were you go, you want to do thing in the same [participatory] way! People usually go into another things and spaces, and this allows to keep them on engaged in society” (member of youth association subcontracted by the municipality).

- **Spaces for creation managed by youth associations**

The municipality has other spaces oriented to promote the creation of associations and youth initiatives related with visual arts (Espai de Creació Jove, Space for Youth Creation) and music (Rock Sala, Rock Hall). Remarkably, these spaces were initially proposed by different associations. They are also managed by youth organizations that were born in Quart, received support from the municipality, and now operate as cooperative social enterprises.

- **Support to other associations**

Through public calls, the Youth Department receives proposals and gives grants to support different initiatives coming from youth organizations in Quart (beyond Casas de la Juventud), which go from environmental or social volunteering to cooking. Municipal facilities are also used by these associations. A member of one of these organizations states: “They [Youth Department] have given us a lot of opportunities to do things, to make mistakes, to learn… They offer spaces, resources, training, personal attention, including the Youth Councilor… They have always been helpful... They are quite exceptional, the policies developed in Quart” (member of youth association).

- **Activities in schools**

The municipality also develops a number of activities specifically targeting the youth in primary and secondary school, from programs for drug and violence prevention to programs to support democracy in schools (like the “child parliament” or the “program of school representatives”, which aim at strengthening child and youth representation in schools).

- **Other activities**

The Youth Department also offers a range of other activities and services, as alternative leisure activities for weekend evenings, general information and orientation to youth, trips, study and mobility grants, training courses, etc.

As with any other activity, the municipality tends to leave the management of these activities to associations, even if some other are directly run by the Youth Department. In any case, there are not for-profit enterprises running any activity, as it is common in other municipalities.

It is worth to mention that the debate on the sub-contracting of services and activities to associations it is not free from contradictions and tensions. On the one hand, policy makers from the Youth Department stand that sub-contracting services to non-profit associations is a way of engaging civil society in management, and of strengthening and supporting social networks and organizations. On the other hand, both civil servants and youth people running
these associations are aware of the fact that sub-contracting could be considered a neo-liberal approach to public management, and just a way of reducing public administration and costs. For all of them, it is essential to reclaim the centrality of the public and of the public administration, and to guarantee good salaries and working conditions for the sub-contracted, and to support local associations, avoiding big for-profit companies.

8.4.2 Connections and integration between policies

As it has been pointed, the mentioned “soft” policies specifically addressed to youth are closely connected with other “hard policies” developed by other departments in the municipality. We can remark some of these connections:

- Even if youth policies and activities are not addressed to very “problematic” individuals (like youth with serious problems of drugs addiction), participation in spaces and activities supported by Youth Department can, in some situations, help young persons with particular problems in their process of inclusion. For example, there are links between the local day center (a center for youngsters at primary schools who need some kind of attention after school hours due to social, economic or educative problems) and Casas de la Juventud in Quart.

- Participation of youth in certain activities promoted by Youth Department can also help identifying problems to be treated by social services. Sometimes, youth are redirected to social services programs.

- “Soft policies” targeting the youth can be very powerful for preventing other kind of problems faced by “hard policies”. Participation usually leads to healthy leisure, self-esteem, harmonious relationships, etc. These are factors that may reduce social risks

- “Soft policies” can also be relevant to directly face other key problems as unemployment. As it was also mentioned, values, skills and relationships created through participation may be very relevant for the young in the search of a job or for self-employment. As it was also pointed, a number of youngsters that took part very actively in the associative life of Quart, have become social entrepreneurs working in the youth sector, providing services to the municipality of Quart or to other municipalities.

- The Youth Department, as “expert” in youth, manages some programs promoted by other departments which are mainly oriented to the youth. This is the case of a popular training program targeting the unemployed, which gives to around 40 young people per year the opportunity to do an internship in some department of the municipality, for four months.

In order to guarantee connections and integration between policies, different mechanisms of coordination between municipal areas exist. For example:

- Weekly meetings, called “social group meetings”, where one person from each department engaged in social issues –as youth policies- is present, together with a member of the town council.
- Information sharing systems: It is to mention that the municipality has developed new protocols and knowledge management systems in the last years in order to centralize and share information among departments and with the public, which is very innovative in the Spanish context.

- Informal channels and relations: Workers always mention the importance of good personal connections and confidence among workers (including both civil servants and workers from sub-contracted associations) and between them and the town council, to maintain coordination and integration.

8.5 Participation

In this section, we will go into the visions of participation that seem to underpin local policy. We will then analyze the different mechanisms, spaces and channels for participation of the youth promoted by the municipality, we will assess the functioning of these spaces, and we will approach the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion and non-participation of the youth.

8.5.1 Visions on participation

Participation is a key issue in the discourse of the local government. In the policies under analysis, even if to a different degree, it seems that different complementing visions on the relevance of participation co-exist. Following the distinction proposed by Jensen (2013), we can find:

Firstly, an intrinsic perspective, as participation is considered to be an end in itself, as political engagement and citizenship empowerment.

Secondly, a constructive perspective, as participation is considered a key issue to construct young person’s perspectives and aspirations.

Thirdly, an instrumental perspective, as participation is considered as a means for different aims. Among them, participation is considered:

- As a vehicle to improve efficiency in the definition and implementation of public policies: “When youth associations run the activities, you find that for each euro invested by the municipality, it is receiving three. Associations contribute with the time given by volunteers, etc… Associations really try to minimize costs. Moreover, when activities are run by associations, attendance is usually higher, as associations advertise their activities through their networks” (policy maker 4).

- As a methodology for good governance, that is, for planning, implementing and assessing policies which are relevant for people: “Education for participation is not only what are working in, but also how we work” (sub-contracted worker).

- As a means for developing attitudes, capacities and values which can improve the employability or self-employability of the youth, or prevent them from drugs addictions or other risks.
It is also interesting to point at some connections that emerged in the interviews, between participation and other key concepts:

- **Participation and community:** Participation is seen as a key issue in the creation of community, through relationships and interactions. For policy makers interviewed, embracing participation implies renouncing to the leading role of public institutions, in order to put the citizenship of Quart as a whole in the first place, as the promoter and protagonist of youth policies, programs and activities: “The idea is not to put the public institutions or some associations as protagonist, but the community itself” (policy maker 1).

- **Participation and transformation:** Participatory processes are frequently mentioned as transformative, at both individual and collective level. They help transforming the environment, social relationships, values, etc.

- **Participation and accountability:** Participation as a central issue for transparency and accountability.

Finally, policy makers often and implementers mention a key “risk” of participation: In their opinion, the municipality has to support sometimes some initiatives they do not agree with, or which are promoted by organizations they are not very sympathetic with. For example, a policy maker mentioned the paradox that a “progressive” initiative as participatory budget has sometimes led to “conservative” policies in Quart, as only conservative associations assisted to public hearings.

### 8.5.2 Channels and processes of participation.

Among the spaces and mechanisms for participation of the youth in Quart, we have to highlight the following:

- **Consell de la Joventut de Quart de Poblet** (Quart de Poblet Youth Council).

The local Youth Council is independent from the municipality. It is the main formal space of representation of youth associations in Quart. It brings together local organizations, represents them in front of third parties, and gives advice to the municipality. The Youth Department is accountable to the council.

The Council is renewed every 2 years, and it is composed by local youth associations or association working with young people (currently, it is composed by 10 organizations).

Issues dealt in the Council have to do mainly with the distribution of municipal funds, approval of the budget of the Youth Department, conditions for public calls and evaluation of proposals, and other general discussions on the use of resources and on activities of the Youth Department. It meets monthly or, more recently, just when it is necessary for the approval of grants or budgets of the Youth Department.

There are a number of relevant debates around the role of the Council as a space for participation: First, both associations and staff of the Youth Department consider that the Council has lost part of its sense as a space of discussion between associations and the municipality. As we will see later, associations have other channels –mainly informal.
conversations and meetings- to interact with the staff of the Youth Department or with the Youth Councilor itself.

Second, interviewees consider that the Council has also lost its sense as a space were associations can meet and put their interests together. As associations directly interact individually with the Youth Department and the Councilor, and as long as their demands are frequently accepted, it seems that there is no incentive to join and demand together. It could be said that, paradoxically, the openness of the local government has emptied the sense and functions of this representative mechanism.

- **Municipal thematic councils.**

The municipality has established a number of different thematic councils in the last decades, were politicians and staff meet with representatives of civic organizations in order to share information, receive advice, discuss and deliberate. Unlikely the Youth Council, which is independent, these thematic councils are formally part of the municipality.

At least 12 councils are active in Quart. One person from each council is also present in the Council for Citizenship Participation, which has direct interlocution with the mayor and the local government.

However, the presence of youth organizations or youngsters in these councils is quite limited: only one youth organization is present in one of the councils (an association providing services to the Youth Department), the Social-Economic Council, with deals with issues related with economic development and employment. Apart from this, some young persons are present in the Sports Council and in the Social Services Council, but they are not representing any youth association.

- **Informal and ad-hoc meetings.**

Given the openness of the staff at the Youth Department and the receptivity of the Youth Councilor himself, informal meetings between single youth associations and the municipality seem to be the main strand for youth associations to communicate demands and proposals.. Associations constantly demand meetings, and so does the Youth Department staff, as well as the Councilor. It is through this permanent dialogue that most proposals on new activities or programs coming from associations are negotiated.

For both the associations and the people working for the Youth Department, this channel is the most direct and relevant way of participation of organized youth in public policies.

- **Direct implementation of policies and management of municipal resources.**

As it has been repeated, a number of municipal programs addressed to youth are run by associations through the sub-contracting of services. This co-managing of public policies can be considered another form of participation, especially if we consider that associations are quite free to run the programs from their own perspectives.

Meetings between Youth Department workers and sub-contracted associations to monitor the implementation of activities are frequent. These meetings seem to function as relevant
informal spaces to exchange information and opinions, as well as to propose changes and new ideas.

- **Program of school representatives.**

The “Program of school representatives” was established by the Youth Department in order to create more links between the Youth Department and the young in school. Youngsters from every class act as representatives, who have their own meetings and act as intermediaries with the Youth Department, communicating proposals from the youth and disseminating information about activities proposed by the municipality.

- **Social networks.**

The Youth Department tries to be active in the social networks (particularly Facebook). However, it seems that the tool is more used for information than for gathering opinions and proposals.

- **Surveys**

The Youth Department, as well as other areas of the municipality, periodically conduct surveys to gather opinions on services and to receive new proposals.

- **Lobbying**

Youth also take part in non-institutional ways of participation. A few experiences of self-organization to claim rights exist in Quart, which were born or were strengthen thanks to the *indignados* (“indignants”) movement which began in May 2011. Young people are an important part of these experiences.

Among these experiences in Quart, we can mention the local division of the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (association of people affected by evictions), which is quite active in the city and demands housing rights. Another interesting initiative is *Los Lunes al Sol* (Mondays in the Sun, the name of a famous Spanish movie), a group of unemployed people who, among other activities in the demand for employment policies, meets every Monday in front of the town hall as an act of protest.

**8.5.3 Problems and tensions: barriers and exclusion of participation**

Despite the different existing mechanisms and the general openness to participation of local government and workers, tensions and limits for youth participation can be identified:

A number of youth associations are active in Quart, proposing different initiatives. These activities can be strengthening the community, creating civic engagement, etc. However, it seems that these associations are mainly focused in their activities, and not in broader policy debates and or in broader issues about the general situation of youth in Quart. As a representative in the Youth Council and a very active member of several youth associations stands, “the dialogue [among the Youth Department and associations] is usually focused in specific issues which are important for the organizations or for the Youth Department, in terms of resources, activities, priorities…. But general issues on the situation of the youth in
Quart are not addressed: there is not necessarily a broader vision on Youth… We just treat the needs of our associations”.

Given the importance of informal channels of dialogue, formal channels -namely the Youth Council- may be losing importance. This fact may be considered a symptom of the good relationships between local government and civil society, but can also be problematic, as these informal relationships may create limitations for accountability, and may prevent other associations to participate.

As both municipality workers and associations recognize, the fluid dialogue among the municipality and organizations may have limited the relationships among organizations. As long as they can easily get support from the municipality, they have no incentive to join and make their claims together. Interestingly, it seems that in other municipalities close to Quart where the local government is more reluctant to participation and less receptive to the demands of associations, much more relationships and confidence among local associations exist, as they coordinate to make joint claims and demands.

Broadly speaking, it seems that formal and informal channels for participation for organized youth are much more active and perform better. Other channels oriented to direct participation of the youth as individuals seem to be more reduced and less active.

8.5.4 How non-participation is defined and problematized

Even if youth in Quart seem to be more likely to participate in an association than in other towns, the municipality also faces the common problem in Spain about the reduced participation of youth. In Quart, a limited number of youngsters are highly active and benefit from a system that facilitates the emergence of community-led initiatives. A higher number (around 40%) take part in some association or at least in some specific activities. However, the majority of the youth continue to be apart from any organized group.

For workers of the youth sector and for the youth themselves, big and deep structural barriers exist which prevent most of the youth from participation, and which are very difficult to break.

Different contextual factors are mentioned by the interviewees when they try to explain the reasons for the lack of engagement of the youth. For example: “society promotes participation just through the choices for consumption”; “just individualistic and consumerist values are promoted in society”; “people is educated for non-participating”; “society is not offering spaces for participation”… Most interviewees also agree society is quite cynical regarding the youth: one the one hand, society criticizes inactivity and demobilization and blames the youngsters for their situation; on the other, does not offer any space for participation, and it is not interested in the opinions of young people.

We have also identified differences on the issue if Quart is doing its best in order to make the non-mobilized youth participate: for some municipality employees, spaces for participation exist and youth know them, but they are not really interested in participating; for others, there is still a lot to do to inform the youngsters in Quart about the possibilities for participation. For young people interviewed who are already taking part in some association, Quart is offering enough possibilities to participate and to change things; for some youngsters who are not taking part in any association, young people do not know which spaces exist in Quart for
participation or how they work. All these opinions may be true to some extent: a recent study (Quart Jove, 2012) reveals that almost 70% of the youth in Quart know about the existence of the Casas de la Juventud or other spaces for participation supported by the municipality. However, it is not clear if the youth really know what they can do there or if these spaces may be important for their aspirations.

8.6 Social innovation

8.6.1 Visions on social innovation

The idea of social innovation does not seem to be very familiar to most of the interviewees. Moreover, none of them feels identified with the idea. Policy makers and implementers do not consider that what they are doing could be considered “innovative”, but just that they are retaking or conserving old ideas: politicizing the youth, networking, participation, empowering, etc. However, they consider that these ideas are still perfectly valid nowadays, and more necessary than ever. A policy maker stands: “participation, empowerment, self-organization… we are inspired in classical ideas, these are all very old ideas we have always used… there is no need to sell them as ‘innovative’” (policy maker 1).

For the majority of the policy makers and implementers interviewed, “social innovation” is more like a buzzword, an idea they are constrained to use in order to present what they do in a more fashionable way. For them, this may be problematic, as some professionals of the youth sector could be trying to apply some methods just because they seem “innovative” or “different”, but without having clear ideas about why they should use them. Moreover, they believe that the national and autonomic governments are very cynical when the ask social workers to be “innovative”, while they are reducing “traditional” social benefits and services which have always worked and which are undoubtedly necessary.

For several interviewees, the important thing in terms of innovation is to keep the basic “old” ideas clear, and to simply update them. Interestingly, the key idea for these interviewees is continuity, not change, even if one has to be refreshing ideas and approaches permanently: “It is everything said, there is no need to do new things every day… Maybe it would be better if we recovered old ideas! The important thing is to conserve and permanently adapt what it is working, it is to have continuity” (social educator 1).

However, policy makers and implementers affirm to be permanently updating their specific methods, even if the conserve the general approach to policies. On the other hand, they affirm that the activities supported by the Youth Department are always changing and may be innovative, as long as “new” and “different” initiatives emerge bottom-up, proposed by youth organizations, which are changing old the time.

Innovation and participation seem to be closely linked as long as, for all interviewees, openness to participation allows being innovative and proposing new things which are attractive for the young.
8.6.2 How new challenges are identified and how policy and practices answer

When talking about changes in youth policies in the last years, interviewees make a clear distinction among changes in the basic ideas and philosophy, changes in methods, and changes in specific activities:

Firstly, talking about basic ideas and philosophy, all the workers of the Youth Department interviewed affirm that these have remained the same since the 80s: the basic principles of participation, empowerment and emancipation; the basic methodology of education for participation; and the basic strategy of promoting youth associations and supporting self-managed initiatives.

Secondly, interviewees affirm that methods and protocols used have been developed and updated. Some key changes mentioned at this level were:

- Deepening in the coordination and connection among different departments. Over time, new spaces for coordination (as the weekly meetings) as well as protocols to connect different policies affecting youth have been implemented.

- Opening new spaces for participation. Over time, the staff at the Youth Department noticed that it was of key importance to support associations and spaces of participation addressed to individuals of different ages, from childhood to adolescence and youth. This is why they decided to reduce the minimum age for joining a casa, from 14-15 to 12-13 years, and to create the esplais within the casas structure, to facilitate the participation of child among 6 and 12 years old. With these changes, a comprehensive “itinerary of participation” was created.

- In recent times, new efforts are being done to improve the connections and coordination among youth associations. For example, a yearly weekend retreat in which people from associations participate to discuss common interest has been organized.

Thirdly, regarding specific activities, they have been permanently evolving in the last decades, as long as they are mainly proposed by youth associations, which are changing all time, new ones are created and others disappear. A policy maker form the Youth Department mentioned that: “their initiatives [proposed by associations] will always be more innovative and original than ours...They and their reality are one step ahead of us. Some of these ideas seemed crazy to us in the beginning, but we always have to support them even if we were not sure if they will work” (policy maker 1).

8.6.3 Where is innovation situated (top-down vs. bottom-up)

It seems that innovation and changes in policies and practices have taken place both in top-down and bottom-up processes:

At the level of philosophy, strategy and methodology, policies and practices are developed and adjusted in a top-down manner. Staff at Youth Department permanently reflect on strategies and evaluate the results of the processes. They are also aware of other experiences in other municipalities which can be interesting, and try to exchange and learn. For instance, the idea and methodology of the esplais was an imitation of an experience in Catalonia.
At the level of specific activities and initiatives, it can be said that innovation comes essentially in a bottom-up way, as most activities are proposed and developed by youth organizations. As examples of very innovative proposals, interviewees mention the creation of a music center with music rooms for local bands to play—which now it is also hosting a recording studio and a concert hall—or the creation of a space for audiovisual production.

Some interviewees highlight two key facts that may have facilitated innovation and change in the last decades: on the one side, the continuity of the political party in power and its approach to public policies; on the other hand, the fact that there has always been full confidence among politicians and employees. This situation has allowed both the necessary stability for the policies to evolve and mature, and a spirit of innovation in the staff, who have supported initiatives coming from the youth without fearing the consequences of a possible failure.

8.7 Discussion and conclusions

This final section tries to underline some key findings of the report and retake some key questions for SocIEtY: are the perspectives identified shared among the different stakeholders engaged in policy making and implementation? Are the voices of the youth considered in this policy making process? This discussion will also help to understand the contents and the process of production of the IBJJ which are modelling youth policies in Quart. Finally, we will also address how the ideas on this report connect with the macro analysis of youth policies in Spain developed in WP3, and which key issues emerge for WP5.

Differences in visions among policy makers and implementers

There are no big differences in perspectives on disadvantage, participation or social innovation among policy makers, educators, civil servants, subcontracted workers implementing some programs, and youth who are very engaged in participatory spaces. Several reasons seem to exist for this consensus:

Firstly, the fact that key politicians (as the current Major of Quart and the current Youth Councilor), some policy makers, civil servants as well as young people running associations which are sub-contracted by the municipality, have taken part in the past in the different spaces of participation supported by the municipality (namely Casas de la Juventud), for a long period. This is why they all have developed similar perspectives on participation, etc. which they reproduce now. They feel as “being sons of the participatory model of Quart” (policy maker 3). All this may have strongly contributed to the coherence and continuity of policies. However, it may also have prevented the introduction of new ideas, or limited the critical reflection on the perspectives and methodologies adopted for youth policies in Quart in the last decades.

Secondly, the continuity of policies and strategies, due to the continuity of the party on power. This continuity is strongly valued by implementers who have worked in other municipalities, and who have suffered big changes in public policies due to changes in the ruling party.

Thirdly, the confidence and good relationships among stakeholders. We have insisted in the good relationships between local associations and the local government. We can also mention...
that -distinct from the practice in other municipalities- sub-contracted workers are given voice and recognition by the local government, and they are treated in the same way as civil servants. This is why they feel politically and emotionally linked to the project and vision of Quart.

All of this does not mean that there are not differences in the perspectives on some particular issues. For example, some program implementers comment that sometimes policy makers demand more results. However, it seems that these are minor issues which do not distort dialogue.

*Are the voices of the young represented?*

We have noticed big differences in the opinions of young people consulted for this report regarding the perceived potential influence of their voices in local public policies. Opinions diverge depending on if youth people are already engaged in youth associations supported to any extent by the municipality or not:

The first group considers that voices of the youngsters in Quart are heard by the municipality, and that their proposals are considered, even if they recognize some limits, and that sometimes they have to struggle to get what they demand.

The second group understands that local government “takes care of them” or at least “more than in other municipalities” (young in discussion group 1), and that the municipality offers quite a lot of activities (even if the young usually do not know). However, they consider that their voices are usually not heard and their opinions not considered, and that the channels the municipality provides them for participation as individuals (social networks, surveys, etc.) are not that useful.

Interestingly, it seems that the youth who are more critical to the municipality are those who are less inclined to participation in associations of any kind, even if they also affirm that the only way to change things is “acting together”. On the contrary, youth who are less critical seem with the possibility to affect change at local level seem to tend to associate.

Broadly speaking, it seems that perspectives of the youth are more likely to be considered in youth policies when they are already organized in associations and propose specific activities and programs. However, it is much more difficult to assess the influence of the voices of the youth who are not engaged in any association, as well as the influence of the youth in general in broader policy debates, which in any case seems much more limited. This seems to be a key question to be explored in WP5.

Another important question, but which goes beyond the scope of the report, is the impact of policies. It is difficult to assess if the participatory culture existing in Quart has been reflected in local policies or if, on the contrary, local youth policies have strongly contributed to the creation of more participative youngsters. It is also a key question for WP5, and it can hypothesize that feedback between both processes exist.

*Connections with previous and oncoming work.*

We have pointed that some key indicators show that the situation of youth in Quart reflects the macro situation in Spain in aspects such as unemployment. We also found that, as it was
the case at the macro level, there is a general idea in Quart that young people as an entire group is in a situation of disadvantage and risk, just “because they are young”. This vision coexist with another perspective which considers as excluded the youth who face particular problems, as difficult family environments, school dropout, addictions, etc. (Hueso and Boni, 2013). Besides, youth seem to be exposed both to “old” and “new” inequalities (Bonvin, 2013), which go from the increasing difficult access to education opportunities to non-recognition or increasing limitation of their capability to aspire.

Local youth policies in Spain have to move in a complex context at regional at national level: these policies are not of priority interest; they have received severe budget reductions; the perspectives at these spheres are limited and simplistic, being current youth policies limited to tax benefits for employers contracting young people or for young entrepreneurs, as well as some training programs (Hueso and Boni, 2013).

Quart had to move in this context and overcome some of these limitations: the municipality has tried to give priority interest to youth issues and to develop its own youth policies in the last decades, with very few support form other spheres of government. These policies are grounded in a certain comprehensive perspective which tries to consider the problems the youth face in a holistic way. This perspective resonates with the multidimensional perspective on disadvantage the capability approach points to, as it goes going beyond income and integrates other factors, and links ”old” and ”new” disadvantages (Bonvin, 2013).

Coherently and interestingly, Quart has tried to develop an approach to youth policies which connects “soft” and “hard” polices: for example, the promotion of associations and self-management is considered as a question of providing alternatives for leisure for the youth, but also as a question of empowering, a vehicle for developing skills relevant for employment, a way of strengthening the community, etc. With this connections, Quart have tried to go beyond the limits local governments have to deal with the wide amount of problems youth face, connecting “soft” policies they can do with their limited resources with “hard” problems the youth face.

Participation -which is given an instrumental, intrinsic and constructive value (Jensen, 2013)- seems to be a key conceptual and methodological element of the approach of Quart to public policy. Participation is also considered as a source for innovation, and a key element for having the informational basis for policies “updated”.

However, these local policies and practices are not free from complexities, tensions and limitations. For example: even if young people actively participate in youth policies and in promoting activities, they seem to be less engaged in broader policy debates; important intrinsic and extrinsic barriers for participation still exist, which prevent the majority of the youth from participating; connections between formal and informal, and invited and created spaces for dialogue among local actors are problematic, etc. All these questions may be further explored in WP5.

Finally, it is to say that local youth policies in Quart face very relevant threats in the nearly future, as the new Law on Local Reform, or the continuity of austerity policies imposed by the autonomic or national governments. Moreover, it seems that the dramatic conditions created by the ongoing social, economic and political crisis in Spain will stay for a much longer time.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
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- Quart de Poblet (2013). Información sobre las competencias de la agencia de empleo y desarrollo local (non-published).

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement). 266
9. ROMANIA – Local social support networks analysis in Bucharest, Ferentari (by Adrian Dan, Oana Banu, Marian Ursan)

University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work

Abstract

This paper focuses on the analysis of social networks, support provision (including social work services), policy analysis and the strategies used by the local actors in regards to the social protection of young people and other issues. The State provides special protection and assistance to young people in order to fulfill their rights. Central and local public administration authorities, public services and their subordinate institutions have the obligation to support activities targeting youths and secure, in this regards, the proper conduct of its national and local structures, according to the law. Typically, the public polices in this area refer either children or young people. As a consequence of this policy approach, in charge (inter)governmental agencies are centered either on policies for children either on policies aimed at youth. Researches in this area with the mission to ground social public policies, heavily dependent on public funds, have followed the same pattern; therefore there are excellent studies on children situation and valuable studies on youth, but little evidence obtained from research on which to based policies for children and young people, except perhaps those related to transition to adulthood and education. The situation is quite different for vulnerable adolescents, not because teenagers have been subject of several research reports and policy, but because the vulnerability was analyzed in detail, especially in the last 15 years, both for scientific purposes and with political purpose.

In some of its parts the report aims to highlight the main elements that lead to the shaping of ideas about the vulnerability of the target group considered in this analysis, labor market and young people who have difficulties related to labor market integration. The report goes on to describe the Ferentari area within Bucharest as well as the methods used in data collection, description of the research area (living conditions, poverty, employment, education, participation and empowerment of young people) where explorative research have been conducted, taking into consideration the disadvantaged young people and the activity of relevant institutions active in the field. In the other parts of the report we focused on the challenges faced by vulnerable youngster in accessing the labor market, their characteristics, policies and intervention models. Another chapter of the report addresses the legal support for disadvantaged young people who are integrated in the labor market. The level of participation of young people in the policy design, setting up the priorities and programs are addressed in the next section highlighted in this analysis. The chapter dedicated to innovation in terms of economic challenges for young people aims to identify responses to challenges and to surprise the way policies, strategies and practices have changed or not over time, as perceived by relevant actors in the field of social innovation. The report closes with the chapter allocated to general conclusions and lessons learned in regards to WP5.
9.1 Introduction

In Romania, in recent years, youth participation in economic activities showed features of vulnerability and marginalization expressed through chaotic mobility and a high percentage of young people who pursue professions which are not included in the classification of occupations (indicating a legislative deficiency), favoring temporary employment and leading to a significant development of underground labor market. The most important consequence of the decline of the educational quality at all levels and in all forms (formal, non-formal and informal) is the reduced adaptation of "offer" and / or educational services to the labor market needs as well as the lack of capacities of youngsters.

Analyzing the situation at macro-level, we can illustrate that in the past eight years, Romania did not have a strategy dedicated to youth. Newly established Ministry of Youth and Sports has set a target for this year developing a youth strategy for 2014-2020.

At the moment, it implements a number of programs (e.g. youth centers, local or national funding for research projects targeting young people), but their effectiveness has not been evaluated; it may be a subject of research.

Young vulnerable people are the most affected by the economic crisis. In January 2013, the EU youth unemployment rate (< 25 years) was two times higher than the adult unemployment rate, standing at 23.6% (in Romania 24.3% overall and in urban 32.5%). New disconcerting official data shows that youth unemployment rate in Romania drop in one year to 16.7%.

In Romania, the official data on unemployment are discordant with the ordinary perception of population regarding the official job market. Even many Romanians are working in underground economy, the official figure of 5.09% unemployment rate (31st July, 2014) seems to be unrealistic as comparative with the average of EU 28 (10.9% with Austria at 4.8% and Greece with 27.4%). The percent of people working in underground economy it is unknown but according with 2013 EU Commission Report, Romania has the most extended shadow economy in Europe (28.4% of GDP). This could be partly the result of the much extended “working poor” sector: 19% of working people are living in poverty.

In Bucharest the statistical data are much more disconcerting: the official unemployment rate (Feb. 2014) was 2.04% following a long-time similar trend in the last 10 years (the peak was 2.7% and the lowest 1.7% in this interval). Ferentari area is the neighborhood most affected by complex inter-linked social problems in Bucharest. Ferentary is a ‘famous’ neighborhood across the world, being ranked 4th by dailymail.co.uk in the top of the ugliest vacation destinations, due to 1.881 de stolen cars, 378 murders, 12.299 violence acts and 2.251 thefts.

Youth unemployment rate has reached a very high level in some of Romania’s regions. This is not a problem only for the individuals, but also represents a serious threat to social cohesion in Romania, threatening to have a negative impact on long-term economic potential and

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285 It is difficult to have an accurate estimation on share of population active on the black market. However, some studies (Duminica & Ivasiuc., 2013), based on extensive data research, assert that “nearly half of the Roma population are working illegally, while less than a tenth of the non-Roma population is in such a situation.” According with the economist Laurian Lungu, from nine million Romanian workers only half of them have a legal job in Romania. The rest are working on the black market and abroad. “Official figures show that we really have 4.2 million employees and just over 500,000 unemployed. There are several thousands in agriculture or undeclared. But much of the active population works abroad, and my estimates are 3.4 million.” (Stirile TVR, 01 May 2013, http://stiri.tvr.ro/dear-umanata-din-populatia-activa-lucreaza-legal-in-romaniarestul-la-negru-sau-peste-hotare_30005.html)
286 The Romanian population (2013) was 19.7 million; the active population: 9.7 million; unemployed population: 0.47 million

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
Young people are key actors in achieving social and economic progress. This is collectively recognized in the context of the Lisbon Strategy and considered essential in the European Youth Pact. Strategic documents analyzed present very few references to teenagers / young people including the vulnerable ones. However, from some official documents emerges the clear idea that adolescents are a special category that should be given special attention.

Sustainable economic growth and improvement of the population's living standards are determined by the development of economic competitiveness in the context of global challenges (economic globalization, the opening of international markets), challenges that need to be turned into opportunities by Romanian economy.

An obstacle mentioned by young people when accessing a job is related to the work experience requirements, and lack of seriousness of the employers. Many young people are working in areas different from those they are specialized / qualified in college / high school or only partially related to the qualifications acquired in the last form of graduate. Employers look at immediate practical application of knowledge. They are not interested in the theoretical knowledge of the graduated.

Obstacles that hinder solving youth problems in their relationship with the labor market are related to lack of financial resources (sharpened especially during the actual economic crisis), inertia and system failure (difficulty in linking educational curricula to labor market requirements, laws failure, lack of transparency / corruption, bureaucracy), lack of interest and involvement of young people.

In the context of the 'Youth in Action' Program (2010-2013), young people with fewer opportunities are considered those who are facing a difficult social, economic, educational situation, disability or health problems. Strategy for inclusion of young people with fewer opportunities is a common framework for the actions of the European Commission and Member States promoting mobility, intercultural learning and solidarity among young people.

Analysis of legislative framework and policies on disadvantaged population shows that most programs and measures have a general approach, fragmented and centralized, disregarding the fact that the situations of people with disabilities are dependent by specific community contexts.

Creating jobs for youth is one of the key objectives of cohesion policy, both supported by the European Regional Development Fund, and the European Social Fund. European Council (February 2013) decided to take additional measures to combat youth unemployment, proposing initiatives on employment among young people.
9.2 Methods

The methodological approach has been designed to discover and then to describe existing social local support networks in Ferentari area which are relevant for the target group(s). Several policy areas have been taken into account - education, employment, work and social assistance supporting self-determination, participation/ involvement etc. In order to achieve this, we undertake:

- Documentary review / analysis: European / national policy / legislative documents, scientific reports / research, secondary data analysis and national statistics, local electronic press - to provide a contextual overview.
- Semi-structured interviews: individual interviews - central government and local decision-makers/ stakeholders (3 interviews), professionals (3); group interviews (3) – young people (5-7) in order to achieve the general objective of mapping the existing (social) networks in Ferentari area and confront the particular visions with the official data, and to see how convergent / divergent they are.

Our research methodology for the local network analysis it is related to the concept of IBJJ by analyzing / taking into account three (different? complementary?) visions of state / public actors, professionals (from public / private field) and young people as direct beneficiaries.

- Creating awareness that:
  - Institutionally top down directives are sometimes dysfunctional without combining with the bottom-up (street voice / youngster voices) perspective.
  - Fighting poverty it is not enough, because this is static, it is rather an effect, but fighting against inequality, as a process, implying directly the beneficiaries.
  - Non-institutional participation is as important as institutional participation and could bring very innovative solutions.
  - Social work should activate people / make them self-sufficient but not make them highly dependent. In a global World of very often Non-discretionary Granted Aid, we think that a “Real” social innovation process will be how we’ll implement programs in order to balance the ratio between dependent beneficiaries and self-sufficient ones.
- We undertake some group discussions with different types of youth (highly / poor educated; employed / unemployed; Roma / Romanians etc.), as well as stakeholder (public / NGO) and professionals.

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<th>Regional/local government policy makers</th>
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<td>Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising)</td>
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<td>Other types of organisations:</td>
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The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
9.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth

Development regions in Romania are not institutionalized and formalized in administrative terms, but rather statistical and considered as territorial units’ overtone geographically. This makes difficult for any regional approach to public policy in general, especially because there are no strong motivations for regional public-private partnerships. In this context (metaphorically speaking) usually the areas of intervention are rather like small bandages applied on an injured body than a concerted complex surgery executed by interdisciplinary specialists. In this regards we tried to find out how effective are some small bandages / intervention in ‘famous’ urban neighborhood in Bucharest.

The Romanian case study took / will take place in the district 5 in a neighborhood called “Ferentari”, one of the poorest in Bucharest with a high percentage of Roma population and a high percentage of youth unemployment rate or youth working in the informal economy. The neighborhood is considered a Roma area by the most majority of Romanians, even though it fact include other minority groups. Once moved there people become stuck in a ‘disadvantage cycle’, which make them unable to escape from the area.

9.3.1 Ferentari neighbourhood – main spatial characteristics

Ferentari is located in the South-West of Bucharest, not very far from the city center (4-5 km), having a difficult access to the city center especially due to lack of underground connection which creates the feeling of a broader isolation between the neighborhood and the ‘mainstream society’. Physical space affects the residents of Ferentari district actions by offering restricted access to resources (education, employment, healthcare facilities) and leading to or reinforcing poverty where it is difficult to break through, because of social and spatial borders. Even though in the early 90s was restored the connection to Unirii Square (city center), the trams from Ferentari never got there. Unfortunately, this continues today, residents of this neighborhood being deprived of the possibility of easy transport connections to the city center which can increase the feeling of isolation in the ghetto, but also to an ever worsening state of the area.

Also poor road infrastructure in the area is subject to traffic overcrowding / jam. Being the first industrialized area in the second half of XIX century, it included also in the communist regime a heavy industry which collapsed after 1989. As a result, there are many areas with abandoned factories, creating sometimes an ‘apocalyptic’ urban landscape. Parcels are generally small to medium without size plots distinct from other districts of Bucharest. Their size reflects the fact that most of them were created for speculation and highlights the relatively limited financial resources of those who settled in these places. Since the beginning, the residents of this neighborhood had only urban concerns, activities in agriculture missing almost at all.

9.3.2 Socio-demographic picture

The current adult generation 45+ was working before 1989 in the surrounding factories, but the bankruptcy of these factories left behind thousands of unemployed people which hardly found a new job. As a consequence, it became a very poor neighborhood with a lot of problems in the educational area, as well as in the job market, drugs & crime and avoided by public policy programs. In a study done by V. Mionel it shows that:

“Spatial distribution of population by education, unemployment, unskilled persons and housekeepers and dependent by the state and various private organizations aids, showed once again that in the ghettos of Bucharest and the poor neighborhoods (perceived by residents) appear serious social problems. The data analysis shows that the most affected area is Ferentari. In this neighborhood lived in 2002 most people in school, the most numerous unemployed, unskilled workers and also the fewest graduates.” (p. 18)

“In urban areas where poverty and deprivation are concentrated spatially unemployment generates frustration, boredom and anger, weakening the morale of such individuals. Overall the constraint generated by this urban landscape creates a fertile ground for (re)production of delinquent behavior which can favor the development of a marginalized subculture. Very often such urban areas are neglected, avoided by public policy and integration, operating in the public mind as an urban area where one "does not have to go" because of the high degree of danger posed. Poverty further on attracts antisocial and criminal actions.” (p. 23)

The population in this area is around 90-100,000, with a lot of young people due to a high birth rate (mainly within Roma group). The core Ferentari area comprises around 12,000 people with the neighborhoods of Aleea Liveziilor, Tunsu Petre, Zabrauti, Amurgului, Prelungirea Ferentari. It is also difficult to estimate the population which has no ID’s or legal forms to live in the area. Also, the housing condition in the area are poor, even for the ones living in block of flats, because of overcrowding or decaying buildings, and in the area with houses the main problems are related to access to public utilities (running water and sewage system). The conditions of these houses vary. Some are newly renovated and some are on the verge of failing or secured with temporary solutions. The housing prices in the area are up to 38% lower than in “good neighborhoods” which indicates also the lack of attractiveness of this area. Sanitary services are lacking or even inexistent. The trash has accumulated on the streets and many people throw their everyday waste out of the window which causes a horrible permanent smell especially over the summer time.

In Ferentari neighborhood, very famous due to its reputation as one of the most dangerous across Romania, the laws have no power and even the policeman are victims of local mafia. In many cases the police servants were beaten and are intimidated to enter in the Ferentari. The crime rate is the highest in this area, being notorious for prostitution & traffic, drug dealers & users. Due to high educational dropout / lower educational participation, the access of young people to the scarce jobs on the market is much more difficult contributing to poverty in the Ferentari neighborhood. The civil society organizations in the area are few and powerless. Some NGO’s are delivering social services in the area, making the beneficiaries highly dependent by these benefits / services. About 20% of the families are beneficiary of the Minimum Income Guarantee and Heating Aid.

The people of Bucharest do not want, in any way, to live in Ferentari. Starting from the findings of a 2005 survey we tried to find out which is the motivation for people fleeing "Ferentexas" or "Ghettoland", as they are used to call this area. First, Bucharest residents say Ferentari is identified with mafia, drugs and prostitution. The neighborhood has gained a bad reputation because of countless police raids that have uncovered organized crime networks.

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291 Viorel Mionel and Silviu Negut, The Socio-Spatial Dimension of the Bucharest Ghettos, pg 206
292 Mionel Viorel.
294 Survey conducted by SNSPA (National School of Political Science and Public Administration) and AB Research Group:
adevarul.ro/news/societate/ferentari-mai-antipatic-cartier-din-capitala-1_50u9ad57c42df5ae6398068f/index.html
Most people who live here are Roma, and the conditions are not quite decent: there is no bathroom in every home and sometimes no running water. Ferentari remains the last option for the sale and purchase of flats because most Roma who live in this area have no legal papers and, consequently, are not real estate transactions, notaries say. Only those who have a real estate property can do transactions. Residents here say that Ferentari begins to be "whiten" because many people who live in this area have claimed the right to property and received the certificate of inheritance.

Most without qualification, the residents of Ferentari (prefers to / are forced to) live on the child allowances, welfare and scalping/ pilfering295. People are living in unimaginable conditions for a European capital, low comfortable suites of 10-15 square meters in miserable blocks where the garbage is thrown directly behind the stairs. Due to the lack of space, tenants have laundry hanging on windows, as well bicycles and other goods. The perspective of actors (meso-level) who (should) implement policies, the ones that make an interpretation of the “disadvantaged youth” and their needs are rather fragmented in Ferentari area. A report commissioned by the Council of Europe Youth Directorate has studied the vulnerability of youth. The authors proposed two definitions of vulnerability: one with a sociological rather nature, namely "low capacity of certain individuals and groups in society to confront, adapt and meet the economic, social, cultural and political challenges which are permanently exposed", and a more appropriate to policy - "extremely small chances to have / access a safe workplace, social and economic development and personal fulfillment."

In fact, the latter refers rather to the disadvantage - that is, among other things, a consequence of vulnerability - than the vulnerability itself. In terms of socio-economic disadvantage is somewhere between vulnerability and structural constraints, while being influenced by the context of everyday life.

This approach is supported by a baseline study commissioned by the European Commission - DG Employment and Social Affairs and conducted by an international team of experts: "What does ‘disadvantage’ mean in terms of youth transitions? One may refer to young people as disadvantaged if the central prerequisites for a standard biographical transition process – following the perspective of structure and agency – are lacking. The relationship between the two may be summarized as a lack of accessibility, manageability and relevance of education, training and employment opportunities296.

9.3.3 Social programs in Ferentari area

In the chosen Ferentari area there are some centers / programs developed for youth – for example the Policy Centre for Roma Minority297 who has developed / is developing various programs targeting young people (the 3 main programs are „Changing negative attitudes“, „Social Inclusion“ and „Active Citizenship“).

The target group was identified using statistical indicators but also information provided by Local Authorities and active NGO’s in the area and also talking with the neighbors and “discovering” & adding people to the target group (snow ball). Main focus was be on:

- unemployed youth,
- working poor youth,
- children that abandoned early the school,

295 Cartierul care a speriat Regatul. Săracii din Ferentari nu vor să fie "supușii Reginei Angliei" / The neighbourhood that scared Kingdom.
The poor people from Ferentari do not want to be "vassals of the Queen of England". http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/cartierul-care-a-speriat-regatul-1075329.html#ixzz2s5s43FQ5
single parents families,
- delinquent youth,
- households receiving / in need of social benefits
- youth with housing problems
- young people with drug addiction / delinquent.

These target groups are of a particular interest because the percentage of unemployed youth and delinquency is higher than in any other area of Bucharest. Also the programs targeting these groups are few, developed mainly by the NGO’s with an insignificant support from the Local Authorities. Our intention is to examine how these disadvantaged groups are reached by these programs and how they are involved and how they are identifying their needs. This approach will be a participatory one in its essence and could be innovative through the ideas that will be disseminated by the youngsters involved within research process. Being disadvantaged / socially excluded suppose not necessary lack of access to various resources but sometimes the very often access to such resources is driving the beneficiary to a deep dependency, lack of self-support and self-exclusion.

Already were established contacts with some NGO’s working in the area, as well as with social workers employed by the Municipality of District 5 (the Faculty of Sociology / Department of Social Work has bilateral agreements with these organizations, our students undertaking SW practice with their supervision).

9.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

The research was mainly focused on problem of access / exclusion from labor market of young people vulnerable / disadvantaged. Were analyzed a number of related problems, such as access to education, knowledge acquired during the studies and how much correlate to specific requirements of employers, and the ability / opportunity of young people to really and effectively influence the social policy formulation. In the analysis performed in Ferentari neighborhood (including the interviews) we identified a number of specific vulnerable groups (young offenders, drug users, young people with poor educational levels and low professional qualification etc.) and we tried to get their view-points on issues / problems mentioned above. These issues are relevant because these young people have identified a number of local solutions with effect from the bottom-up, which could be implemented in other communities with similar problems.

9.4.1 Labor market

If at structural level the fluctuations of labor market caused by economic crisis set the same conditions (fewer jobs, low wages, instability etc.) to employment for all young people, at individual level difficulties in finding a job reside a lot on experience they have in the labor market.

Also, studies were aimed at monitoring the crisis showed that most of the times is the (informal) ‘recommendations system’ that differentiate between successful candidates, but not only the sole competencies, and plays a decisive role in getting a job. Young believes that the Romanian society imposes the informal / ‘non-orthodox’ ”relationships or payoff system”, and they are forced to adapt to this system. In addition to the reduced number of jobs, a major difficulty faced by young people is the inadequacy of their training to the labor market.

Labor market / the business environment are much more demanding with the young workforce entering the labor market after graduation. Young people find hardly an adequate
job and well paid, which is why both employment to unemployment and fluctuation and vice versa as well staying longer in unemployment are an important barometer of permanent education system reform in Romania.

In terms of youth self-perception to labor market, young people claim that they feel non-integrated and they did not yet defined their way within Romanian labor market. However, their discourse / rhetoric is emerging in two directions: first, the young, although disappointed by what is happening and is projected to happen, believe they will find a job here and want to work in Romania as closer to family and second, the skeptic youngsters believe that currently there can be a rapid recovery of the Romanian economy and getting out of economic crisis and see it as a potential solution for a decent living going to work abroad.

On entering the labor market, graduates have difficulty in adjusting to working conditions. In general, obtained qualifications enable graduates to practice several occupations, but to be able to adapt to the requirements of a specific job / occupation, they must be included in the program of transition from school to work.

Existing programs do not support effective insertion of graduates in the labor market and 'learning through work' and career counseling does not sufficiently meet the demand for labor. In turn, neither supply of continuous training, although closer to the real demand, is sufficiently developed and adapted.

Regarding the relationship that young people have with governments often it is characterized by uncertainty about the decisions and measures proposed by them, and a sense of disbelief. Romanian Law on social assistance / welfare defines a vulnerable group as follows: "individuals or families who are at risk of losing their ability to meet the needs of daily living because of disease, disability, poverty, drug addiction or alcohol or other situations that lead to economic and social vulnerability." Other references to vulnerable groups in this law (e.g., the most vulnerable, vulnerable elderly) make an association between the benefits these categories are entitled and the disadvantage they are facing due to their vulnerability.

Defining vulnerability and vulnerable groups in legislative documents / policy is very important for targeting intervention measures given that the focus on disadvantage, understood as a result of interaction between individual vulnerability and social constraints, can lead to the omission of the preventive dimension of policy interventions and in a way to focus on effects, but not causes.

A growing number of young people are not seeking actively for a job, which may leave with no structural support in terms of reintegration on the labor market. Research shows that youth unemployment can generate permanent negative consequences such as an increased risk of being unemployed in the future, low levels of future earnings, loss of human capital / de-professionalization, culture of poverty or a lower motivation.

The relatively high level of youth unemployment highlights the need for closer links between education and training system on the one hand and the labor market on the other hand. Lack of work experience makes young people vulnerable to competition from other workers. Whatever the job or position held, professional experience is the main selection criterion for obtaining a job. The educational level of young people is one of the important factors that influence access to employment, so that the lowest employment rates are recorded for young people with low education.

The regulations related the protection of young employees include "age of employment, working hours, ensuring the health and safety". Employment allowances or bonuses are paid from the unemployment insurance, while employers have a number of facilities: exemptions from the payment, amounts received from this budget. According to art. 49, paragraph 1 of the Constitution, children and youth "benefit from special protection and assistance in
achieving their rights." However, according to art. 49 paragraph 4, "minors under age 15 cannot be employed."

9.4.2 Educational situation in relation to work

Another regulation of national education law impacting youth is the financial support to ensure the access of young people to schools. Thus, "pupils enrolled in mandatory education system, in another town than that of home are provided, where appropriate, with free transportation, meals and accommodation" (Article 85, paragraph 1, Law 1 / 2011). At the same time, "the state subsidizes all costs of attending school for students from rural areas or disadvantaged socio-economic groups and those attending vocational schools" (paragraph 2). Another support measure for students from low-income families coming from rural areas is tax exemption for bank loans needed to support costs while studying, loans contracted through Loans and Scholarships Agency. According to Law 1/2011, art. 204, paragraph 2, "graduates who will practice as a minimum of 5 years their profession in rural areas will be exempted from payment of 75% of the loan, and this part was taken over by the state in the quantum maximum 5,000 lei." According to art. 3 paragraph 1 of the GD 1402/2009 on the establishment, organization and functioning of Loans and Scholarships Agency, this institution "elaborates ( ...) methodology in order to establish the amount and the conditions for granting and repayment of loans, other regulations necessary for the organization and operation of the credit" (letter j) and "provides student loan system management" (letter k). According with the Law 1/2011, the graduates of high schools in rural areas are included among the disadvantaged groups. In higher education system (according to art. 205, paragraph 6) "the candidates coming from high risk groups or socioeconomic backgrounds - Roma graduates of high schools in rural areas or in cities with less than 10,000 inhabitants - can benefit from a number of budgeted (free of charge) places guaranteed under the law". Article 1 of the GD 600/2007 state that "ensuring the protection of young people against economic exploitation, any work that may affect their safety, health or their physical, mental, moral, social or jeopardize their education." This also applies to the provisions of Law no. 319/2006 on safety and health, which includes youth category within the sensitive risk groups.

With regard to labor and social protection of labor (through art. 41, paragraph 1), the right to work is unrestricted, ensuring, in this way, the premises for the exercise of free choice of profession or occupation of the young people. The right to social protection measures include, according to art. 41, para. (2) "health and safety of the employees, working conditions for women and young people, establishing a minimum gross salary per economy, weekends, paid holidays, work in special conditions, training, and other specific situations, established by law. Art. 42 prohibit forced labor.

The economic crisis is prolonged for youth. Even if the overall economy is recovering in recent years and there are new jobs, young people are still disadvantaged. The labor market demand is targeting a wide array of groups and includes the category of adults who have more experience and therefore more likely to get a job.

Job security, one of the most important expectations of the young workers, is jeopardized by the current economic crisis. Job loss is one of their main concerns given that the job offer is more restricted to their entry into the labor market.

Regarding employment opportunities that young people have, whether viewed from a theoretical perspective or a pragmatic one, those currently working, the universally accepted opinion is that a job which meets the requirements and expertise is becoming more difficult to find.
Child Protection Law defines children as persons aged 0 to 18 years and stipulates their rights, including those of teenagers, as they are stipulated in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Includes special provisions that the authorities should take into account the opinion of adolescents (10, 14 or 16 years old) in various situations, such as when applying special protection measures, respect for religious beliefs and choice of schooling.
Child Protection law stipulates mandatory health education and its provision by "specialized bodies of the central government, local authorities and any other public or private institutions with attributions in health provision [that] are required to adopt all necessary measures ... [to] .... systematic implementation in schools education for life programs, including sexual education for children, in order to prevent sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy [Art Section 43 (3). i])".
Young People Law aimed at "people aged 14 to 35 years," is providing special protection and assistance to achieve their rights. This law mentions vulnerable young people – i.e. rural youth, youth in public care / residential centers, youth in conflict with the law, young people who use drugs, alcohol and tobacco - with the intention of reducing the impact of risk factors. The provisions of this law are nevertheless reflected in the national strategy for youth.
National Education Law mention the state aid granted to children and young people, including those with multiple vulnerabilities. In addition, provides that special education and special assistance are forms of educational, social and medical integration. In practice, it turns out that these provisions are difficult to implement in the absence of technical and human resources necessary for schools to offer this complex types of assistance.

Given that, nationwide, all programming documents for employment and most public policies targeting issue of inclusion of young people into the labor market were adopted before 2007, there is urgent need for the formulation of public policies targeted at young people. However, being at the intersection of employment policies, educational policies and the youth labor market inclusion of young people raises many practical difficulties, turning into an integrated context-dependent objective of national and European policies. Thus, there is a need to formulate national strategies based on the specific needs of young people in terms of employment in the developing regions of Romania.

9.5 Participation

Participation and involvement of citizens in the decision making process is one of the conditions in functioning and strengthening democracy. Participation in civic and political life is very important for young people. It fosters the exchange of knowledge, skills and abilities, influencing self-esteem and self-confidence. Youngsters participation encourages adults to create a positive image of young people to accept them together as colleagues in promoting ideas and new development projects. However, young people have come to be seen as the originators of volunteer work and valuable human resources. Thus, youth participation in civic life is no less important than participation in political life.
Involving and engaging young people in dialogue is the first step to ensure effective participation of youth in decision making and to solve problems that affect them directly. Engage in responsible and informed dialogue with the public authorities is an important step in involving and recognizing youth as active citizens. Ensuring continuity of medium and long-term dialogue is fundamental to the development of democracy and full participation in the community, both nationally and at European level.
In Romania, coordination of consultations in this process is provided by the National Working Group established under the National Authority for Sport and Youth, which includes Romania Youth Council, together with representatives of other youth NGOs. Youth NGOs (ONGT) – as representatives of civil society, play a key role in this process, being the bearers of the message of young people, being the ones who defend their interests and work for their benefit. Therefore, for Romania it is important that ONGT be promoters of such local and regional debates, encouraging the active involvement of young people (those organized and unorganized in associations) and bringing the to negotiations representatives of all stakeholders directly concerned by the issue of youth: local public authorities, ONGT’s young people, employers, teachers, academics, representatives of informal youth groups, etc. In principle, pursuing inclusion is imperative for young people, for whom participation in public decision is most appropriate form which may occur and involve the community. Such practices should be a useful learning exercise for their professional and civic formation. With better information, made possible by participation, the young will find the answers to their specific problems, including ways of leisure, choosing a profession, or finding a job. An effective public participation in decision must combine their efforts with those of the mature generation and of authorities'. But the reality it is slightly different, at least in the Ferentari researched area. The youngsters interviewed said they were never consulted by the public authorities, nor know other young people who have been consulted and have not even heard of such initiatives. The only forms of their involvement in the life of community and possibility of influencing decisions affecting their own lives were in programs developed by several NGOs (such as Carusel and Policy Center).

On the other hand, representatives of public authorities assert that young people are disinterested, too preoccupied with unimportant things and not respond positively to calls for cooperation and participation in various projects. But such initiatives, in the best cases, are made public only Hall site / institution that young people are not interested to consult it. When asked why not consult those web sites, young people say they do not trust in public institutions initiatives because quasi-totality of previous initiatives were a failure or were "money laundering". In Romania, coordination of consultations is provided by the National Working Group established under the National Authority for Sport and Youth, which includes Romania Youth Council, together with representatives of other youth NGOs. Youth NGOs (ONGT) – as representatives of civil society, play a key role in this process, being the bearers of the message of young people, being the ones who defend their interests and work for their benefit. Therefore, for Romania it is important that ONGT be promoters of such local and regional debates, encouraging the active involvement of young people (those organized and unorganized in associations) and bringing the to negotiations representatives of all stakeholders directly concerned by the issue of youth: local public authorities, ONGT’s young people, employers, teachers, academics, representatives of informal youth groups, etc. In the future, the results of the discussions could be used at local and regional level but also at national and European level. Thus, they may be Romania’s’ recommendations for the next cycle of consultation at European level, after which it could be improved the regulatory framework for youth. Nationally, the results of the consultations might be used in efforts to improve national framework for youth, namely the National Authority for Sport and Youth, as the main public body empowered to do this.

At local and regional level, the results could be used by non-governmental organizations to substantiate the actions undertaken and the development of new activities from the real needs they identified. Also these results can be used in advocacy efforts in relation to local governments and to contribute to the development of youth policy.
Youth policies are based on general principles which stipulates enhancing youth participation in public life and encouraging them to undertake individual and group responsibilities, support and guidance to young people in their active participation in the economy and education, guaranteeing the right to education, training and professional specialization, fostering youth access to information and information technologies, fostering mobility among young people.

Interviewed young people said, however, that these principles are necessary but not sufficient for their effective participation in all these areas. Lack of opportunities, marginalization and social exclusion (especially in education and the labor market) make them simply empty words in that they no longer trust. Their argument is that although in the last years were adopted laws and strategies for improving youth situation (previously nonexistent), their situation does not improve, but on the contrary. Free education does not automatically mean access to education for vulnerable groups, and the inadequacy of educational content to market demands creates chronic vulnerabilities in turn, difficult to overcome. Young people have criticized the idea of mobility, meaning that, theoretically, there is physical, spatial mobility, but practically there are economic, social, political and cultural factors that block the mobility. In terms of vertical mobility (professional mobility) things are worse. Specifically, Ferentari is the most affected district of Bucharest by residential segregation, poverty, exclusion, educational and economic polarization. The real chances of 'mobility' of young people are extremely low, local authorities not doing effectively too much in this regard.

However, the Mayor of District 5, which includes Ferentari neighborhood, is in the 4th term of four years mandate as mayor, consecutively (starting with 2000). He was elected by a majority of votes in the first round of election each time! It is worth to mention that the mayor Marian Vanghelie is semi-illiterate, although he is a graduate of two universities (!), being subject of irony in many situations.

National Youth Law has the basic principle of "ensuring youth participation in decisions affecting them, including the development, promotion and implementation of youth policies". Law 272/2004 on the protection and promotion of child rights assures the right of young people to participate and freely express their opinions. It is local authorities’ duty, the school and the family to inform the child of his rights and on how to exercise them.

One of the principles of the National Education Law is the "principle of the right of the pupil / student to have an opinion as direct beneficiary of the education system." The law also stipulates that "within Administration Council meetings participate representatives of trade unions from that school as well as a representative of pupils with observer status."(National Education Law, Article 96, p 33). In this respect there is (since 2007) a National Council of pre-University Students. We don’t know how effective the activity of this Council is but our interviewed youngsters were not at all aware about its activity …

The central concern of central government on youth policy has resulted (since 2001) in the National Action Plan for Youth in Romania, which has defined a national strategy for youth policy. Among its strategic directions and objectives, there are: addressing youth as "resource", increase their participation in economic life, boosting their civic participation, in its multiple aspects and associative youth, risk prevention and combating marginalization and social exclusion of young people, diversification of non-formal education, facilitating youth access to information (PNA-T-R, 2005).

Participation of young people in Romania in terms of policy development for them can be said to be in the stage of initiative, efforts are made to promote and encourage youth.

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298 Epigram: “The Mayor-Student - He follows two faculties / Spending public penny, / Just because he has no many / Mental capabilities.” [...Primarul student: El urmeaza scoli inalte, / Cheltuind parale, / Fiindcã n-are asa multe, / Facultãti mintale.]

http://www.agonia.net/index.php/poetry/222962/Primarul_student

299 Consiliul National al Elevilor (CNE) http://consiliulelevilor.org/prezentare.php

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
participation. One of the programs addressing youth in decision-making is Youth Delegate Program to the United Nations that promotes: direct involvement of young people in developing international policies for youth in sustainable development of society and democracy by facilitating youth participation at all levels of decision to promote youth policy, youth policy coordination mechanisms among young people at a national level and importance of youth programs as part of socio-economic development, familiarizing young people in Romania with global development issues and opportunities for involvement that have in this respect, support activities and initiatives of the youth of Romania.

In Romania, young people are not involved directly in the development of the policies and measures affecting them. In this regard, there are initiatives and approaches for involving young people in decision-making summit, bringing to the fore the concept of representing the interests of young people through their ability to be part of national and international decision-making bodies, emphasizing the importance of knowing involvement opportunities they have.

Youth Council Romania - CTR aims to defend and promote the rights of Romanian youth in the country and abroad and increase their active participation in the life of the communities, in which it operates, and to support and promote the common interests of its members at local, regional, national, European and international level.

European Community program Youth in Action, established during 2007-2013, to extend cooperation in the youth field in the European Union, develop youth personal responsibility, initiative, concern for others, active citizen involvement in local, national and European levels to a higher degree. The program focus is on involving young people in decisions taken on their behalf. They can be dialogue partners who make strategies in youth areas, who decide what measures shall be taken or not taken.

The projects funded under action "Meeting young people and those responsible for youth policy" should seek to facilitate a structured dialogue between young people and those who have the power to decide.

Participation of youngsters within activities that make sense for them on the long term, activities organized primarily by themselves, represents a significant step/incentive in the process of encouraging them to be much deeply involved within community life.

### 9.6 Social innovation

In terms of social innovation we thought that a better view on this topic will be provided by presenting / describing 3 innovative projects involving youngsters and for youngsters, developed in Ferentari neighborhood (2 projects) and Cluj-Napoca.

#### 9.6.1 CARUSEL Association

*Caracuda & P.A.S.A.J. Project for Most Vulnerable Roma*

This project is designed to cover the needs of IDUs and other vulnerable Roma, such as children, people living with HIV and homeless. The following activities are implemented in the Caracuda Drop-in Center located in Ferentari and through outreach, mostly in the ruins and abandoned houses of the city center.

The Caracuda – Ferentari Drop-in Center is meant to provide harm reduction services for IDUs, services such as risk reduction counseling, needle exchange, primary medical care.

testing and counseling for HIV and Hepatitis B and C and referrals to other medical and social services. Due to the limited resources, up to now, we were not able to provide primary medical care, even the IDUs and the whole community is in need. This center is developed in partnership with National Antidrug Agency, City Hall District 5 and Sastipen Association. Besides Caracuda, the social workers of Carusel provide outreach services for most vulnerable Roma living in Bucharest. The team is involved in providing specialized social work services, counseling, weekly basic food and support for the reinsertion of children into the education system. For those who are living with HIV and other diseases, the outreach team ensures referrals and accompaniment to other social and medical services. Through this project, Carusel is strengthening its capacity to provide services. The requested budget includes the payment of the workers (a project coordinator and a social worker) and a physician (to work in the drop-in center) and some administrative costs. All the other costs are covered by Carusel.

The aim of the project is to improve the quality of life of most vulnerable Roma from Bucharest. The objective of the initiative is to increase the access to social and medical care for most vulnerable Roma, especially those who live in Ferentari neighborhood.

Erasmus+: the new EU programme for Education, Training, Youth, and Sport for 2014-2020. The Erasmus+ programme aims to boost skills and employability, as well as modernising Education, Training, and Youth work.

Erasmus+ will support transnational partnerships among Education, Training, and Youth institutions and organisations to foster cooperation and bridge the worlds of Education and work in order to tackle the skills gaps we are facing in Europe. It will also support national efforts to modernize Education, Training, and Youth systems. In the field of Sport, there will be support for grassroots projects and cross-border challenges such as combating match-fixing, doping, violence and racism. Erasmus+ brings together seven existing EU programmes in the fields of Education, Training, and Youth; it will for the first time provide support for Sport. As an integrated programme, Erasmus+ offers more opportunities for cooperation across the Education, Training, Youth, and Sport sectors and is easier to access than its predecessors, with simplified funding rules.

Erasmus+ aims to strengthen the quality of youth work and non-formal learning for young people in Europe. It provides opportunities for young people to experience learning mobility in Europe and beyond and for youth workers to develop their interpersonal skills and improve their employment prospects through training and networking opportunities in Europe and beyond. The program will support opportunities for young people to participate in activities abroad, including youth-exchanges and voluntary placements.

Opportunities are available to the following individuals and organisations: young people aged between 13 and 30; youth organisations based in the EU and outside the EU; other stakeholders with an active interest in youth issues.

Another challenge relates to the development of social capital among young people, the empowerment of young people and their ability to participate actively in society, in line with the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty to "encourage the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe". This issue can also be targeted through non-formal learning activities, which aim at enhancing the skills and competences of young people as well as their active citizenship.
9.6.2 KOMUNITAS Association

Komunitas Association is a non-governmental organization established in 2006 by a group of young social researchers, specialized in urban studies and urban anthropology. It is based on the concept of applied social sciences. All the projects have the same objective: to step out of the narrow frame in which social sciences usually manifest themselves, focusing on their applicability, while also easing the understanding of some notions and mechanisms among youth and the general public.

In urban educational workshops designed by Komunitas Association, an important component is represented by the discussions and presentations on urban activism. It is not easy to explain to children and teenagers what urban activism means, or to give them tools to do so, but it is possible. In this general context of discussion, the topic of urban street art as a way to reclaim public spaces in cities can be introduced. Although the status of this type of art is often one illegal, it can be discussed how street art can still be legitimized and used as a solution to improve and beautify various public spaces. In parallel, visual presentations with various urban art types from major cities around the world can be done: graffiti, stencils, stickers, urban interventions, three-dimensional street painting, posters, eco-graffiti (made of moss forest) etc.

The first urban education project was developed in 2009 and was called “Our city - our decision” and was a participatory planning experiment in which we engaged a group of students from School 136 in Ferentari, Bucharest and a group of second year students from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism "Ion Mincu". This project started with two ideas: one, non-formal education for young people from different social backgrounds can bring them closer to each other, the other, to prepare future actions to improve public space in Ferentari.

The organization held several workshops with school students and architecture students using different working methods: brainstorming, mind maps, stories of the city, urban strolls, photos, drawings, models, design contests, exhibitions, small collective sites and small practical activities of arrangement. The children learned about each other, and from each other: the students could see the city, understand, express their wishes about their neighborhood and, finally, take the initiative to improve their living environment; they analyzed a difficult urban context, taking into account the users’ opinion of that context, even if they are non-specialists, and designed a project to improve urban context, based on the issues and ideas explored with our experts.

“Something cool happens at my school!” was an urban education project that took place from February to July 2013, in Bucharest, Romania. The project was developed by Komunitas Association in partnership with the Technical College "Traian", Linnalabor organization in Estonia and University of Architecture and Urbanism "Ion Mincu". The project was funded by the National Agency for Community Programs in Education and Training, through Youth in Action program, Action 1.2, Transnational Initiatives. This project was part of the community development strategy that the Komunitas Association has been implementing since 2012 in Bucharest Tei district, the neighborhood in which this high school is located. 25 students from the Technical College "Traian" actively participated for several months in the project Something cool happens in my school!, which combined various practical activities of non-formal and urban education, in the form of weekly workshops.

The project had two components, specialized for different age groups. Middle school students participated in environmental and urban ecology education workshops, and those from high school in urban education workshops. The work involved education and urban ecology exercises based on methods, developed and piloted by Komunitas Association in the last 4 years.

Through this project, Komunitas managed to encourage students to contribute directly to personalize the space in the school yard, this bringing long-term benefits for raising attractiveness to the school environment. Students with whom Komunitas worked for a few months became more involved and aware of issues regarding the environment and integrated urban development and at the same time, more active in school life and in the community to which they belong.

9.6.3 YouthBank

The core concept of YouthBank is the fact that young people are the ones who will shape the future. Paradoxically, their opportunities to shape this are not always present. Thus, the potential of youth, creativity and energy are only partially used by society. Even where there are opportunities for volunteering, young people rarely participate in decision making. YouthBank gives young people a framework in which they can work together and make decisions on community they belong. Annually in Romania about 15 young people (aged 15 to 20) in each city where the YouthBank program is implemented, known as "the youngest bankers in Romania" constitutes, promotes and transparently manages a special fund for financing and implementation of projects by high school students.

It is a mechanism by which youth behaviors are encouraged related to: philanthropy, civic initiative and responsibility. The program was launched in 2006 in Cluj-Napoca, being implemented by the Association for Community Relations (ARC) Development Programme of Cluj Community Foundation, and later, in 2008, with the establishment of Cluj Community Foundation (FCC) to become one of its core programs and to be successful in Cluj-Napoca and beyond.

Principles and values:
1). The program is led by young people. Program activities should be led by young people. This implies that YouthBank team is responsible for deciding how the money is raised and how they are allocated to generate a change in their community. The role of adults in the program is to provide support and advice to young people, to provide them with the information and training needed, and not to make decisions for them.
2). The program is open to all young people. Any young person is encourage to get involved in the local program YouthBank, but seek to involve young people and those who do not enjoy the same opportunities as others - including young people in state care, homeless youth, youth with physical or mental health problems, etc.
3). Promoting understanding and respect for differences. The program offers young people from different backgrounds the opportunity to learn more about each other, about cultural differences, giving them the necessary framework to express and share their experiences. Therefore YouthBank must respect differences and to develop understanding among young.

9.7 Discussion and conclusions

From a legal perspective, the Romanian Constitution guarantees to young people: the right to education, right to work and social protection of labor and prohibit forced labor. The legislative framework has been analyzed in terms of how powerful are the various legislative acts: analysis began with the Constitution, followed by organic and ordinary laws.

National social policy agenda in employment is harmonized with the European report. As a member state, Romania has taken the Europe 2020 target of achieving an employment rate of up 75% for the population aged between 20 and 64 years. Romania has proposed achieving an employment rate of 70% in 2020.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
Broadly speaking the laws and strategies envisaging youngsters underline that participation in economic, social, cultural and political life is one of the basic dimensions of social inclusion. Regarding socio-cultural participation, the school is the most important institution. However in practice (short term) the implementation of those principles and strategies are far for being effective and producing visible positive effects (maybe on the long run these effects will be much more visible).

Young people should represent the most active and best trained and adaptable population segment, able to deal with and perform the new created jobs. Even the young people are considered the present and future of Europe and a rich source of dynamism in society (Youth in Europe, 2009), the actual structural forces of labor market and education do not support development and manifestation of their capabilities.

Facilitating a rapid integration of young people into the labor market and lifelong learning is the key to ensuring a good transition to new jobs, specific to knowledge economy and to avoid long-term unemployment which leads to loss of human capital.

In Romania, young people face the greatest employability difficulties among all other social groups. They are much more vulnerable, are fired much easier, especially if they are new graduates or in the first year of working lifetime when looking for a job fit for their professional and personal aspirations or when, due to the reluctance of employers on immediate adaptability and productivity at work, prefer to hire people with experience, at the expense of more educated but less or not at all prepared for working life.

The Romanian young people have a later and reduced access to the labour market, and the generated earnings are smaller as comparative with adult population, but also comparing with corresponding EU youngsters. Thus, Romania has the highest level of poverty of 18-24 working youngsters: 30.7% were in poverty in 2011 (within average population the percent is 19) while in Europe the corresponding percent is 11.2. The young working poor is worrying due to the fact that it increased constantly (from 23.1%) since of debut of 2008 economic crisis.

A significant part of 15-24 youngsters unemployment is a chronic phenomenon (over 1 year - 43.3% of total youngsters). The share of long term unemployment among these youngsters (2012) was 13.3% as comparative with 3.2% within overall population.

Key aspects of success in youth employment in the labor market could be: practical training organized on different levels, familiarity with institutions / organizations with diverse activity profiles, intensive internship practice associated with discipline at work. Voluntary practice encourages participation and civic involvement and gives students the chance to deepen the field they want to specialize.

The need for education and real performance among young people which remain on the national labor market is even greater as Romania compete on the global market with young states, in terms of demographic and / or able to attract highly qualified workforce (brain drain).

Mobility of people and lack of attractive jobs offer after graduation is fueling labor migration flows, leading to a compression of new inputs (human resources) into the labor market - both in terms of quantity, but mostly qualitative.

Employability of a graduate school may be influenced by where he studied (school & community), field of study, the economic environment in the region, companies / businesses where she / he performed internships or worked during studies, recruitment companies where he / she held interviews, conferences and trainings attended etc.

Targeting youth since high school for the right professional orientation and career development, correlated with their skills and labor market demand leads to a higher employment rate of graduates and a lower instability in seeking a job "adequate / satisfactory" to individual aspirations.
Many of the people interviewed within key institutions and organizations have pointed out that in Romania the legal framework is well developed in terms of access to quality education, child protection, welfare of vulnerable / disadvantaged provision of health services - including special measures regarding HIV/AIDS and drug addiction. Still, there are gaps at the level of obligations provided to ensure fulfillment of target group's rights. The consequence of this fact is the laws' inefficiency, which leads to risky behaviors (e.g.: sale of alcohol, cigarettes and drugs to minors) and limited access to rights and support / protection services (for example, education at home for people with disabilities, accessibility for people with disabilities, local social services, outreach services for street children, drug addicts, sex workers and victims of human trafficking/ sexual exploitation).

However, it was noted that the legislation is insufficient and inadequate towards inclusive education - especially in regards to children with disabilities, special protection and assistance services for children with parents working abroad, special protection for victims of trafficking and drug addicts (especially harm reduction), the provision of equal opportunities in education performance adolescents, in the child protection system and for those from poor and / or rural poor / isolated areas. Besides this type of support is however very important that within these areas be created jobs accessible to young people belonging to vulnerable groups (and others). Welfare Policies (services and benefits) should be a secondary measure of intervention, proper integration into the labor market being the main means of ensuring economic and social integration.
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10. AUSTRIA – Local social support networks analysis in Vienna, Simmering (by Bettina Haidinger and Ruth Kasper)

Forschungs- und Beratungsstelle Arbeitswelt (FORBA)

Abstract

Simmering can be recognized as one of Vienna’s rather disadvantaged districts although the concept of “disadvantaged” should be handled very carefully and critically. To facilitate a critical stance towards disadvantage, we choose an area-based approach in our research. This means that we did choose a comparably disadvantaged district (in the sense of higher unemployment, lower educational attainment and income) with both a low-resourced and middle-class/petty-bourgeois population. From this starting point we scrutinized what kind of exclusion mechanisms with respect to young people can be observed and are addressed or ignored. Within our research we focused on the open resp. outreach youth work which implies a low-threshold access and keeps the influence of institutionalized settings as low as possible. We focused on policies regarding (gender-specific) youth programs in the context of social work and youth work, expanding our research perspective by local and urban development programmes while employment or formal education policies which are largely formed in a centralized way, mainly by the (Youth) Public Employment Service were not included.

With regard to policies towards young people Simmering is quite a resourceful district, not only in terms of “quantity” but also in terms of “quality”: In Simmering, youth policies and youth programmes cover a broad variety of youth work such as “traditional” youth centers, outreach/mobile youth work, special offers for children, girls (offering exclusive girls spaces), young mothers, youth work with children of refugees. Furthermore, the urban development agency is active in this district. The agency provides locals with legal counselling with regard to renting/housing regulations but also acts as a facilitator in development processes for public and semi-public spaces in the district. The agency also takes part in the “Regionalforum”, a local network of public institutions who meet once a month to share and spread information. The borough mayor herself- as was indicated by various interviewed stakeholders in Simmering’s youth programmes - is strongly committed to and supportive towards youth concerns. Mobile youth work and youth centres are low threshold institutions where participation is voluntary and free of cost. It particularly addresses youngsters from disadvantaged background with the goal to expand youngsters’ scope of action, supporting appropriation/negotiation of public spaces and its usage by different groups. Eventually, it should be mentioned that youth centers are in general important actors in the district and also serve as hubs. They play an important role mostly as mediators but also as supporters (as for the young people participating in the young parliament) and “framers” or designers of public spaces, together with children and adolescents. Accessing the research field at a low-threshold level allows us to broaden the research perspective what facilitates the access to a big range of “meaningful thematics” and “limit situations” that young people are concerned with.

Starting from youth work’s two (among others) core themes - spatial appropriation and “learning” democracy – the report presents and discusses two programmes respectively two policy responses to “limit-situations” (Freire 2009[1970]) youth centres in Simmering focus on. First, we will deal with issues of spatial appropriation, conflicts on public and semi-public spaces and the role of social and youth work to solve those. This also includes conflicts of

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
multicultural and intergenerational cohabitation reported many times by different interviewees. Initiatives tackling this issue can be interpreted as bottom-up approaches resulting from the urgency solving day-to-day problems of living together. Second, we will describe and briefly discuss the youth parliament “Word-up!“, an initiative fostering the political participation of young people in the chosen district. This one can be rather interpreted as a “top-down” initiative aiming at the democratic education of young people who - in Austria- have the right to vote from 16 years onwards. In both of these thematic fields youth centres play a crucial role for preparing and implementing tools that shall help to resolve the respective limit-situations.

10.1 Introduction

10.1.1 Selection of Location

The Austrian region in focus is situated in Vienna; it is the district of Simmering that is Vienna’s second biggest. Simmering is a traditional working class district whose population is still quite heterogeneous. Apart from the traditional working class areas, some petty-bourgeois areas can be found as well as very specific neighbourhoods such as “Macondo” where around 3,000 refugees from all over the world live (Statistics Austria, 2012). The district is somehow situated in Vienna’s periphery although the in 2000 completed connection to the metro line considerably changed its position resp. the position of some specific neighbourhoods that are close to the metro line. This led to a kind of splitting between “inner” and “outer Simmering”- terms frequently used by our interview partners. Simmering’s social structure - due to Vienna’s historical housing strategy to build social housing within petty-bourgeois or bourgeois areas – is quite mixed and cannot be simply described as “deprived”. Rather, we will examine how disadvantaged youth as part of a district’s population is reached, explicitly addressed and included by municipal social policies on the one hand and mobile low threshold social work initiatives on the other hand. In comparison with Vienna’s overall population, Simmering has a quite young population. As for the whole of Vienna (and Austria), the district’s migrant population has risen steadily over the last years – a fact that increasingly challenges local policy and its position towards a multicultural society. In terms of educational attainment it should be noticed that the share of inhabitants with completed tertiary education is the lowest among all Viennese districts resp. the residents share with only compulsory education is comparably high. As lower educational attainment is known to have a negative effect on employment, it is not surprising that Simmering is among the five Viennese districts with the highest unemployment rate. Apart from unemployment, the weaker economic situation of the district’s population becomes apparent in – compared to Viennese average - lower income levels and a higher share of “needs-based minimum income” recipients. As far as the political situation in the district is concerned, the rising of the right-wing “Freedom Party” deserves attention. Several stakeholder interviews referred to racism as a major issue in Simmering.

10.1.2 Selection of thematic focus: gendered limit-situations

Summing up the statistical evidence presented so far, Simmering is one of Vienna’s rather disadvantaged districts although the concept of “disadvantaged” should be handled very carefully and critically. People who may have less (economic and educational) resources do not necessarily consider themselves as less advantaged or even disadvantaged as our interviews with local stakeholders (youth workers engaged in outreach work as well as at
school, a local politician (borough mayor)) clearly show. Labelling these people as “disadvantaged” would rather mean to (re-) produce existing stereotypes and categories. To facilitate a critical stance towards disadvantage, we choose a spatial approach in our research. This means that we did choose a comparably disadvantaged district (in the sense of higher unemployment, lower educational attainment and income) where both low-resourced and middle-class/petty-bourgeois people live. From this starting point we scrutinized what kind of exclusion mechanisms with respect to young people can be observed and are addressed or ignored.

“Disadvantaged” also raises the question about disadvantaged compared to what or to whom and how relations towards the “advantaged” take shape. This reflection also means taking an intersectional approach seriously. Therefore, we explicitly address selected socio-structural characteristics of discrimination such as gender and migrant background. This was done by conducting stakeholder interviews on city and local/district level with NGOs and/or institutions putting these particular social disadvantages in the centre of their interventions. Our particular focus is on gender inequality and pro-girls youth work.

10.1.3 Selected Policy area: Out-reach youth work

Within our research we focused on the open resp. outreach youth work which implies a low-threshold access and keeps the influence of institutionalized settings as low as possible. Starting from this perspective, we focused on policies regarding (gender-specific) youth programs in the context of social work and youth work, expanding our research perspective by local and urban development programmes while employment or formal education policies which are largely formed in a centralized way, mainly by the (Youth) Public Employment Service were not included.

Accessing the research field at a low-threshold level allows us to broaden the research perspective what (hopefully) facilitates the access to a big range of “meaningful thematics” and “limit situations” that young people are concerned with (Freire 2009[1970], 96, 99). Limit-situations that constrain aspirations or the development of capabilities shall be regarded as challenges: They are not impassable boundaries where possibilities end but the real boundaries where all possibilities … a frontier which separates being from being more (Freire 2009[1970], 99; 103). Therefore, partisan and particularly partisan girls youth work was all about signaling interest, respect and recognition and realizing possibilities and experiences that girls did not find as such in their daily lives (Bitzan 2010, 105)

10.2 Methods

The Austrian local stakeholder network analysis drew its results from several sources including quantitative secondary descriptive data and data from guideline-based stakeholder interviews, one group discussion and field notices of several observations and informal talks in the field of local youth work. In detail, we used:

- A document analysis of the Viennese Social Report (2012) and the Vienna Statistical Yearbook (2013) from which we mostly got quantitative data (the Statistics Austria did not provide data on district level due to data protection regulations). Besides, an interviewed youth worker provided documentation on the youth parliament “word-up” which takes place every other year in several schools (and youth centres) in the district.
- We carried out qualitative guideline-based expert interviews with a local politician (borough mayor) and youth welfare officer/representative as well as with five
youth workers engaged in open/outreach youth work. Of them one is the director of the “flash girls’ café”, a space exclusively dedicated for youth work with girls, and two are youth workers employed at several schools in the chosen district. Another expert interview was conducted with a representative of the district’s development agency (“Gebietsbetreuung – Stadtentwicklung”) providing advice in development projects in the district and implementing solutions for public areas (often together with youth work institutions). In addition, the director of the district’s public library (a place where young people pass their spare time), a local youth welfare officer, and a police officer were interviewed.

- A group interview/discussion with a teacher and five young people who participated in the “word up” youth parliament took place in September (when school starts again in Austria). One of the above mentioned youth workers participated in the youth parliament too (supporting the young people in formulating their demands and organizing the discussions that take place before the big plenum sessions with local politicians and other local stakeholders).

- From Mid of May until the End of September we spent one afternoon per week in the “girls’ garden”– a space exclusively for girls and (young) women and the place for our participatory research. The “girls’ garden” is supervised by the youth centre that also serves as our “gatekeeper” in the district. The idea was to establish a period in which we are available for the girls interested in participating in the process (designing a wall just in front of the “girls’ garden”). For each afternoon spent in the girls’ garden or in any other park, every participating researcher wrote an entry in her research journal.

- Within our field research, we spent many hours in several of the districts’ parks where the outreach youth work of our gatekeeper takes place to do participatory observation, informal walks and talks with the people.

| Regional/local government policy makers | 3 (borough mayor, representative youth welfare office, district councillor) |
| Training and education providers | 4 (2 teachers and 2 school social workers) |
| Citizen’s bodies (e.g. youth parliaments/councils) | 1 (social worker involved in youth parliament) |
| Youth work organisations | 3 (including 1 youth worker specialized in girls’ work) |
| Networks and membership organisations (sector bodies/agencies, campaigns, lobbying, networking, project work, awareness raising) | 1 (Urban Development Agency) |
| Young people | Several young people in semi-public and public spaces, especially some girls in the “girls’ garden” where our participative research mainly takes place. |
| Other types of organisations: | 2 (director of district library and police officer) |
10.3 Description of area in relation to inequality/disadvantaged youth

10.3.1 Statistical evidence

10.3.1.1 Demographic Development in Simmering
As already referred to in the introduction, Simmering is one of Vienna’s biggest districts with 92,274 residents over a surface of 23km², thereof 44,930 men and 47,344 women, Vienna’s total population being 1,741,246 persons. In comparison with Vienna’s overall population the district’s population is younger with an average age of 38,8 years (40.5 years for the whole of Vienna); 16,5 % are under the age of 15 (Viennese average of 14,3 % in 2013). Altogether, 29,0 % of Simmering’s residents are younger than 25 years (Viennese average 26,5 %) (Vienna Statistical Yearbook 2013, 296). The lower average age among the district’s residents goes along with a positive birth rate (defined as number of births minus number of deaths within one year) of 282 persons (only two of Vienna's 23 districts have an even higher birth rate resp. nativities-deaths ratio). At the same time, an on-going ageing process takes place, especially among the district’s long-term residents. According to Reinprecht this demographic development can be observed particularly in Vienna’s peripheral districts such as Simmering (Reinprecht 2010, 29).

During the last years, the district’s migrant population has risen continuously. In absolute numbers, 19,480 persons with a non-Austrian citizenship lived in Simmering in 2013, compared to 72,794 residents with Austrian citizenship; 27,870 of Simmering’s residents were born in another country than Austria (compared to 64,404 people born in Austria) (Vienna Statistical Yearbook 2013, 64). Simmering’s migrant population rose from 15,5 % in 2011 to 21,1 % in 2013, though the share is still below the Viennese average of 18,7 % in 2011 resp. of 23,0 % in 2013 (here, migrant population is defined as persons with a non-Austrian citizenship) (Vienna Statistical Yearbook 2013, 64). Apart from German citizens residents with Serbian, Montenegrin, and Turkish citizenship represent the second and third biggest migrants’ groups in Vienna (with a share of 3,7 % and 2,3 %, 2011).

10.3.1.2 Educational attainment and unemployment among young people
The comparatively lower educational attainment and worse income situation sustains the picture of Simmering as a rather disadvantaged city district. The Viennese Social Report (“Wiener Sozialbericht”) from 2012 shows that 27 % of the district’s 25- to 64-year-olds only completed compulsory education, compared to 23 % for the whole of Vienna, 8 % hold a university degree compared to 19 % of all Viennese residents, representing the lowest share of tertiary education among all Viennese districts (data from 2010/2011). Though the share of students attending academic secondary school in Simmering corresponds to the Viennese average, the share of pupils attending lower secondary school (the type of school children attend who are not “fit” enough for lower academic secondary schools) is more than double than the Viennese average (25,5 % compared to 11,3 %, cf. Vienna Statistical Yearbook 2013, 297). Statistics giving a more detailed picture about educational attainment levels broken down to gender are not available.

Simmering is with an unemployment rate of 10,5% (2011) among the five Viennese districts with the highest unemployment rate. The recent economic crisis led to a worsening of the socio-economic situation in the district - unemployment has risen in the years after 2008; this is also due to the rather low educational attainment among the district’s population. The unemployment rate (as the share of registered unemployed among labour force plus registered unemployed; i.e. national calculation) in Vienna lies above the national average at any point in time since 2008. In 2008, 7,9 % of Vienna’s employable population was jobless,
in 2013 the number was 10.3%, men being more frequently unemployed than women: In 2008, 9.2% of employable men were registered as unemployed in comparison to 6.6% of employable women; until 2013, the unemployment rate among men had risen to 11.7% resp. to 8.6% among women (data by Federal Ministry for Labour, Social Affairs, and Consumer Protection). Considering age, younger people are more frequently jobless than the average. Among Vienna's 15-19 and 20- to 24-year-old men unemployment rates have risen from 7.3% and 12.1% in 2008 to 8% and 16.5% in 2013 but also young women’s unemployment rates rose in the same period (7.6%, 7.5% in 2008, resp. 7.8%, 10.6% in 2013) according to national unemployment statistics. Interestingly enough, when applying international standards of unemployment calculation unemployment rates of both 15-19 year old young women and men are higher than those of the older cohorts. For Vienna this tendency is even more pronounced since unemployment is generally higher in Vienna than for the whole of Austria: around 20% of male and female youngsters aged 15-19 (sample size too small to break it down according to sex) in employment (including apprenticeship) or seeking employment or apprenticeship count as unemployed. This is mainly due to two reasons: (1) Those youngsters seeking apprenticeships do not count as unemployed; (2) many of the 15-19 year old have not yet acquired an entitlement to unemployment benefits; therefore, they do not have an incentive to register as such at the PES (information provided by Käthe Knittler, expert at Statistics Austria). In both modes of calculation unemployment rates among young women aged 15-19 are higher than those of their male counterparts whereas unemployment rates among the 20-24 men are higher than those of women of the same age cohort. Unfortunately, unemployment statistics at district level are not available to give a more precise estimate.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registered Unemployed (PES)</th>
<th>ILO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008 (Vienna)</td>
<td>2013 (Vienna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 (f)</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 (f)</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 (m)</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 (m)</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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Also according to the welfare office’s representative girls and young women find themselves more often in unemployment as there is less demand for professions (such as office clerk, Int_8, 20) that are preferred by young women. This also means that finding an apprenticeship is more difficult for girls than for boys as also the statistical evidence proves. Moreover, girls tend to work in professions that offer less income (Int_2, 23; Mairhuber/Papouschek 2010). It has to be considered that apprenticeships are still the main educational scheme for working class people in Austria; e.g., in 2009, 68% of all 15- and 16-year-olds whose parents completed apprenticeship training or a secondary vocational education were currently enrolled in a vocational school for apprentices (Bruneforth/Lassnigg 2012).

10.3.1.3 Income situation, material deprivation and Social benefits

In Simmering, average income is below (Viennese) average: The yearly net income is 18.780 Euro (men’s average is around 4.000 Euro higher than women’s) in comparison to 20.685 for the whole of Vienna (here, men’s income exceeds women’s even by more than 5.000 Euro

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303 (http://www.statistik.at/web_de/static/arbeitsmarktstatistiken_2013_detaillergebnisse_f_arbeitslosigkeit_073890.xlsx)

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
per year) (Vienna Statistical Yearbook 2013, 64). This makes Simmering one of the five Viennese districts with the lowest yearly (net) income (cf. Viennese Statistical Yearbook 2013, 147). Not surprisingly, as one youth worker points out, is that young people’s income – be it from apprenticeship training or from “regular” employment – represents an indispensable contribution to their families’ total income in many cases (Int_2, 23). The difficulties to make a living from a low income also results from the rise of (housing) rents - though rents in Simmering have been rising less than in other Viennese working class districts where strong gentrification processes took place during the last decade. The rise of rents and living costs in general especially affects welfare recipients. For them, any kind of additional cost such as the beginning of the school year when new materials are needed or when an excursion to a museum exceeds available household budgets can lead to a financial crisis. Another particularly interesting aspect related to economic hardship and social status symbolism should be mentioned at this point, as evidence from stakeholder interviews suggests: Children and adolescents from working class background who attend secondary academic schools are more at risk of facing difficulties to keep pace with the others pupils’ dress style meaning an additional (financial) burden for their families. The permanent economic hardship has an impact on the lives of children and adolescents, especially in a society where participation is closely linked to consumption, as the youth welfare officer points out. He also mentions girls stealing cosmetics to keep up with their peers (the district’s police informs the youth welfare office about every single act of delinquency committed by adolescents, Int_8, 18). Constant financial pressure also influences the parents’ ability to care for and support their children and constrains their abilities to educate their children as almost no time and energy is left to give advice and support on a daily basis (Int_2, 2). Data that show the growing number of working poor in Vienna confirms the youth welfare officer’s observations. In the last decade, the number of working poor in Vienna has risen continuously; from 1.744 women and 2.036 men in 2001 to 4.766 women and 5.130 men in 2008 (cf. Vienna Social Report 2012, 30).

Simmering is one of those four Viennese districts with the highest rate of “needs-based minimum income” recipients (“Bedarfsorientierte Mindestsicherung”) with a share of 8,3 % compared to 6,1 % for the whole of Vienna (Viennese Social Report, 2012)304. According to the district’s youth welfare officer the number of people in difficult economic and social conditions has risen significantly over the last decade as more clients apply for financial or material support from the local welfare office. However, non-take-up or “hidden” take up is a major issue. Whereas some families contact the local youth/social welfare office to ask for financial support or where to get cheap (or even free) food/clothes, others – especially middle-class families in financially critical situations – are ashamed to take up the offered services (Int_8, 11). According to Krisch and Schröer (2010) collective cooking in some youth centres became sort of a “free meal” for young people in difficult economic situations (also a form of “hidden” take-up of material support), an observation shared by an interviewed youth worker:

“We have slices of bread and butter, as an additional offer. (...) They [the young people] pounce on this mini-offer; this is crazy. The first thing they ask for: ‘Do you have something to eat today?’ (...) Youngsters from “a good stall”, from an economically secured [family], they do not eat this. Maybe yes, they try it, one slice. But the others, they devour the bread, 3, 4 slices, they can’t get enough of it.” (Int_2, 3)
Concerning non-take-up of programmes Karin Kuchler and Alban Knecht (2013, 6) came across the phenomenon of “disappeared girls”. Those are early school leavers or NEETs who “disappear” for some years, maybe work in the family or become mothers. This leads to an underrepresentation of girls in training programmes. The research of Bacher et al. (2013) confirms that very little is known about this group. The disappeared girls were also referred to in interviews and informal talks for this research report. Youth centres – as will be explained in more detail below – seem to be a boys’ domain. Especially, “older” female youngsters (from 16, 17 on) suddenly do not show up any more in local publicly accessible youth clubs. Furthermore, the youth welfare officer observed a rising number of adolescents from difficult economic background suffering from psychological problems what could – at least partly – be attributed to a rising consciousness on these issues during the last decades. The young people mostly suffer from depressions, a condition that makes it particularly challenging to support them as they (tend to) shut themselves away (Int 8, 20). According to Krisch and Schröer (2010, 47) too much attention is put on youth unemployment as a “biographical burden” whereas young people’s ways of coping with poverty, the role of welfare institutions in this process as well as the implications of poverty for young people’s daily lives are almost ignored. Furthermore, the authors criticise the narrowing down of coping strategies (for youth unemployment) to training and working offers instead of investigating individual and collective consequences of youth unemployment. They point out that experiences of disadvantage during youth can lead to psychosocial impairment, constrains young people’s self-confidence and – of course – their capacity to act (Richter 2005 cit. in Krisch/Schröer 2010, 48). This is mainly because poverty often comes along with shame. In order to hide a difficult economic situation, young people use all their money to pretend a “normal” situation in front of their peers by e.g. using their last money to buy brand-name clothes leaving no money for other things such as food or for paying the cell phone’s bill. The less self-confidence young people gain from participating in the working world, in education, and in the social spheres within and outside the family, the more important consumer goods and specific “youth culture accessories” become to “defend” one’s self-confidence and identity (Krisch/Schröer 2010, 49). Within this context, objects that might be considered mere consume objects can also have a more complex function, such as mobile phones which are needed to stay in touch with peers and friends (Krisch/Schröer 2013, 49).

10.3.1.4 Political situation

In the last Vienna state elections of 2010, the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) again lost their absolute majority mostly to the Freedom Party (FPÖ), an extremely right-wing populist party. This situation puts the ruling SPÖ in a position of constant pressure. Also in Simmering the Freedom Party gained more than one third of the total votes (35,5%) while the social democrats lost around twelve per cent (comparing elections from 2005 and 2010). According to the elections research institute SORA’s analysis the Freedom Party’s “promise” to stop or at least to make further immigration to Austria as difficult as possible represented one of the two most important reasons to vote for them (right after breaking the absolute majority of the Social Democratic Party) (cf. Analysis of the Vienna state elections 2010306).

The Freedom Party was especially successful in gaining votes from young males, from people who traditionally have rather been voting for the social democrats as well as from people who are less content with Vienna’s overall living quality (cf. SORA 2010). For instance, whereas only 14 % of all 16- to 20-year-old women living in Vienna voted for the Freedom Party in 2010, the share among same-age-males was 25 % (cf. SORA 2010, 2).
The interviewed local stakeholders talked about the district population’s ambivalent positions towards the Freedom Party’s program. On the one hand, a number of people – among them also people with migrant background – agree with the party’s anti-immigration policy as they fear negative consequences, mainly stronger competition on the labour market (and also more pressure on the housing market). On the other hand, people with migrant background themselves are afraid of being kicked out of the public housing if the Freedom Party gets more votes. The interviewed borough mayor stated that just before the last Vienna state elections took place she had to assure various people that they cannot be moved out of their public housing apartments “just like this”. The success of the Freedom Party in the last elections puts the social democrats – including Simmering’s social democrats jeopardised of losing the majority in the district following the next election in 2015 - into a defensive position, particularly with respect to integration and migration issues. Since parts of the local youth work is financed out of district funds and parts out of municipal funds, it is likely that the direction of youth work will be altered depending on the political balance of power on municipal and district level and its funding policies for youth work.

Table 2: Results of the Viennese State Elections for the district of Simmering

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10.3.2 Selection criteria for Simmering

**Heterogenous boroughs:** In spite of the statistical data that assumes Simmering to be a disadvantaged area, it has at the same time a quite heterogeneous structure, where traditional working class neighbourhoods exist side-by-side of petty-bourgeois areas. Also, some big public and private companies have their headquarters and/or production facilities in Simmering though it is questionable to what extent locals actually benefit from this as company taxes are collected on city or even federal level. Traditional garden centers producing food are close by, too.

**Youth policies:** With regard to policies towards young people, Simmering is quite a resourceful district, not only in terms of “quantity” – there are more youth centers in Simmering than in any other Viennese district – but also in terms of “quality”. In Simmering, youth policies and youth programs cover a broad variety of youth work such as “traditional” youth centers, outreach/mobile youth work, special offers for children, girls (offering exclusive girls spaces), young mothers, youth work with children of refugees. Mobile and outreach youth work takes place in public and semi-public spaces and therefore offers low-threshold access for all kinds of young people. Additionally, different social programs coordinated on municipal level started recently in the district. The “Step 2 Job” program aims to improve the labour market integration for long-term unemployed (funded by the ESF and the Public Employment Service); the “Youth Coaching” (“Jugendcoaching”) program supports young people that have just completed compulsory education and are uncertain about

their future (educational) choices. Furthermore, the urban development agency is active in this district (“Stadtentwicklung–Gebietsbetreuung”). The agency provides locals with legal counselling in renting/housing matters. It also – what is more relevant for our research – acts as a facilitator in development processes for public and semi-public district spaces. The agency takes part in the “Regionalforum”, a local network of public institutions meeting once a month to share and spread information (more about the “Regionalforum” see below). The borough mayor herself-as various interviewed stakeholders in Simmering’s youth programs indicated - is strongly committed to and supportive towards youth concerns.

**Hardships in Simmering:** The economic hardship of some residents along with widespread racism seem to be the main obvious problems for parts of the population in this Viennese district. The economic difficulties are mainly due to low income and a higher percentage of people in unemployment resulting from the higher vulnerability of people with lower (formal) educational attainment to become and stay unemployed as in the case of Simmering’s population. Growing up in a low-income family often means having difficulties to keep up with the consume level of one’s peers and puts adolescents and their parents under financial pressure which causes stress, as an interviewed youth worker and police officer point out (cf. Int_2; 2; Int_9, 22). These parents face economic hardship on a daily basis which eventually may lead to situations where they cannot provide enough (financial but also) emotional support and guidance for their children. Furthermore, the moving in of new inhabitants, sometimes with a migrant background and especially families into public housing buildings leads to conflicts as the “newcomers’” time structures and habits are seemingly different from the long-term residents who are mostly older (“native”) Viennese with a low tolerance level and a very high need for rest and quietness. We observed that where poor infrastructure (in terms of public and green spaces) for children, young people, and families with younger children exists conflict potential is higher. Many people with different needs and expectations such as families with small children, adolescents (of different gender!), dog owners or elderly people are urged to use limited public spaces (Int_2, 10).

**Institutional landscape in and around Simmering:** Considering the issues we are investigating within the SocIEtY project, the relevant institutions in the chosen research area are the local youth centres and the outreach youth work they offer in several parks in the district. One local youth centre “Balu&Du” also runs the so-called “Fair Play Team” providing outreach social work and conflict mediation in (semi-) public spaces. This program was introduced in several districts including Simmering and is entirely financed from the district budget. Most local youth centres are run by “Verein Wiener Jugendzentren” providing open youth work and as such attracting particularly disadvantaged (male) youngsters as they offer space to meet friends and open-minded adults you can talk to in an easy-going atmosphere and without compulsion to buy. The open youth work offers leisure activities like sports and games in youth centres and in parks. The services are not oriented towards formal education or employability but focused on development of every-day competencies and skills, flourishing by offering new experiences, and emancipation (Oehme, Beran and Krisch, 2007). According to polls among youth workers about gender-specific usage of youth centres, girls often are underrepresented in the activities offered daily; in some institutions, activities and space are offered especially designed for girls (BWJF 2011, 427-428).

In addition, we conducted interviews with the Youth and Family Welfare Office, in charge of material and non-material support services such as counselling for families with difficulties, as well as with the Agency for District Management and Urban Renewal (“GB3*11- Gebietsbetreuung, Stadterneuierung”). Apart from these institutions, three other

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The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
institutions are of relevance for the social network analysis. The Municipal Department for Health Care and Social Welfare Planning is “in charge of the strategic planning of Vienna’s health care and social welfare policies” (Summary of the Vienna Social Welfare Report 2012, 15309). The Municipal Department for Social Welfare, Social and Public Health Law provides social and public health services and “operates twelve social centres (as at November 2012) and is in charge of granting means-tested basic benefit” (ibid.). Finally, the Vienna Social Welfare Fund (FSW) (“Fonds Soziales Wien”) operates in three main areas, namely long-time nursing care and assistance, assistance to the disabled, and assistance for homeless people. The City of Vienna (ibid.) supervises its operation and finances.

With regard to the Austrian educational system, it should be mentioned that compulsory schooling is organized and funded by each province – in Vienna by the “Stadtschulrat”, the Viennese Education Authority – whereas secondary and tertiary education are federal competencies. Consequently, school politics are foremost shaped by decisions on provincial or city level with (almost) no possibility to adapt them to local conditions or needs. Only the school buildings themselves are partly maintained out of district funds. In contrast to the educational system which is strongly influenced by top-down policies, the “decentralized structure of the Employment Services allows cooperation with federal and regional organisation” (Atzmüller/Krischek 2010, 35 cited in Knecht/Kuchler 2013, 24). However, decentralisation stops at regional level. Matters of youth employment and unemployment are organised regionally centralised for the whole of Vienna in one public employment service for young people (see Knecht/Kuchler 2013, 17-18).

Cooperation(s) within the local social support network: The youth centres in the chosen district are well connected. Apart from the monthly meetings of the “Regionalforum” (see details below), some youth centres also cooperate in specific projects such as the re-make of a skate ramp together with its users – some local adolescents – which was supported by youth workers of two different local youth centers. The “Regionalforum” (“regional/district forum” or “panel” in English) is a network of public institutions including youth centres resp. youth workers involved in outreach youth work, youth workers from schools, conflict counsellors of the Vienna public housing institution, representatives from community colleges/adult education centres and the Austrian Integration Fund, the borough mayor and even religious institutions. The main function of the forum is to share and spread all kinds of information that are relevant for and facilitate the work of the participants resp. participating institutions. This can be very specific information on a youngster in difficulties (where e.g. school social workers exchange information with outreach youth workers and the representative of the district’s youth welfare office to get a more exhaustive view on his/her situation). Another example of a commonly developed project was the establishment of a shared room in a refugee housing for activities for children/adolescence offered by two local youth centres and that the residents can use as well on their own. This room was the outcome of negotiations between two (or more) youth centres and the local immigration office (Int_1, 13). Another outcome of the “Regionalforum” was the cooperation between “Balu & du” – a local youth centre and our gatekeeper – and the district’s development agency to design public spaces for children and young people in a participative way. To figure out which institutions could collaborate on certain tasks is another aim of the forum’s regular meetings. They take place once per month, every time at a different institution. The main “organizer” – organizing mainly consists of keeping the e-mail-list up-to-date – is the district’s development agency.


The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
10.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

Mobile out-reach youth work in public and semi-public spaces (mainly parks and “everywhere where youngsters are”) and youth centres in Simmering are the starting point of our local social support network analysis. Mobile youth work and youth centres are low threshold institutions where participation is voluntary and free of cost. It particularly addresses youngsters from disadvantaged background with the goal to expand youngsters’ scope of action, supporting appropriation/negotiation of public spaces and its usage by different groups. Eventually, youth centers are in general important actors in the district and serve as hubs. They play an important role mostly as mediators but also as supporters (as for the young people participating in the young parliament) and “framers” or designers of public spaces, together with children and adolescents.

Starting from youth work’s two (among others) core themes - spatial appropriation and “learning” democracy - we will present and discuss two programmes respectively two policy responses to “limit-situations” youth centres in Simmering focus on. First, we will deal with issues of spatial appropriation, conflicts on public and semi-public spaces and the role of social and youth work to solve those. This also includes conflicts of multicultural and intergenerational cohabitation reported many times by different interviewees. Initiatives tackling this issue can be interpreted as bottom-up approaches resulting from the urgency solving day-to-day problems of living together. Second, we will describe and briefly discuss the youth parliament “Word-up!”, an initiative fostering the political participation of young people in the chosen district. This one can be rather interpreted as a “top-down” initiative aiming at the democratic education of young people who - in Austria- have the right to vote from 16 years onwards. In both of these thematic fields, youth centres play a crucial role for preparing and implementing tools that shall help to resolve the respective limit-situations.

10.4.1 Spatial appropriation and outreach youth work

The focus of our case study is on youth policies at district level which are of course strongly related to other policy areas such as social work and urban development policies, education resp. school policies as well as – though maybe to a lesser extent – social welfare policies. As we decided to cooperate with a youth center that also does many outreach youth work in (semi-) public spaces with children and adolescents, urban planning and urban development policies was considered in our local network analysis. Based on our interviews with local stakeholders, we can say that conflict and conflict potentials in the district arise manifold in (semi-) public spaces - particularly where poor infrastructure, high-usage of public spaces converge with resource-poor residents and their different needs resp. ways of using these spaces. Consequently, the district administration supports outreach youth work quite strongly and strengthened its institutional importance. In its attempts to solve conflicts the district administration for instance introduced and finances the “Fair Play Team” (outreach work in (semi-) public spaces provided by the local youth center “Balu & Du”).

At the same time, outreach youth work also serves as a mediator between children/young people and (district) politics and informs the latter. In this way, it facilitates civic involvement and bottom-up processes. Especially in the chosen district, administration (as well as the borough mayor) are quite open to listen to the concerns, problems etc. especially young people express. However, being asked to participate in processes with already fixed outcome (such as the realization of some illustrations on a fence together with children as an “assignment” of the district administration) puts on the question of instrumentalization of children. Another critical aspect is how the outcome of area zoning to specific population
groups should be assessed. Who has the power and influence to “conquer” spaces with the back-up of institutions? The dog holders, the older population, the kids, the girls or the boys or …? And who are the ones representing the needs and aspirations of particular groups? In the end of such area zoning processes you have space dedicated for a particular usage: the dog holders have their fenced dog zone, the older population enjoy flowerbeds instead of simple meadows. The boys get a football cage; the kids get a playground. The simple meadow – a space that could be open for various usages – disappears because it is a contested field. This means that self-organised conflict solution; the democratic contestation among different stakeholders is surrendered and becomes institutionally framed.

Youth centers serve as spaces of social inclusion where young people can meet their peers in a non-consumerist space, where they can simply enjoy their spare time, and – moreover – get offers they (probably) will not get at home. Youth centers are places that grant access to different resources in terms of materials /infrastructure but also in terms of seeking advice (from the youth workers or by simply talking to other adolescents) and spaces of social interaction, for discussions, and for sharing common interests (e.g. for playing games you need a group for or playing music together). The youth centers’ aim is to broaden resources and enhance the capabilities’ of the young people (with regards to many different areas of their lives)- what corresponds with the aims of the SocIEtY project. Youth work also facilitates social inclusion as it supports and gives advice to young people so that they can shape their lives in a way that is more fulfilling for them (and which “they have reason to value”). In this way, outreach or low-threshold youth work also fosters social and intergenerational justice.

10.4.1.1 Housing and demographic change

Gentrification processes in Vienna’s traditional working class districts and areas made many people with migrant background and families with children move out of their previous living areas to other districts such as Simmering. Here, rents are still lower and new public housing projects offer (more) affordable living space. However, long-term residents - “native” Austrians of higher age - do sometimes not warmly welcome the new residents. To shed a light on the shift of housing patterns resp. the structure of residents in peripheral city areas, the study of Reinprecht (Reinprecht 2010) gives important insights. From the 1960ies on, people from Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey, the two “traditional “migrant groups in Vienna, started moving to districts located at the edges of Vienna such as Simmering, moving out of their flats in more central city areas that usually also came along with (rather) bad housing conditions. Turkish families rather tended to move to specific buildings blocks/areas whereas people with Ex-Yugoslavian background used to spread (Reinprecht 2010, 36). There are two main reasons for this shift: the opening of social housing for people with a different citizenship than Austrian and the improvement of the economic situation among these communities, which made it possible to opt for flats in co-operative ownership (Reinprecht 2010, 36 et seqq.). Both were mainly built in decentralized city areas where more free space is available than in the central city districts. Moving to these decentralized neighborhoods, families and individuals with migrant background met the long-term residents who are of higher age, almost exclusively without migrant background, living in this neighbourhood for decades. These observations are very useful for understanding the apparently on-going (potential for) conflicts among residents as repeatedly reported by different interview partners. Also, the district’s youth welfare office talks about regular angry phone calls in which neighbours complain about breaches of the peace as children run around after 10 p.m. and sometimes also express concerns if children are really cared for by their parents (Int_8, 5). Due to the many complains about the non-respect of resting time in the evenings, the borough mayor even introduced a new service. A team of counsellors walks through the
Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

public housing areas from Monday to Saturday between 4 p.m. and 10 p.m. from June to September (at 10 p.m. the police is supposed to “take over” conflict solution, before 4 p.m. residents can still call the district administration). Another relevant aspect mentioned by the interviewed borough mayor is the ageing of the residents in public housing buildings leading to (more or less) regular conflicts between residents. The ageing long-term residents have a “higher need for rest and calm” which results in many complaints about breaches of the peace.

According to three interviewees, the borough mayor, the district’s youth welfare officer, and a school social worker, racism against migrant-background families seems to be more widely spread in Simmering than in similar working class districts in Vienna. Long-term residents complain regularly, mostly about noises in the evenings (especially in the semi-public areas around the council housing projects) and noises coming from neighbouring apartments or “children screaming around all the time” (Int_8, 5). The interviewed borough mayor sees too much difference in “life styles” or “day structures” between the (Austrian) long-term residents and the one of those newcomers with allegedly migrant background. Whereas some residents tend to use the open-air spaces until late in the evening, others pledge for 8 p.m. as the hour to leave the public space and stay quiet at home (being 10 p.m. the “absolute” beginning of rest time). The borough mayor indirectly refers to these different usages of public space as a class problem: She is reminded of her “own childhood in the life style of the migrant families”.

Using green and public non-commercial spaces extensively can be a necessity and / or a choice. Children accompanied mostly by their mothers need “fresh air” and room for play and for cavort; children and youngsters have to get out of narrowness, and limitedness of their flats; however, increasingly public spaces become restricted, dedicated and controlled. Those in need or choosing the public space as “their space” become driven out.

10.4.1.2 Gendered Spaces

Gender represents a crucial category for youth work as girls as they grow older attend youth centers less and less and move to different (semi-) public spaces than parks or youth centers. Therefore, adolescent girls represent a distinct target group which is often addressed by specific youth work or girls work offers. The notion of the so-called “disappeared girls” (“verschwundene Mädchen”) was already mentioned in the Austrian WP3 report (Knecht/Kuchler 2014, 21), and came up again during the local social support network research of WP4. Various reasons for the “disappearance” of adolescent girls seem to be possible or to intermingle. One reason could be a school change or the beginning of an apprenticeship training as the Austrian education system requires a school change at the age of 14 (in case you do not attend a secondary academic school which are mainly attended by students from mid-class families). Upper secondary schools – more often attended by girls than by boys - involve more afternoon classes and usually a higher learn expense, both shifting the structure of the girls’ spare time (Int_3, 6). In addition, attending school in a different district changes the “daily routes” of the girls who then might spend their spare time in a different place. As adolescent girls begin to enter sexual relationships and spend a bigger part of their spare time with their boyfriends, “girls only” places become less attractive to them. This correlation was mentioned by an interviewed (male) youth worker (Int_3, 3) but was contradicted by another (female) youth worker (Int_3, 4) as, even if girls are in relationships, they still visit the “flash” girls’ café or they come back to it once the relationship ended (see also Bitzan 2010, 24 who opposes this assertion too).

A very common policy to address girls is to offer specific time slots exclusively for girls in youth centres as well as “girls only” spaces (BWJF 2011, 418) which are sometimes open to young mothers or women with small children too (as women are in many social groups still mainly in charge of child care). However, youth work with girls in an understanding that
acknowledges and reaches beyond the limit-situations girls encounter in our society goes further than solely offering girls-only space – though this is an important stake. It refers to the recognition of girls as girls in youth work, to the enhancement of girls' presence and symbolism in youth and youth work and in the society as a whole (in public space, in language, etc.). It fosters the enhancement of equal opportunities with respect to external conversion factors but also with respect to the recognition of female life course experiences (such as care). It shall facilitate rooms for experimentation and at the same time offer support and foothold (Bitzan 2010). Batsleer (2013, 22) gives some general characteristic explanations for emancipatory work with girls; principals that are often rhetorically admitted but not easy to implement in a daily youth work practice: it offers girls the opportunity to meet without pressures from boys and men. It offers girls the opportunity to build up and value female friendship and support. It enables the creation of a safe environment in which self-confidence can develop and new skills can be tested. It enables the creation of an environment in which silences can be broken and difficult challenging questions explored.

10.4.2 The youth parliament “Word up!”310 as a means of political participation of young people

In terms of empowerment of the young people towards political representation, the youth parliament ”Word up!” should be mentioned. “Word up!” takes place throughout Vienna and engages young people of 12 or 13 years who are in the second last school year of compulsory education. Teachers/school directors, youth workers as supporters of the students, and local institutions might be involved in the implementation of the young people’s demands in the course of the project. In Simmering, the borough mayor participates personally in the final “word up” plenum; other important local institutions – such as the municipal transport services or the municipal gardening office (who are of particular importance as they design the public spaces where young people spend lots of time) take part, too. The youth parliament takes place every other year and allows adolescents to raise their voice and claim changes that affect their day-to-day life and immediate surroundings. In the following, “Word up” will be described briefly.

In total, the “Word up” youth parliament stretches over a period of nine months (one school year), addresses all seventh-grade-pupils in the district. An “organization team” consisting of six youth workers (two youth workers of three different youth centers in the district) guides them through and supports them within the whole process. First, the organization team informs teachers (and directors) about the process and contacts the “delegates” who will represent their class (elected class representative can serve as delegates or the class can opt for the election of a different person). The district’s secondary schools are divided into three sub-groups (by district area), each sub-group being supported by one social/youth worker of the organization team. In a first workshop with the delegates, the organization team explains the aim of “Word up” and provides the young people with some general information about the district’s political structure(s) and tries to figure out what ideas the young people themselves have on (district) politics. First ideas and demands raised by the delegates are already collected. In the following month, the organization team does a first exploration in specific areas, which the delegates have demands/suggestions for. Subsequently, demands are formulated and grouped in three topics namely „living together/social matters“, „environment and transport“, „leisure and park“. The demands are then presented (each by one youth delegate) at the first plenum session with the borough mayor, the representatives of all political parties in the district, and the district youth representative. After a period of about

three months, the second plenum session takes place where the borough mayor, together with other district politicians and experts from the district administration, reacts to the raised demands and suggestions. At the end, the youngsters decide on a few issues they want to have implemented. Moreover, details concerning the implementation of these issues are discussed with the representatives in charge. At the end of the “Word up” process, all participants meet for a last plenum session. Here, the implementation of demands that delegates and politicians agreed on are presented and those that may be realized at a later point are discussed. This last plenum session gives all delegates the possibility to give feedback and share their experiences on the “Word up” process (cf. concept “Word up” youth parliament 2013). In this context, the district administration’s support of the youth parliament “Word up!” can also be perceived as a way of educating young people towards better conflict solving (skills), besides the aspect of creating a better understanding for political processes and decisions. In this way, the administration’s policy has quite a strong educational aspect too.

10.5 Participation

With respect to participation and voice in decision making processes or in phases of designing and preparing decisions (i.e. opportunity and process freedom) we have to differentiate between several levels and aspects:

(1) What are the different settings of participation? What are the contents they may decide upon?
(2) Who are the youngsters excluded or included from /into representation and participation?
(3) What forms of participation and representation are at stake? What influence do youngsters have to choose and shape different procedures?

As already outlined in the WP 3 Austrian report young people’s influence on government policies and strategies is very limited (Knecht/Kuchler 2013, 27-28). What about the involvement of young people on district and local level? In the context of our chosen district Simmering, we focused on two forms of participation and youngsters’ voicing: the youth parliament “Word up” and the participation in designing specific spatial projects in the district, usually engendered and supported by the district’s urban development agency and often engaging local youth centres.

10.5.1 “Word up and learning democracy”

“Word up and learning democracy” gives the young people the possibility to raise their voice and to be heard, particularly being heard by persons in power positions such as the borough mayor or representatives of public services. As an interviewed youth worker explains (Int_5, 4) this has a positive influence on their self-confidence: “And the kids really had the feeling of being heard.”311 It is the young people – and not the politicians, youth workers or other representatives, who raise demands after doing structured walk-throughs in their neighbourhoods what engenders a connection between the spaces of their daily life and the raised issues.

Still, critical light should be shed on the “educative” or “pedagogical” aspect of the youth parliament. In the discussions about how demands could be implemented, the students are supposed to be treated as “equals” with whom one can discuss “like an adult”, at the same time, they might be demanded to accept a “no” and respect constraints. At this point, the aspect of “learning how to do democracy” rather than really having a say and a voice, as

311 „Und dieses Mal haben die Kids echt das Gefühl gehabt, sie sind gehört worden.“ (Int_5, 4)
already mentioned in the Austrian WP3 report (cf. Knecht/Kuchler 2014, 34), comes into play. As an interview youth worker form the “flash girls’ café” states: “I don’t know, to be honest, I’m a bit skeptical. Still, the people, at least the adults you talk to, they think it’s great and they somehow exercise democracy a little bit.” (Int_3, 16)312 The following quote of Simmering’s borough mayor expresses this “educational” aspect very well: „Also to show them [the young people]: What is democracy? How does a district work? And how can we come into contact?”313 (Int_6, 5).

In terms of “having a say” (process freedom) the young people can prioritize different issues, the politicians or youth workers listen. At the end, however, it is a collective decision what demands are implemented and the question to what extent the youngsters’ aspirations can be “overruled” by factual constraints of the participating politicians and other representatives becomes crucial. “Not all demands are implemented but several are. From 17, ten are considered and five are implemented” a youth worker concedes (Int_5, 4).314 In this context, it should be mentioned that in Austria, young people could already vote from the age of 16 what somehow boosted politicians’ interest in this new group of voters. “Word up” could potentially work as an “introduction” into political processes although the participants are still very young (around 13 or 14 years old).

The desired way of participation is clearly shaped by the institutionalized setting of the whole process in which the pedagogical aim of “getting an insight into politics” and “learning democracy” is an important aspect. The young people should understand that demands are often constrained by a lack of resources. In some years the youth parliament is suspended, as the young people tend to repeat themselves, complained the interviews borough mayor (Int_6, 5). One of the supporting youth workers confirms this observation: “And then it was suspended because three years ago, it really was only the repetition of the repetition of the repetition. The young people did not want to talk. Really, it was a bit of a flop.” (Int_5, 1).315 However, every year different youngsters participate in the word-up process; obviously focusing on the same demands from year to year. The quote “the young people did not want to talk” indicates a certain disappointment and frustration among the participating youngsters what is comprehensible when repeated demands are not implemented. The suspension of the youth parliament could be interpreted as a negative and pedagogically corrective measure to the way the youngsters participate within the youth parliament.

Together with the educational or pedagogical aspect of the participatory process, the idea of “activation”, as often used in employment and training policies, comes into play:

“And if there are smart politicians in charge of youth politics, they do use the chance to activate their voters what is important.”316

Here it should be mentioned that Austria lowered the election age to 16 in 2007 (cf. Perlot and Zandonella, 2009 cited in Knecht/Kuchler 2013, 26) leading to a higher interest among politicians for young people. From this point of view, politicians could also instrumentalize participatory projects. They indicate giving a voice to young people and really care about the needs and demands of their voters as the quote of the borough mayor depicts quite well: “It was my first concern to come into contact with the youth.” (Int_6, 5).317

312 „Ich weiß nicht, ich muss ehrlich sagen, ich bin ein bisschen skeptisch. Ja, aber gut, den Leuten, zu mindestens die Erwachsenen, mit denen man redet, die finden das einmal super und wird halt Demokratie geübt ein bisschen.” (Int_3, 16)
313 „Ihnen auch zu zeigen: Was ist Demokratie? Wie funktioniert ein Bezirk? Und wie können wir miteinander in Kontakt treten?” (Int_6, 5)
314 „Und es wird nicht alles umgesetzt, aber es wird einiges umgesetzt. Also von ihren 17 Forderungen wird auf zehn eingegangen und fünf werden umgesetzt.” (Int_5, 4)
315 „Und dann ist es ausgelaufen, weil vor drei Jahren, ist es echt nur eine Wiederholung der Wiederholung der Wiederholung gewesen. Die Jugendlichen wollten nicht reden. Also es war wirklich ein bisschen ei Reifall.” (Int_5, 1)
316 „Und wenn es da ein gescheite JugendpolitikerInnen gibt, dann nutzen die auch die Chance, dass sie da WählerInnen einfach auch aktivieren, was wichtig ist.” (Int_3, 17)
317 „Mir war es ein Anliegen, erstens einmal mit der Jugend in Kontakt zu treten.” (Int_6, 5)
10.5.2 Public Space and Youth’s voice

Some participatory processes are also launched by the district’s urban development agency, often engaging local youth centres, for instance to redesign or design a public space. Usually, the youth workers get in touch with the young people (or children), ask them about their wishes and then take these to the agency. As in many contexts, the youth workers act as promoters for the young people’s needs, fostering bottom-up inclusion and participation processes. They are the contact persons for any kind of demands as young people usually do not care who actually would be the right person in charge.

In the case of participation processes in urban development, participation of young people is restricted to concrete issues such as the (re-) design of a playground or park. Youth centres invest time and energy to reach young people and to include them into processes of consultation, however again, the scope of decision making is very restricted. As an example: a skate-ramp should be redesigned. For several months, balu&du together with another local youth centre collected proposals and opinions from youngsters: how should the place look like; what ramps would be needed. What remained uncontested however were the overall costs of the ramp and youngsters’ participation in implementing the process. After consultation respectively “choosing” between different forms of ramps, the participation process ends, and the implementation is handed over to professionals. The same problem came up when designing a park and its facilities in a gender-sensitive manner. Youth workers tried to interview through out-reach work girls and their ideas for designing a public space that is often divided only between children and boys. The children have their swings and climbing nets; the (adolescent) boys get a skate ramp or a football and basketball cage; the girls are somewhere in-between. The project aimed at particularly address girls’ needs for a public space. In the end, some suggestions were taken up, for instance, a hammock that is not easily reached by children and that offers a safer and more comfortable space apart from the boys’ space but at the same time gives girls the opportunity to overview the whole area. The difficulties from the engaged youth workers’ point of view was to “activate” girls for formulating their interest and opinions. This movement from silence to speech is a crucial point – particularly for girls who seem to disappear at a certain age from public space as was mentioned various times by our interview partners. The other deadlock was that girls are asked for their opinion but there is no sustainable strategy of keeping their interest and involve them into concrete implementation processes. Again, you are asked, give your opinion and then the profs take over. This reminds us of how justice can be perceived from the point of view of the producers and not only from users. What matters for justice from this point of view is not only the un-equal distribution of opportunities but inequalities in the availability of meaningful contribution (Gomberg 2007).

10.5.3 Forms of participation and representation at stake

Participation to feed concrete policy steps is rather fostered in institutionalized settings such as the youth parliament or within the rather short- to middle-term design processes initiated by the district’s urban development agency. In both, participation is possible in terms of raising demands or wishes while it stays unclear to what extent the implementation is constrained by financial and other “practical” impediments. However, an interviewed youth worker cites her superior who participated in one youth parliament session. The quotation refers to the respect and attention officials (in this case from the Viennese Transport Service) show the adolescents when explaining the different restrictions of their daily working routine and decisions:
“And he said, he had never experienced this before that somebody from the Viennese public transport services talked in such a way, so positively, really explaining. Because usually, in other districts, nobody [of the transport services] shows up because he/she is not interested (Int_6, 13)

Getting an insight into constrains makes political decisions more comprehensible – and can potentially empower the young people – as a youth worker of the girls’ café points out:

“Also, I think that the results [of the youth parliament] sometimes can be quite frustrating if you get many “nos”. However, I know this from other districts, that the adolescents comprehend what it’s all about. In the fifth district, for example, they redesigned a park together with the youth parliament. They got a certain budget. This was really a huge sum for the adolescents. When they saw how much it costs, [they realized that] it actually was very little. (...) Therefore, they had to prioritize. And I think that these experiences do help to understand politics a bit.” (Int_3, 17)

Another critical point is the youngsters’ contribution going beyond their opinion and including their involvement into the concrete implementation of ideas. Therefore, participation remains rather superficial; youngsters’ voices may be heard but it remains open if they are listened to. The other question is youth’s representation in specific projects fostering participation. The youth parliament for instance is designed only for a particular age group. The district’s urban development agency’s practice to cooperate with youth centres for participatory processes could also lead to the exclusion of particular (groups of) kids or adolescents (such as girls who are not allowed to go to youth centres or to participate in their activities) if they are not particularly addressed. Apart from girls, young people with another first language than German might be disadvantaged in getting actively involved in such participatory processes as they feel less able to voice their suggestions or.

These two examples are rather institutionalised settings of conceding participation: On the one hand, youngsters’ voices are channeled into representative settings replacing direct disputation and participation ends BEFORE the implementation of demands. On the other hand, the examples show that it is difficult to reach beyond “realistic” aims in participatory processes and to come to those out-spoken aspirations of young people that at the same time reflect upon their limit-situations. As Walther stated: (2012, 200) the “reference to young people’s skills and knowledge […] is used to legitimise limitations rather than possibilities for participation. The majority of youth participation programs intend to inform, educate and teach young people how to participate in predefined ways in regard to predefined issues whereby they risk missing what is subjectively relevant and attractive to young people.” We will come to this point again when tackling the issue of social innovation.

From the perspective of a youth centre, engaging young people in participatory processes can be quite a challenge as, especially adolescents, tend to act very spontaneously and are difficult to engage in long- or even mid-term processes. Youth centres resp. the youth workers themselves can find themselves in a difficult situation between supporting the youngsters, giving them a voice and passing their ideas and wishes on to a “higher level” (as district administration etc.) on the one side and accomplishing a specific task, such as redesigning a park or skate ramp, on the other side. Therefore, the “task” potentially constrains the openness of the process. In addition, the youth workers have to come up with a “result” in order to show that they succeeded in the participation process.
Another issue are informal processes of participation: the access to youth workers, often passing the “voice” of the young people to higher administrative or political levels, is very low-threshold. But this also means that young people who are not in touch with young centres are less likely to raise their voice and be heard. Within youth centres the participation of the youngsters in the decisions regarding the leisure programmes of the centres is common, even if there are no fixed standards. A special event of some Viennese youth centres is a role reversal (“Seitenwechsel”). Some of the young users take over the responsibility for the youth centre for some weeks. They even have the possibility to change house rules. The pedagogical staffs only serve as advisers for the “new leaders” (Knecht/Kuchler 2014, int. 20, 5, see Sallaba, 2008). In addition to projects like this youth centres try to support young people in having a voice by teaching them methods of expressing themselves like graffiti spraying, rap, or hip hop. In some rare cases the users are involved in some team sessions. However, as far as we know from the interviews there are neither complaint procedures nor an Ombudsman in youth centres, as the teams think that problems can be solved directly and productively.

10.6 Social innovation

As we decided on a low-threshold approach via a local youth centre for our field research, we want to point out the youth centre’s perspective and role in participatory processes that are often assumed as socially innovative. Though the involvement of youngsters and their consultation in specific questions and the importance of informal learning in a youth centre setting can be interpreted as a bottom-up approach, youth centres and in particular partisan youth work follow socially innovative guiding principles (top-down) that might be discussed but are not subject to disposition (BWJF 2011, 423, 590). Also feminist youth work was not demanded by girls but initiated by conscious mothers and youth workers (Bitzan 2010, 104-105).

According to Hammer and Diebäcker (2009) social innovation is mainly understood as firstly using bottom-up processes and secondly broadening the focus which – when it comes to “youth topics”– is often narrowed down to employability and “work first”. Innovation always implies novelty (i.e. doing something in a new, different way, involving different/more actors, change focus) as well as a focus on the group(s) concerned and involving new actors who have not been involved before. Besides novelty a specific set of values and the kind of processes involved are central for a critical and empowering understanding of social innovation. To sum it up, social innovation here is strongly linked to the idea of enhancing justice in societal participation.

Two elements of this approach, the focus on the group concerned and the involvement of new actors, are also very much at the heart of the mobile youth work provided by our gatekeeper, one of the district’s youth centres. In addition, the above described “Regionalforum” was established with the idea of connecting actors that are concerned with similar topics and work in (more or less) the same area. Another innovative aspect is the “flexibility” of the forum in which actors decide themselves to what extent they want to participate or to get engaged in common projects (as in the case of a special room which was designed for children and youngsters in a the “Macondo” housing area for refugees, cf. IP_1, 13).

When it comes to the involvement of new actors, youth centres tend to collaborate with “classical” cooperation partner such as the district’s urban development agency, the district administration or other youth centres but also includes representatives of the Federal Ministry of Justice and of community colleges, of charity and clerical organisations, and arts associations. As also pointed out in the WP3 report, bringing in art into youth work is seen as an innovative practice (cf. WP3 report, 32). In Simmering, for example, the “Jura Soyfer
Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).

Association” collaborated with a local school preparing and rehearsing a performance by the students at the yearly district’s festival.320

Innovative approaches and practices can also be found at the crossroads of labour market and employability oriented policies/programmes and youth work (cf. WP3 report, 30). A shift seems to take place that education options for girls have diversified (although many girls still decide for traditional professions as hairdresser or secretary). In Vienna, for instance, the NGO “sprungbrett” (“springboard”) offers vocational counselling for girls with a special focus on technical professions).321

The aspect of putting a strong focus on the needs of the involved persons, as pointed out by Hammer/Diebäcker, also plays a central role in the youth centre’s work we choose as a gatekeeper. Basically, their work emphases on “what is there”, acknowledging and respecting the aspirations and resources of youngsters and reacting in a supporting or solution orientated way, of course, within the factual constrains (where until now it still stays unclear to what extent the young people’s suggestions and ideas can actually be “brought upwards”). With reference to Freire one crucial step is the articulation of needs and the breaking of silence; therefore socially innovative practices also mean to “poke around”; „poking around“ with respect and cautiousness, to tap in the dark and discover ideas that are not yet worked out. Nevertheless, for an idea that is not worked out justification (and funding) becomes harder and it is therefore more difficult to realize.

With respect to girls work we can follow Hammer/Diebäcker’s definition to include a specific set of values combatting inequality. As was pointed out in our WP2 report (Baillergeau Evelyne/ Duyvendak 2014, 96) “The capability is not just about the means but about the goals as well. In social policies and social work projects, some contributions that want to enhance voice are a bit ambivalent. It is not always clear whether or not the understanding of voice is a matter of means and/or a matter of contents”.

Gender, we put our research’s focus on, is an abiding theme, also in the context of youth work. Girls’ work has been established quite a long time ago and, on the one hand, all five youth centres in the chosen district offer “girls only” activities such as specific time slots for girls or even an exclusive space which is only open for girls (as the already mentioned “girls garden” we also chose for the participatory research). In addition, every year a “girls picnic” in parks takes place organised by Verein Wiener Jugendzentren. On the other hand, there are three exclusive girls’ spaces for the whole of Vienna namely the two girls’ cafés “flash” and “peppa” and the girls’ garden (BWJF 2011, 418, 521). Bitzan takes up the question of what contemporary girls work does actually mean and points out some central aspects. First, to support and accompany girls in all spheres of live and to help them to develop a critical stance towards demands by others; second, to investigate their wishes and ideas together and to “free up” spaces as adolescence too has become a period of raised claims and demands (especially in terms of education and employability) (cf. Bitzan 2010, 23). According to Bitzan, pedagogical concepts today should enhance and widen the individual’s scope of action and range of options what also fits very well into a capability approach perspective (cf. Bitzan 2010, 26).

Batsleer (2013, 17) strengthens the fact that work with girls and young women can shift readily from an agenda concerned with challenging existing forms of power relations to an agenda essentially rooted in them whilst prompting the practise of charity. Undertaking separate work with girls does not mean automatically challenging women’s subordination in society – therefore what she calls “autonomous anti sexist work (in contrast to separate spheres work) is based on the breaking-out of the position of women defined and categorised by their

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320Accessible under (only in German): http://www.soyfer.at/deutsch/jszentrum.htm [28.8.2014].

321http://www.sprungbrett.or.at/ (German only) [28.8.2014].

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The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
sex as persons of secondary importance”. We might ask, does social innovation need in any case the crossing of frontiers? What are these frontiers? They can be “practical” technical or legal impositions and regulations that deny the erection of a specific construct or a construction at a particular place. They can be societal frontiers limiting one’s development in society.

10.7 Discussion and conclusions

10.7.1 Selection of focus

As mentioned through this reporting our approach towards the selection of the participatory research project was driven by spatial considerations (focus on Simmering) and open towards the target group, however a particular emphasis is put on gender differences and inequality. Along with this “open” approach we decided on a low-threshold access and cooperate with a local youth center that does outreach youth work in the district. Following this decision the young people to be met are from rather disadvantaged families since this is the clientele reached by youth centres. In this sense, it might be better to speak of young people being more exposed to conflicts as resources – such as space for instance – are more limited and therefore conflicts more likely.

What makes the case of Simmering particularly interesting is the close cooperation and collaboration between the different institutions and stakeholders, the youth centres, the district’s youth welfare office and urban development agency, school social workers and even the borough mayor, when it comes to the planning and implementation of youth relevant strategies resp. policies. At the same time, youth workers in such settings can find themselves between passing on demands and wishes from residents and especially young people to politicians and – at the same time – being involved in (more) institutionalized ways of youth – or more general civic – involvement. Our particular focus is on girls-only spaces respectively on spaces where gender-sensitive approaches of youth work are deliberately considered in Simmering.

10.7.2 IBJJ and intersectionality

Beuret et al (2013) point out that “the cumulative, multidimensional and intersectional character of social inequality must be highlighted within the IBJJ. (…) Insisting on the fact that all individual or social judgements rest on a specific set of information (hence implying the corollary exclusion of all other information), the notion of IBJJ draws the attention to the selection of sources and indicators through which social problems are defined, i.e. the way inequalities are rendered visible and measurable. This cognitive framing of the problem has in turn great influence on the solutions proposed, i.e. the way public action is designed to address the problem.”

Pro-active girls’ work was and is a youth work response to inequality and difference among young people stemming not only from the category gender. It is a kind of policy being fed by an informational basis for the judgement of justice that took serious persistent inequalities among girls and boys and consequently between men and women and recognised gender as a major reference point for policy intervention. However, policy priorities in youth work have changed. Janet Batsleer (2013, 30-31) assesses for the UK that youth work initiatives rooted in social justice struggles in the 1980s. Professionalisation and changing policy priorities moved focuses towards more competence based learning and labour market orientation. Nowadays, youth policy programmes – as in many other fields of social policy
Partisan youth work – including autonomous youth work with girls – in contrast is all about turning cases into issues; and issues into movements (Batsleer, 2013). The emancipation from limit-situations that are the vessels constraining one’s room for manoeuvre and not the adaptation of one’s life course to them is the big challenge of this kind of policy. Recognition of gender in policy programs and initiatives nowadays often only goes along with the adaptation to the prevailing norms and structures (that is a men’s world); and the recognition of subjective differences only comes along with individualisation. Specific life situations are here within interpreted as choice of one’s own or in negative terms as self-blamed and not as being part of societal constellation, that structurally disadvantages particular groups of youngsters. On the other hand, it is crucial to recognise differences among girls, girls are unique as subjects and there are many visions of trajectories and many more options of behaviour that can be envisaged and taken up.

By referring on Nancy Fraser’s ideas of justice as justice of redistribution, recognition and representation (Fraser 2004, 2009) three considerations with respect to intersectionality pervade our social support network analysis and our research on youth work with girls:

1. Statistical evidence proves differences with respect to many objective criteria such as income, educational attainment etc. for particular areas or particular groups of people. It is crucial to name and “shame” inequality and oppression that proves different depending on the subjects' positions in a 'multi-oppressive' society. With respect to young people and gender-specific youth work it is about showing the structure of unequal attention and resources dedicated towards girls and boys; differences in aspirations and needs of girls and boys and about uncovering a normality of impediment and harassments towards girls coming along with unequal chances for girls in many aspects of life-world (Bitzan 2010, 104). Girls as they grow older attend youth centers less and less and move to other (semi-) public spaces than parks or youth centers. Therefore, adolescent girls represent a distinct target group sometimes addressed by specific youth work or girls work offers. The notion of the so-called “disappeared girls” (“verschwundene Mädchen”) was already mentioned in the Austrian WP3 report and came up again during the local stakeholder research of WP4. Various reasons for the “disappearance” of adolescent girls seem to be possible or to intermingle.

2. At the same time it is not only about material and data-proven more or less obvious differences but also about scrutinising the reasons for impeding youngsters to interact “on par” with others from an intersectional point of view and with respect to the social status ascribed to a particular group of youngsters and the disrespect they are experiencing in daily life. In other words demands for equal rights and opportunities must be acknowledged while at the same time valuing and recognising differences, some of them marking powerful divisions and injustices. With respect to the category gender this means in Janet Batsleer’s words: “being positioned as woman implies neither shared experiences, shared identity nor shared interpretations but women can consciously collect as a group in relation to that positionality” (Batsleer 2013, 4). A
very common policy to address girls is to offer specific time slots exclusively for girls in youth centres as well as “girls only” spaces which are sometimes open to young mothers or women with small children too (as women are in many social groups still mainly in charge of child care). However youth work with girls in an understanding that acknowledges and reaches beyond the limit-situations girls encounter in our society goes beyond solely offering girls-only space – though this is an important stake. It refers to the recognition of girls as girls in youth work, to the enhancement of girls’ presence and symbolism in youth and youth work and in the society as a whole (public space, language, etc) and to the enhancement of equal opportunities with respect to external conversion factors but also with respect to the recognition of female life course experiences (care). What can the role of youth workers for instance as role models be to support a critical stance towards gender norms? Youth work involves the conscious use of self in relation to others as a prerequisite of practice in informal settings; informal education draws strongly on personal relationship as the basis of practice. Self-understanding and the ability to draw on that resource in being with others has long been a central professional task and for women this can be a highly subversive activity (Batsleer 2013, 3).

(3) On top, we have to ask, how are in multiple ways disadvantaged or oppressed youngsters excluded from representation and participation with respect to direct and indirect, formal and informal forms of representation and participation? What steps for example through informal learning are taken to move from silence to voice and to action (Freire [1970] 2009; Batsleer 2008)? Again, oppression and inequality resulting from gender norms and behaviour shall be named and uncovered, on the other hand “labelling” of … must be treated cautiously to avoid stigmatisation but in contrast to overcome stigmatisation and limit-situations (Freire [1970] 2009, 99).

Two aims could be formulated as crucial for the continuation of the research project that focuses on young people’s and particularly young girls’ aspirations in a participatory manner. First, to delve into – what Freire calls (2009[1970], 96) – people’s or in our case young people’s thematic universe, their meaningful thematics and at the same time break through limit situations they encounter. Again, for Freire limit-situations and the consciousness about them are crucial issues: they should not bet impassable boundaries where possibilities end but the real boundaries where all possibilities begin … a frontier that separates being from being more (surviving vs living) (99; 103). The question is how to get there. This leads us to the second aim. The apparent lack of self-confidence of many young women may be the result of social processes, which render young women either invisible, or visible only as problems to be regulated. Youth workers speak about the “ressources” and motivations youngsters have at their disposal, however, lacking self-esteem hinders them to voice concerns and aspirations. Self-deprivation such as calling themselves as girls ignorant and fatalism and constraints about one’s aspirations and capabilities may derive from the internalization of the opinion the society as a whole holds about this particular group (Freire 2009[1970], 63). Therefore, the power of recognition as girls and of a language that is appropriate to name and address are important aspects of work with girls and young women. The movement from silence to speech, from alleged boredom to lively action, from invisibility to visibility, the emphasis on expression in any form can turn private and individual issues into publicly discussed ones.
# Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy area</th>
<th>Policy or Programme</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>There are more youth centers in the chosen district than in any other Viennese district, most of them are part of the “Association of Viennese Youth Centers” (“Verein Wiener Jugendzentren”), the biggest provider of children and youth work in Vienna that exists since 1978 and is financed by the city of Vienna. The Association employs around 300 youth workers in more than 30 facilities offering outreach child and youth work in youth centres, mobile youth work, community work, and training in one facility. Sources: <a href="http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/index.php?id=188">http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/index.php?id=188</a> (in English), <a href="http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/">http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/</a> (in German)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational / social work</td>
<td>“Word up!” youth parliament</td>
<td>Youth parliament where school children of the age of 12/13 can raise their demands and present them to the district administration with the support of youth workers. Demands that are agreed on in the plenum session – consisting of the borough mayor, administrative bodies at district level, and other public entities – are then implemented in cooperation with the later. The participating institutions seem to have quite a big interest in fostering the young people's insight into how “politics” work and what hinders the implementation of certain demands. The possibility to raise demands and being heard in such a panel still is quite empowering for the students, according to the supporting youth workers. Source (in German): <a href="https://www.wien.gv.at/bezirke/simmering/kinder-jugendliche/wordup.html">https://www.wien.gv.at/bezirke/simmering/kinder-jugendliche/wordup.html</a> and <a href="http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/index.php?id=55">http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/index.php?id=55</a> (website of the association of Viennese Youth Centers)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>“Flash” girls café</td>
<td>The “flash” café is a space exclusively for girls (on four days a week for adolescents and younger girls too) and has been existing since 2011. It offers girls’ work and also does outreach girls’ work in the neighbourhood and surrounding parks. Girls even participated in the (interior) design of the café and chose a logo; in general, the “flash” tries to involve the girls e.g. by providing a blackboard where the girls can suggest activities for the “open” Saturday afternoon. The café was strongly supported by the (Green) district government who invited the youth workers of the former youth centre to establish the “flash” and also co-subsidizes it (the café is situated in the Viennese “bobo” district). Source (only in German):</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>&quot;Peppa&quot; girls café</td>
<td>A similar space as the “flash” is the girls’ café “peppa” although it provides more learning aid and vocational counselling as well as support/counselling with regards to public administration. “peppa” has a strong intercultural approach (as it also situated in one of Vienna’s district with high migrant population) and offers youth work in several other languages than German; target group are girls and young women between the age of 10 and 20. Beyond the girls’ work, “peppa” offers support for families with migrant background. Source (only in German): <a href="http://www.caritas-wien.at/hilfeeinrichtungen/asylmigrationintegration/integrationsarbeit/peppa/">http://www.caritas-wien.at/hilfeeinrichtungen/asylmigrationintegration/integrationsarbeit/peppa/</a>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth work</td>
<td>Girls only time slots at youth centers (and “Girls Garden”)</td>
<td>All youth centers in the chosen district (and throughout Vienna) offer at least one specific time slot per week exclusively for girls (in some centres, another time slots are also offered to adolescents/young women with children). Our chosen youth center even had a specific garden which girls (the focus is on girls between 6-12 years, adolescents and young women / mothers are welcome too) can access once a week from May to September. Besides the “routine” youth work, the “Girls Garden” offers the possibility to work in the garden, harvest fruits/vegetables. The “Association of Viennese Youth Centers” developed a guideline for girls’ work (accessible under <a href="http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/fileadmin/pdf_downloads/pdf_f_experts/maedchen_kopie_neu.pdf">http://typo.jugendzentren.at/vjz/fileadmin/pdf_downloads/pdf_f_experts/maedchen_kopie_neu.pdf</a>, only in German). As boys still dominate public spaces, providing and designed spaces for and together with girls is still a crucial topic in girls’ work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social / educational work</td>
<td>Social work at school</td>
<td>In the chosen district, two social workers cover all seven schools, offering counselling for students and teachers, mediating conflicts among students as well as between students and teachers. They are employed by the school. Their work involves intense cooperation with the local youth centers and especially with the Public Youth Welfare Office when it comes to cases of (suspected) child neglect.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social / youth work</td>
<td>Fair-Play-Team</td>
<td>The “Fair Play Team” was introduced by the borough mayor to mediate conflicts in (semi-) public spaces, especially in the spaces around public housing compounds where conflicts between the residents have become a common problem in the last decade. The “Fair Play Team”, consisting of two social workers, walk through different neighbourhoods, and serves as a contact for all residents.</td>
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Throughout many Viennese districts, the “Agency for District Management Urban Renewal” ("Gebietsbetreuung und Stadterneuerung") provides legal advice in terms of residence matters and, moreover, supports and fosters the urban development of certain areas, districts, and neighbourhoods, especially with regards to the participation of residents in urban development processes. In areas of urban densification the Agency tries to support the integration of new building complexes resp. the residents and also promotes open (public) spaces (what is of particular interest for our chosen research area where various housing complexes have been built in the last decade). Source (only in German): http://www.gbstern.at/.

### CONDUCTED INTERVIEWS

- Interview 1: representative of Simmering’s urban renewal/development agency
- Interview 2: youth worker at youth center in Simmering
- Interview 3: “flash girls café”, social worker specialized in girls work
- Interview 4: head of district library
- Interview 5: youth worker at youth centre in Simmering
- Interview 6: borough mayor
- Interview 7: 2 school social workers
- Interview 8: district youth welfare officer
- Interview 9: “contact” police officer in charge of work with other institutions and violence prevention and "legal" education
- Interview 10: teacher and 6 pupils (KMS)
- Interview 11: district councillor
References

- Batsleer, Janet (2013) Youth Working with Girls and Women in Community Settings, Ashgate
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- Ley, Thomas (2013) The added value of analyzing participation in a capability perspective, in Deliverable 2.2: FINAL CONCEPTUAL REPORT "INEQUALITY, DISADVANTAGE, SOCIAL INNOVATION AND PARTICIPATION", 63-86

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11. SWITZERLAND – Local social support networks analysis in Lausanne (by Benoît Beuret, Jean-Michel Bonvin & Stephan Dahmen)

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Abstract

This report focuses on youth policies and youth related policies as they operate at the local level of the city of Lausanne, Switzerland. In the first sections, we reconstruct the institutional field in which the youth issues are debated and where different organizations and groups of professionals are shaping definitions of disadvantage, in particular through the category of “youngsters in difficulty” (already identified in our WP3 report). In order to adequately grasp the different, sometimes overlapping, sometimes diverging, levels of intervention (canton, city, city area) that are relevant for the “local welfare system”, we took into account different administrative and social geographies. This approach allowed to specify the role of local actors in the development of social policies, from the background of a growing devolution of responsibilities to the local state and the simultaneous demand to adapt policies to specific problems like youngsters “overrepresented” in social assistance, failing to access upper secondary education and apprenticeships, or who end up outside of institutional calendars. As many young adults were reported as not willing or not able to meet institutional expectations, this chapter describes some of the new strategies that are developed, aiming especially at more efficiently “binding” youngsters to the institutions or at activating the local social capital through modes of area-based participation.

In the second part of this report, we describe the existing opportunities for youth participation inside the institutional support networks, in relation with the underpinning policy rationales. The case study allows to highlight a top-down programmatic putting forward the positive value of youngsters’ self-expression and/or aiming at fostering the construction of active citizens in local arenas, but also points to ambivalences and limitations in the ways participation is implemented. We then critically address some recent initiatives targeting disadvantaged youth that entail a “socially innovative” dimension, and explore more particularly their dynamics of institutionalization. Different processes are identified, which refer in some cases to a top-down agenda-setting or, in some other cases, to a bottom-up movement based amongst others on institutional entrepreneurship. In the last section of this report, we assess the discursive construction of youth as a category of public action, with a special focus on the normative implications and the different actors that play (and/or have played) a central role for the construction of this category. Three main discourses are identified, each referring to specific conceptions of what youngsters (or youth in general) are (or ought to be) in relation to society, and inside which current orientations in youth related policies should be understood.
11.1 Introduction

This report describes the policies and practices in the larger field of youth policies and youth related policies in the city of Lausanne, with a specific focus on a few selected areas on the city territory. The choice for such a “locality” came from the observation that cities constitute an area in which different dimensions of social change, societal challenges and eventually social problems condense. At the same time, in times of increased territorialization of policies, with switching responsibilities to local administrative territories and administrations, the solutions to these problems are increasingly to be developed at the local level. Often, it is argued that as local administrations are closer to the concerns of the localities, they are in a favorable position to assess the emergence of new social needs. Last but not least, the city and its different areas constitute a central (and increasingly contested) life-world for most youngsters.

The choice for the territory of a city also emerges from the fact that in Switzerland, municipalities and cities constitute crucial entities, in which centrally defined policies are implemented and in which communal actors dispose of a certain margin of maneuver when it comes to adapt policies to local needs and specificities, as well as to develop new, innovative policies. For instance, the development of a politics of youth participation is a task devoted to municipalities. Our research is inspired by a conception of cities as “local welfare systems” (Andreotti and Mingione et al. 2012), a term which delineates not only the local government but also the “complex combination of social and political institutions and actors who comprise the system, and who have each been shaped differently by cultural and historical factors and processes” (Andreotti and Mingione et al. 2012: 1926). Such a perspective is in our opinion best suited for assessing and reconstructing the ways in which the public good is institutionalized (the IBJJ) and what specific constructions of youth and young persons as “policy objects” derive from this. Finally, the city level constitutes a central space for social innovation, especially in decentralized countries with a high policy fragmentation on different administrative levels. Cities can as such be seen as “urban laboratories for social innovation” (Pollitt 2013).

Even though Lausanne is certainly not a particularly “disadvantaged” city (especially in comparison with other similar cities in the EU), as inner city segregation, poverty rates and unemployment keep relatively low levels despite the economic crisis, it constitutes an interesting case study. When compared to its direct Swiss neighbor cities, Lausanne has –partly due to its geographical location – a particularly high migratory influx and an increasing demography. The attractiveness of the city for a hypermobile, highly qualified workforce attracted by international companies is accompanied by a growing influx of lower qualified workers who mostly work in relatively lower-paid service jobs – due to the fact that Lausanne does not dispose of many industries. The growing number of people exercises pressure on housing prices and potentially leads to an increased segregation across city quarters. At the same time, Lausanne has a relatively high unemployment rate and an increasing number of young people in social assistance in comparison to surrounding municipalities, but also to other similar Swiss cities (see chapter 4). Furthermore, the “youth issue” in relation to transitions from school to work and the question of appropriate policies for facilitating these transitions, is a hot topic, not only in federal, but also in cantonal debates (cf. the benchmarks and main goals of the cantonal government in the period 2007-2012 and 2012-2017, as well as the implementation of federal schemes in 2010).

Our approach was guided by the idea to regroup a maximum of relevant policy areas and to analyze their implementation, modes of collaboration and institutionalization on the local level. This was mainly done through meeting the relevant meso- and frontline level actors of the main investigated areas (open youth work, social assistance, administrators of housing affairs, city youth delegate, actors of participative projects, third sector organizations, youth outreach workers). While it was important for us to investigate their modes of operation, their perspectives on specific issues concerning their field of work and the city, we also tried to reconstruct the level of policy formulation, in order to analyze the different diverging concepts of inclusion and combating inequality. We tried to gather official and less official problem descriptions, to highlight differences in interpretations among different stakeholders, and to reconstruct the reform and the innovation trajectories of few specific policies. As such,
youth policies are described as an institutional field with different “players”, actors and stakeholders, in which the “youth issue” is debated. The report reveals the specific forms and practices attached to the problems described in WP3 report.

Due to the specific Swiss “welfare mix” (Butschi and Cattacin 1993; Evers 1993), we face a multiplicity of institutions and a plurality of arrangements on the meso-level. This is highly important for social innovation processes, as the role of third sector organizations and the margin of maneuver of local policy actors is relatively high. Therefore, our focus on the city level also aims at revealing the processes in which new needs are discovered, how local administrators develop organizational innovation and how upper-level opportunities and constraints are transformed, converted, and sometimes strategically used to innovate. At the same time, we describe how specific bottom-up demands from youngsters and other stakeholders are transformed (or not) into policy problems, and eventually into institutionalized practices.

11.2 Methods

The methodological approach has been designed to provide a detailed overview of existing social support networks that are relevant for youngsters at the level of the city of Lausanne. Drawing on the initial results of WP3 report, the aim was to deepen our understanding of local policies and strategies in the field of youth policies. Various policy areas have been taken in consideration, not only in the realm of education, work and social assistance, but also in the field of open youth work, citizenship and political participation. The underpinning rationale is based on the CA and considers that the levers of action for enhancing youngsters’ capabilities are interplaying and must integrate various dimensions that cannot be limited to a pre-given list of measures or actors.

In a first step, a documentary analysis has been run to provide a contextual knowledge of social programs oriented towards young populations, with a special attention for initiatives focusing on disadvantaged youth. The analysis of legal documents, public reports, research papers and grey literature allowed gathering relevant information in relation to contested fields and recent initiatives in the field of youth policies. The analysis of existing statistical data has permitted also to highlight some territorial dimensions that are relevant to grasp the heterogeneity of living conditions and identify the specificities of the city (namely in terms of “geography of poverty”).

In a second phase, we conducted a series of semi-structured interviews (n=7) and group-interviews (n=3, 3-5 participants per interview) with key informants (local policymakers, experts and professionals), in complement with data already gathered for WP3. The interviews have been audio-recorded for further transcription, with the permission of participants (when not, detailed notes have been taken). This allowed confronting the data and information collected in the first phase with the views of local actors involved in social work with youngsters. A special attention has been dedicated to build and preserve durable relations with stakeholder organizations that are proposing initiatives or implementing city programmes at the level of the community/district, in cooperation with other actors. In integrating the perspectives from “below”, our aim was not only to get more insights on the local construction of social needs in relation to youth, but also to understand the strategy of positioning among organizations, their room for manoeuvre and the type of cooperation that prevails between the state, service providers and target groups of public action. Indeed actors’ characterization of existing support networks has highlighted both organizational barriers and opportunities for innovation. The interviews have also provided numerous narratives on the way young people live and behave as social and cultural subjects among their groups, as well
as users of services or beneficiaries of state support. This offers heuristic features to confront dominant narratives about disadvantaged youngsters with the voices of less visible actors.

### Sample for empirical research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local government policy makers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City head for public housing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance providers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training and education service providers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City youth delegate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment support service providers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth organization</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonal head-officer for grants delivery system</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile street workers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers among community centres</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transcripts of the interviews and the documents have been submitted to a “thematic content analysis”, using the core categories developed by WP 4 leaders.

### 11.3 Description of area In relation to Inequality/ disadvantaged Youth

Lausanne is the second biggest city in the Lemanic arc and the center of the cantonal government of Vaud. After Geneva, Basel and Zurich, it’s the 4th biggest city in Switzerland with a population of 125’885 inhabitants in 2012, the official view rather considering Lausanne as the heart of an urban agglomeration of 280’000 inhabitants. With only 6 cities in Switzerland having more than 100’000 inhabitants, it constitutes a central metropolitan area, which attracts every day 150’000 visitors and workers, from which a significant part is coming from the over 60 municipalities surrounding the city. Lausanne has, in Swiss comparison, a high share of foreign population, which is increasing constantly in the last years. While in 2003 36% of the Lausanne population did not have a Swiss passport, this rate raises to more than 40% in 2013. This constitutes the second highest share (after Geneva) of foreigners in Switzerland. Main immigrant groups are Portuguese (16%), French (16%) and Italians (11%). Economic change, especially the transition towards a tertiarized economy, is visible in Lausanne. Even though there are no signs of harsh deindustrialization (as the local economy was traditionally composed by a high share of tertiary activity), the economy is quite volatile and highly dependent on multinational firms. More than 90% of the jobs on the territory of Lausanne concentrate in the tertiary sector (8.06% in the secondary sector), while jobs in the primary sector have been decreasing by -22.50% between 1995 and 2010 (Koller, Hug and Rolland 2013). This rapid economic transformation also impacted on the distribution of wealth amongst Lausanne residents – the Gini coefficient for Lausanne augmented from 0.31 to 0.37 between 2003 and 2006 (Gini coefficient’s mean for Switzerland: 0.31-0.34) (Koller, Hug and Rolland 2013: 49).

The unemployment rate in Lausanne amounts to 8% in 2010 and nearly doubled from 2001 (4.2%), giving Lausanne the third position in the ranking of Swiss cities highest unemployment rates. The labour market in Lausanne is very dynamic, with both a strong demand for a highly skilled labour force and a strong attractiveness for workers of
surrounding countries, mostly due to the relatively high wages in European comparison. But there are other features of the local welfare system than the unemployment rate, in particular socio-demographic processes such as the fragilisation of the family system generating vulnerable forms of households (socially isolated single persons, single parents, etc.) and new waves of immigration with sometimes social insertion difficulties.

Table 1: Unemployment rates for canton of Vaud and City of Lausanne

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Vaud</th>
<th>Lausanne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fév.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mars</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avril</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juil.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cantonal office of statistics (2014)

Even though the situation in Swiss cities does not seem as alarming as in neighboring countries where the social and spatial fractures are more exacerbated, the impacts of economic and demographic developments reflect in a more visible way on the city-level. The comparison of the evolution of the unemployment rates in the canton of Vaud and Lausanne city shows that they develop similarly, with a constant 2% gap between them (see Table 1). Furthermore, the literature has underlined the common characteristics of cities in comparison with less urban regions: “In Switzerland, cities show the greatest increase in the number of job seekers and in the length of the period of unemployment. It is also in the large cities that the cost of living becomes more problematic, given the declining purchasing power”(Da Cunha 1999: 42). For instance, the strong labor force demand exerts not only pressure on rents and housing prices, but leads to a growing geographical polarization. While the Lausanne city development is incomparable to other European cities, the very few existing data shows that there is a spatial segregation and a specific geography of poverty, as illustrated in Figure 1. The lack of recent data does nevertheless not allow to identify trends over time.
While one can hardly talk about so-called “neighborhood effects”, available data\textsuperscript{326} show that in 2000, the different city areas have large differences in the rate of households receiving social assistance benefits (Rochat 2005). When cautiously interpreting this set of data\textsuperscript{327}, one can discern a dividing line between the Western (e.g. in Table 2 Montoie/Bourdonnette and Sébeillon/Malley) and Eastern areas (e.g. in Table 2 Chailly/Rovéréaz and Mousquine/Bellevue). One can note that there is no spatially wide area of poverty but rather a constellation of geographically well-circumscribed city spaces that condensate lower income and educational achievement, as well as a higher rate of foreign populations (summed up in Table 2).

\textsuperscript{326} Based on the last national population recension (2000).
\textsuperscript{327} In particular the 2002 cantonal survey and the yearly reports of the Cantonal office for statistics (based on administrative data delivered by cities and municipalities).
Table 2: Panel of selected Lausanne city areas in comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City areas*</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>City average mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of inhabitants (2013)</td>
<td>7'263</td>
<td>9'890</td>
<td>9'612</td>
<td>12'819</td>
<td>10'556</td>
<td>9'056</td>
<td>2'512</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net income (2002)</td>
<td>36'606</td>
<td>40'357</td>
<td>39'760</td>
<td>47'087</td>
<td>52'141</td>
<td>61'694</td>
<td>82'446</td>
<td>66'523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% non-qualified workers/ workers (2000)</td>
<td>16,4</td>
<td>17,4</td>
<td>16,7</td>
<td>12,5</td>
<td>8,9</td>
<td>8,3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of foreign population (2013) - born outside Switzerland (2013)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even if it combines data gathered in different points in time, Table 2 delivers an insight on the geographical dimension of inequality on the Lausanne city territory. Most recent available data – even when coming from less reliable sources – suggests that these trends have not been reversed, but rather reinforced (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Income distribution in city areas, comparison (2009)

Source: RTS website

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11.3.1 Youth related policies in a multilevel governance system

Putting the focus on a city like Lausanne implies to take account of different territorial levels of regulation, which are relevant to describe the networks of available local support and services. As already highlighted in WP3 report, youth related policies in the background of Swiss executive federalism are developed and implemented at different (often overlapping) levels:

- The Confederation (e.g. for education and employment)
- The cantons (e.g. for education and social assistance)
- The cities and municipalities (e.g. for “explicit” youth policies, urban development and the implementation of social assistance schemes)

In this perspective, one can refer to the concept of nested cities (Swyngedouw 2000; Hill and Fujita 2003; Hill 2004), which makes explicit the need to consider cities as open systems, embedded in a wider context of social, institutional and economic relations (see also Di Gaetano and Strom 2003). In the Swiss background, the displacement of responsibility and costs for social problems towards lower-level administrations offers a highly illustrative example of such embeddedness. These processes might be furthermore considered as a key driver for the development of local welfare policies. As such, it is remarkable that the city level becomes increasingly an area in which social assistance policies are developed. On the other side, local (i.e. cantonal and municipal) policies are more and more structured by federal attempts toward harmonization. This constitutes (as chapter 7 will show) an important driver for social innovation and organizational change.

In order to adequately grasp the different, sometimes overlapping, sometimes diverging, levels of intervention (canton, city, city area), it is thus necessary to take into account different administrative and social geographies. The governance and implementation of formal local support networks requires to “jump” from one geographical scale to another, or from one institution to another (see Figure 3).

330 For instance, cost containment measures in the federal unemployment insurance (UI) had an impact on the different cantonal and municipal social assistance schemes. Due to the fact that the UI is largely financed and organized by the federal level (cantonal employment offices receive money from the federal ministry of economy, based on the number of unemployed), the reduction of the extent and access to UI benefits coincides with a stronger territorialisation of policies, on the one side, and a displacement of the responsibility for the young to the cantonal and local level. If youngsters are not eligible for the UI, they have to draw back either on cantonal schemes (like those of educational offices) or on social assistance, which is organized on the local level. This displacement of responsibilities also goes hand in hand with a displacement of costs to the local level.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
In this context, youngsters’ use-patterns of public services and support networks can endorse different geographical areas (e.g. having recourse to an area-based community center, while being at the same time beneficiary of a social service delivered at the city level, allocated on the basis of a cantonal law, and being enrolled in a transition measure administered by the cantonal department for education). Considering the institutions involved on the city territory but “administered” at the cantonal level, one can mention in particular the following ones (summed up in Figure 3):

- **The Social Service of Lausanne (SSL)** is the local authority of the cantonal legislated social assistance scheme, which is responsible for the delivery of a replacement income, so-called “integration income” (RI). Financed on a par by the canton of Vaud and the city of Lausanne, the SSL is composed of several subdivisions (in particular a transition unit for youth integration and a housing service for the management of accommodation facilities). Furthermore, it operates as the entry door to the cantonal FORJAD scheme (abundantly described in WP3 report). Despite being governed by cantonal law, the SSL has a margin of maneuver for developing its own initiatives (cf. part 5 and 7 of this report).

- **The Case-management professional training (CMFP)**, largely described in WP3 too, is a one-stop shop, which monitors the intake of youngsters without a solution after obligatory schooling, provides direct counseling and controls the access to the different cantonal transition schemes. One of the 5 local Guichets T1 of the canton of Vaud is on the Lausanne territory. This service is governed by the cantonal department for education and is the outcome of a long process of consultation between cantonal agencies responsible for labor market, education and social assistance. It has emerged from a top-down initiative from the federal state with specific local adaptations to the cantonal level.

- **The OPTI (Organisme pour le perfectionnement scolaire, la transition et l’insertion professionnelle)** delivers short-time training and educational measures aiming at tackling the transition issues, in particular for obligatory school leavers who fail to access an apprenticeship or an upper-secondary school. OPTI antennas can be found in 7 different localities (of which the biggest is based in Lausanne), receiving each year a few thousand pupils usually aged 15-18.

- **The Cantonal agency for education grants (OCBE)** is responsible for the implementation of the cantonal Law for education and professional training support (LAEF). It allocates grants on a means-tested basis and according to the principle of
subsidiarity: families are responsible for the financial support of youngsters till the age of 18 and in principle (i.e. when they dispose of sufficient resources), till the end of initial formation (VET).

- **Youth promoters** are part of the cantonal implementation of the federal Law on youth activities encouragement and support (LEEJ). Amongst others, they organize (on demand of youngsters or municipalities of the canton of Vaud) “youth forums” and are thus key players for helping youngsters to approach the municipal authorities. The cantonal program [jaiunprojet.ch](http://jaiunprojet.ch) offers a “one-shot” funding for the realization of youth projects, amounting usually between 500 and 2000 CHF, and proposes a technical support.

With regard to the main institutions governed at the city level, one can mention in particular:

- **16 community centers**, each one headed by a local association of inhabitants of that area. These centers are meant to do animation socioculturelle, and understand themselves as places where all citizens of an area can participate in diverse activities. Their manifold tasks are geared towards prevention and fostering the social bonds within an area. Historically youth-centered, their action is now targeted to all community members and monitored since 1994 by the FASL (Fondation pour l’animation socio-culturelle lausannoise). The FASL is also responsible for the hiring of community social workers and the implementation of quality management among the profession. The city of Lausanne attributes a yearly budget of 10 million CHF.

- A city **youth delegate**, responsible for organizing the youth council and for administering the youth-project reserve fund.

- A team of **4 mobile youth workers** operating in downtown Lausanne and the different city areas.

- A **youth-centered police** unit (Brigade de la jeunesse), which constitutes the main interlocutor in the city police department for issues or situations involving youngsters.

### 11.3.2 A specific concern: Youngsters failing to access upper secondary education and apprenticeships and “overrepresented” in social assistance

Since the 1990s, policymakers and social workers report periodically that youth segments encounter severe difficulties to access apprenticeship and/or upper secondary schools (see WP3 report). Exhaustive data on transition issues are however barely available since there is no centrally administered database including all the youngsters concerned. The assessment of the “real demand” of transition measures is in fact hard to establish: The gap between the potentially eligible public and the public that finally resorts to a measure may be important, underlining the crucial issue of non take-up. Cantonal policy officers reported that they face 3’500 demands for transition measures with only 1’600 places available. While during the school year, many of these youngsters find other solutions (e.g. an apprenticeship, a vocational school) it seems hard to keep track of the totality of this population. In addition, young persons with a handicap, considered as “not able to follow an apprenticeship” (inaptes au placement) or with psychosocial problems are not taken into account.

However, the main actors in this field generally held that 1 out of 5 among the obligatory school leavers’ cohorts (20%) has to draw back on transition measures. This issue has gained a growing attention from the local authorities, in particular because of a perceived risk for youngsters with missing credentials to find themselves in social assistance at the age of 18, thus alimenting the JAD category (“youngster in difficulty”). Available data on transition difficulties (CMFP 2012, Bachmann 2012, Cantonal social report 2011, 2012, 2013) are summed up in Figure 4, which refers to the “official” view (i.e. the situation as it is generally described by the involved institutional actors). The data gives only a very rough picture of the different categories of public action, and it rather illustrates the incompleteness of the available data than provides a fully-fledged, unambiguous description of the situation.
In the city of Lausanne, young persons in social assistance represent nearly one fifth of the overall social assistance population. While young people regain their (financial) autonomy twice faster than older beneficiaries, there seems to be a constant number that stays in social assistance for a relatively long time period. Policymakers pointed out the fact that if one sums up the share of beneficiaries in the age-group of 18-25 with the age group of 13-18, it makes up for one third of beneficiaries of the RI. A striking observation: the “really” new entrants aged 18-25, i.e. those who have never been in social assistance before, only make up for 20% of the share of young beneficiaries. In other words, 80% of 18-25 year old beneficiaries come from families, which, at least once during the last 15 years, have already been registered at the social assistance office. These findings might point to mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of poverty, but they are in the same time an indicator for long-term trajectories of precarization and vulnerability. Local policy makers emphasized the overrepresentation of young adults amongst social assistance beneficiaries. While perceiving this state of affairs as a marker for an entitlement attitude, they furthermore underlined that a significant part of these youngsters does not follow any integration measure (60%), thus benefiting from incomes without a regular follow-up by social workers.

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[333] In contrast with the French social assistance regime, young people are eligible as full beneficiaries from 18 years on (25 in France). This also contrasts with Germany, where children up to 24 are considered as part of the familial “in-need community” (Bedarfsgemeinschaft) for the calculation of housing allowances.

[334] This shouldn’t occult the fact that 28% of RI beneficiaries are minors (youngsters below the age of 18 are beneficiaries, but are counted as family members).
11.4 Focus on particular problems and related policy and practice

What policies and local support networks are embedded at the local level? What strategies, practices and programmes have been developed and to what specific “framing” of problems do they respond? In this section, we focus on a set of issues that are receiving a particular and growing attention from local actors. In continuity with WP3 report, we will not include a detailed description of each policy, but rather focus on its specific implementation on the local level. Furthermore, in the section “specific problems” we highlight the contested fields and policy areas and describe the current orientations of public action. In our view, the development of innovative practices and the emergence of new actors in youth politics represent direct or indirect responses to these core preoccupations. These problems incorporate the narratives produced by actors during the interviews, be it to justify their action, explain their role or express their conception of disadvantage in relation to youth. They refer also to features, which actors have to deal with in their daily practices.

11.4.1 The local dimension of social, labour market and transition policies

In the backdrop against an increasing awareness for the economic and social costs of youngsters’ failed and/or late transitions, specific policies have been implemented all around the Swiss territory, in line with the construction of youth as a category of social investment. This area of intervention aims specifically at tackling the obstacles that youngsters encounter in their life transitions. Both the FORJAD scheme (as an example of a cantonal policy) and the CMFP (as a policy initiated by federal actors) stem from this category. Actually, youth organizations and actors over the Lausanne territory have been key players in the development of these policies and the diffusion of the JAD category (“young adults in difficulties”). As described above, the institutionalization process of this issue led to important interdepartmental coordination processes, both on the level of policy design, policy administration and development of new schemes. These recent changes represent interesting examples of organisational innovations, as they address the challenge of de-compartmentalizing and coordinating education, labour market and social assistance policies (see chapter 7).

11.4.1.1 Recent local experiments in relation to youngsters in social assistance

Municipalities increasingly become players in the delivery and design of local policies. For instance, Lausanne has elaborated its own concept for social policy in 2005\(^{335}\), in order to “close the gaps in social protection deriving from reforms in other (federal and cantonal) schemes” (City report 2005/51: 2) and to give answers to questions “neglected by those schemes, but taking a certain acuity and magnitude in the urban space” (ibid.). Furthermore, the Lausanne city council adopted in 2006 a resolution on “supporting the participation of young beneficiaries of social assistance in integration measures”\(^{336}\), highlighting the need to “avoid the installation of youngsters in social assistance at the age of 18” (City report 2006/45: 1). This led to the introduction of new subdivisions among the SSL, in particular an “integration unit” composed by a multi-disciplinary task-group in charge of ensuring that youngsters follow a measure that leads to a fully qualifying education or a job. The city report furthermore mentions that “in case of refusal to participate (...) social assistance benefits are reduced (...) to the minimum foreseen by the law” (ibid. p. 2). Other new experimental developments include the creation of a new “young adults’ intake

\(^{335}\)City report n° 2005/51.

\(^{336}\)City answer to Claire Attinger’s motion (Pour favoriser les mesures d’insertion en faveur des jeunes à l’aide sociale). See city report n° 2006/45.
protocol”, providing a very close follow up and the payment of benefits on a weekly (instead of monthly) basis in order to ensure that youngsters show up at the meetings with their integration advisor.

11.4.1.2 Access to apprenticeships: administrative management of risk-populations and the “injunction to autonomy”?

In 2007, the cantonal legislation program (2007-2013) issued the goal to reduce the number of young people having to resort to a transition measure from 1’355 (in 2007) to 800 (in 2012). Despite considerable efforts, these numbers rather increased than decreased, which may be an indicator for the fact that the transition system is bound to stay\(^{337}\). As described in WP3 report, the federal transition programs (CMFP), which have been designed to tackle these problems, are to be adapted to the local situation by cantonal authorities. In the case of the canton of Vaud, a monitoring system for all school leavers has been implemented, resulting in the creation of 5 local agencies (Guichets T1) that are acting as gatekeepers. While the federal scheme puts forward the necessity to “responsibilize the young people towards the choice of a profession” (CMBB 2010), frontline professionals highlight that the local implementation is rather pointed towards the administrative monitoring of school leavers’ cohorts.

“It is more about channelling the growing part of school leavers into the different transition measures rather than an individualized counselling, some of them (the youngsters) we never see them, we only see their files” (policy administrator).

Furthermore, the professionals see their role in “matching” the youngsters’ educational projects with their school competencies and their objective probabilities to find an apprenticeship. Here, the aim is to adapt the young persons’ educational aspirations to the labour market situation, and to make emerge a “realist and realizable professional project”.

“When you listen to the Confederation, they say « oh, but there are that many apprenticeship places that have not been taken! »... But in what jobs? The aim is to match as soon as possible young persons’ projects with their schooling level but also with the economic realities – there are sectors where there is work nowadays” (T1 case manager)

The political goals of matching the residual apprenticeship places with those youngsters that did not find an apprenticeship seem to translate in an increased demand for flexibility regarding job choice. The monitoring of school leavers allowed to gather some deeper knowledge on the risk groups. Frontline professionals highlight the fact that 40% of school leavers that ask for a transition measure did not apply for apprenticeships during their school time. At the same time, the legal basis states that youngsters should have shown “a proven willingness to integrate oneself” (“une volonté avérée d’insertion”).

“Those who do no internships and no job application during school, on that legal basis we could easily extract them” (T1 case manager)

On that basis, one could identify contradictory goals and some ambiguities of the case-management scheme: While on the one side, no young person should be “left behind “, as testified in the 95% upper secondary education benchmark, on the other side some legal regulations allow administrative exclusion from the scheme, on the basis of specific behavioural pre-requirements.

\(^{337}\)Indeed some youngsters might require an additional year before being able to apply for an apprenticeship. Data show that especially in western Switzerland, employers prefer “older” applicants (CMFP 2012), which is also mirrored in the fact that the median entry age to apprenticeships in the canton of Vaud is 18.5 years (thus a 2 year gap to the exit age from obligatory schooling).
11.4.2 Urban policies: “Activating the local social capital” through area-based participation

On the Lausanne territory, urban policies comprise very different domains, ranging from large-scale housing projects to more specific area-based interventions, mostly focusing on fostering the participation of citizens. The first coordinated programmatic efforts go back to the adoption of the local Agenda 21 (renamed Quartiers 21) concerning “social and housing problems and participation of the population” (City report 2001/211). The Quartiers 21 framework document proposed a broad vision of social inclusion and exclusion as the breakdown or existence of “social bonds”, putting forward the strategic objective to “augment the capacity of the individual to function as a full member of the collectivity” and to promote inclusion through “create[ing], reinforce[ing] and repair[ing] the social bonds that link the individual to the collective” (ibid. p 5). This definition includes the “creation of participative structures”, reaffirming in the same time the relevance of a “participative democracy” (Ibid. p. 4). While confirming the role of the city in urban planning (especially in order to promote “social mixity” among city-areas), the main orientations stress the necessity of “a stronger involvement of inhabitants in their living area” (ibid., p.6).

It is noteworthy that these attempts have taken an area-based stance, following the idea that the promotion of the quality of life can be fostered through enhanced participation opportunities at the local level: “the more people have a possibility to influence their immediate living space, the stronger they identify with their area” (ibid., p.14). The implementation of this principle has, amongst others, resulted in the creation of “local area associations”, whose role is actually central in the administration of the 16 community centres. Furthermore, a report on the local third sector landscape was commissioned, whose final title “From the welfare state to local solidarity: the third sector in Lausanne” certainly prefigures a “new deal” or at least a new policy referential in the distribution of responsibilities between civil society and the state.

11.4.3 Youth policies: between participation and the governance of the public space

In Switzerland, youth policies are in the main a responsibility of the municipalities (see chapter 6 for deeper descriptions of youth policies). Confronted to findings highlighting several examples of lacking youngsters’ participation, the city authorities decided in 2005 to call for new orientations. On the one side, the “voluntarist participation model” (based on spontaneous motivation of individuals) was declining, projects developed by young people themselves being very few (City report 2005/47), further confirmed by their very weak participation in the Agenda 21 meetings (4% of below 25 years). On the other side, several city reports were pointing out the emerging problem of “youngsters in a process of rupture with social bonds and with the institutional environment, […] spontaneously regrouping themselves in public space”, and the apparition of “sometimes violent” youth gangs (ibid.).

As a consequence of these findings the city decided to set up a unit for “outreach work” (TSHM) in charge of developing outreach strategies to get in contact and to build trust with youngsters outside of institutional networks. Alongside with this mission, the aim was also to bring the voice of youngsters to the public authorities and support activities that met their desires (sport, culture, urban youth cultures, etc.). In short: “rather than waiting until the young person goes towards the society, society approaches him through the TSHM” (ibid: 13).
11.4.4 A particularly urgent housing situation

The housing situation in Lausanne is very tense. The rate of vacant apartments diminished to 0.1% (Zurich 0.1%, Geneva 0.25%, Basel 0.5%, Biel 1.5%), which is excessively low. This situation weighs particularly heavy for youngsters trying to find their first apartment or for those that have to leave their families house either because of family conflicts or because their family does not dispose of sufficient resources. As a consequence, the percentage of the 18-25 category among beneficiaries of social housing is in constant growth, as this is seen as the unique opportunity to satisfy individual aspirations and to deal with existing constraints. In the same time, the most disadvantaged suffer from the absence of an integrated youth housing policy and are often condemned to find alternative (mostly temporary) solutions.

On the other side, a growing segment of young adults is confronted with the risk of losing their housing, be it for financial reasons, problems with neighbours or arbitrary decisions from the owners or rental companies. For instance, in 2012, the housing department of the SSL had to intervene 268 times to avoid individual expulsion or offer temporary housing after constrained eviction\(^{339}\). In the majority of these cases, youngsters were concerned. For those who are in the rolls of social assistance, the housing shortage has constrained state services to privileging immediate emergency solutions, among others by renting rooms in hotels, pensions and bed & breakfasts. Despite its ability to offer a solution to emergency situations, this policy raises other kinds of problems. Indeed, it is not rare that this form of housing, which is initially meant to be temporary, lasts eventually for several months or even years. As a matter of fact, a significant part of RI beneficiaries have to compose with such kind of “durably unstable” accommodation\(^{340}\).

11.4.5 Contested fields and policy areas

In the field of poverty reduction and social assistance, one recurrent topic among interview participants concerns the intergenerational transmission of poverty. While representatives of the local government held that phenomenon as a central concern, this finding is moderated by several analyses (Regamey 2009) and cantonal reports (Social report 2011: 24). According to the latter, most young beneficiaries of social assistance do not show “dependency trajectories”, highlighting that most youngsters from in-benefit parents are in training. This does not permit to talk of a “passive dependency” (Social report 2011: 24). Nevertheless, one should not forget that – as highlighted by quantitative findings in WP3 report – the reproduction of inequalities may happen at earlier points of the life-course, a fact that is probably undergirded by the high number of lone parents in social assistance. Policies aiming at tackling these problems are not well developed, neither at cantonal, nor at the city level (recent attempts to expand childcare facilities on Lausanne territory may nevertheless constitute an exception).

As described above, policies tend towards a stronger activation of young beneficiaries of social assistance, the development of new transition measures and a stricter conditionalization of eligibility. This is due to the fact that social assistance expenditure is heavily weighing on the city budget. Some policy makers underline that the constitutional guarantee to a minimum benefit does not allow them to exert more coercion on youngsters, especially those who are not “motivated”:


\(^{340}\) City report n° 2013/30, 4.07.2013, p.2. The document states that in 2012, more than 130 persons have lived in hotels in a permanent way. It furthermore mentions that “Between 2007 and 2012, 38% of RI beneficiaries living in hotels (i.e. 138 persons) had to stay there for a period of more than 1 year, due to lacking alternative.”
“From a strictly legal point of view, we simply cannot refuse to deliver the minimum income to our beneficiaries. We have the possibility to reduce the total amount of income support by 25%; but this doesn’t help for youngsters who have developed a conception of assistance as a unique income guarantee. They do no answer phone calls, refuse any appointment with social workers or simply don’t come” (SSL policy officer)

Despite the possibilities to reduce benefits in case of non-compliance with requirements, a number of youngsters are described as lacking willingness to accept the offers made by the scheme. In the realm of social assistance, professionals highlight the fact that the delivery of income support represents sometimes the ultimate bond between youngsters and the official support network. While cantonal strategies that have been developed within the FORJAD scheme exist, local policy makers held that these do not cover the majority of youngsters and that there remain limits especially for such clients that “choose to do nothing”.

“Last year, 60% of youngsters enrolled in social assistance were not following any integration measure. Anyway, everything we have to offer works only with people who are motivated and willing, but those who choose not to do anything, we don’t have any means to propose them something, so either they disappear, either they are with us for a long time” (SSL policy officer)

11.4.6 An increasing number of youngsters in rupture with institutional bonds: an issue of non-take up?

A recurrent topic in our interviews refers to situations of youngsters in rupture with any form of institutional bonds, or those who simply abandon programs designed for them. On the one hand, this issue is reported with a special acuity by the SSL actors, who feel quite unable to make youngsters adhere to the solutions proposed. On the other hand, it represents a central preoccupation among street workers. The latter have highlighted the fact that the most disadvantaged youth remain invisible or end up detached from all kind of state support:

“We have a lot of youngsters outside of everything, who finally just get in the street. Not that they are constrained to sleep like hobos but... they have no stable housing, they will sleep at a mate’s studio for 2 nights, then at their aunt’s apartment, then at another mate and yes, sometimes in building stairwells. These guys are quite marginalized” (TSHM street worker)

The existence of youngsters in rupture with the different institutional agendas or not having recourse to the available services, as well as the identification of specific groups of youngsters who “refuse any appointment with social workers or simply don’t come” (SSL policy officer), might point to the existence of populations in the non-take up category. Non take-up designates those situations in which people fail to claim the benefits they are entitled to (Warin 2003), either due to a lack of awareness of one’s rights or to discouragement to claim. But non take-up also includes non-reception, for example when the provider does not suggest a benefit or a service to the potential claimant or in case of administrative barriers (e.g. in case of missing documents). Some indications point to the fact that the shifting policy rationales – which are characterized by an increased requirement for beneficiaries to demonstrate their willingness and autonomy - might incite some potential beneficiaries not to claim their rights. This might be an interesting issue to analyze in WP5.

11.5 Participation

Participation is a major topic in Swiss youth policies, especially on the local level. Several reasons can explain this focus: The recent attempts of federal actors to give impulses for a better harmonization of youth policies (see WP3 report), was strongly influenced by the convention on children’s rights, and highlight youth policies as politics of participation. This is also due to the fact that the new federal law for the promotion of youth is only tackling
extracurricular activities (it is thus not a transversal law like the German “Child and youth welfare law”, covering all dimensions of youth and childhood - fully incorporated in federal social legislation). Swiss youth policies are thus less horizontally integrated, and following a much stricter subsidiarity of different government levels than in other federalist countries - for instance in Germany. Nevertheless, the new law that was enacted in 2013 obliges cities and municipalities to provide “participatory experiences”. While this can be interpreted as an increased federal monitoring, it confirms in the same time the crucial role of the local level in the implementation of participation policies.

11.5.1 The cultural imprinting of city youth policies

In the Swiss context, Lausanne can be considered as a pioneering city in terms of youth participation. On many concerns, the city has anticipated federal legislation and developed programs, which go beyond the minimal federal requirements. For example, city officials proudly insist that Lausanne benefits from the UNICEF label “Child friendly city”. As another illustration, Lausanne attempted to encourage formal participation already during the 80s. One should add however that the creation (in 1985) of the local youth commission (Groupe Contact Jeunesse) took place against a specific background, in the wake of several years of youth contestation. At the turn of the 80s, a coalition of activists regrouped under the banner “Lôzanne bouge” and essentially made up of youngsters aged 15-25, emerged as a new social movement, putting forward claims against the run for profits and discrimination, stressing out also the urgent need for a “self-governed space” in which they could experiment a free and more libertarian lifestyle. While strongly reprimanded by the city officials, leading to riots in the city centre, youngsters finally obtained a place in 1983, which became afterwards a hotspot of the city musical scene and youth culture, administered on a voluntary and self-managed basis. Interestingly, contemporary youth policies have conserved this historical “imprinting”. In a nutshell, they are strongly oriented around the ideas of giving young people space for self-expression, support of subcultural lifestyles and musical projects. For example, the fact that the youth delegate at the city level is officially responsible “to manage music rehearsal places and make available spaces for creation” is quite illustrative of the working (although not exclusive) conception of participation that is promoted.

11.5.2 Opportunities and limits of formal participation

Other relevant arenas for youth participation can be found in formal organs (deeply informed by the idea of representative democracy) like youth and children’s councils. The youth council of Lausanne (Conseil des Jeunes de Lausanne) is composed by 60 youngsters from age 13 to 25, who meet once a month and seek to develop projects in collaboration with the city youth delegate. Introduced in 2009 after recommendation of the city authorities, this organ has been initially conceived as a mean to foster “dialogue and exchanges between youngsters themselves, but also between youngsters and the city authorities”. Membership is not delivered simply on the basis of declared interest but is pre-determined by

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341 The movement called in particular for the suppression of the “register of homosexuals” (still existing at that time). Alternatives to the dominant culture were put forward with affirmations such as “we do not want a world where the guarantee of not starving to death implies the certainty of being bored to death”.


343 The council benefits from a 100’000 CHF annual budget. Amongst its most recent realizations, one can mention a campaign against homophobia (“Youth against homophobia”), which has been accompanied by several expositions and classroom presentations, and succeeded in introducing an ad-hoc anti-homophobia disposition in the new cantonal legislation on the education system ([Loi sur l’education obligatoire, LEO](https://www.legifram.ch/)). At the communal level, youth participation is also implemented through the organization of participative forums, allowing social issues and needs regarding local life to emerge and be collectively discussed.


The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
formal criteria. The composition of the council must for example follow a repartition key, which attributes a certain number of delegates in relation to a list of 6 main institutions (university students are for example not included in the list). While this formula is supposed to guarantee a representative sample of youth, the management of youngsters who are not affiliated to listed institutions remains unclear. Also, since the youth council is a consultative organ, its impact on policymaking is quite limited. On the one hand, youth consultation does not correspond to a legal obligation and therefore it mostly rests on the willingness of political actors and organizations. On the other hand, disapprovals or counter-propositions from the youth council in relation to local decisions or projects have no real coercive power (as it would be the case with a veto-right for example). Leaving out the question of its outcomes, city officials insist that formal participation represents a relevant arena for self-expression and active citizenship, which appear to be central referentials in the promoting of youth participation:

“In developing projects and debating in a public arena, one makes a topic its own and increases its competences as a citizen”

Formal participation in decision-making processes is also encouraged through the organization of youth participative forums. Youth groups can benefit from the support of youth promoters (so-called promoteurs projets jeunesse) sponsored by the canton to provide both technical and organizational counselling. These promoters are part of the cantonal implementation of the federal law on youth and they are key players for helping youngsters to approach the municipal authorities. In addition to previous instruments, formal participation (though not specifically targeted at youngsters) is also encouraged through the city campaign Your town, your life, your voice. This program, supported by the Confederation and implemented under the supervision of the City office for migrant integration (BLI), includes a range of initiatives aiming at fostering political participation and strengthening citizenship through the organization of such events as political coffee parties, guided tours of both federal or local democratic institutions, as well as thematic workshops (e.g. “How to vote?”). This program seeks rather to stimulate and diffuse a consciousness of citizenship at the local level, mostly through campaigning and the delivering of information on political rights and Swiss federalism.

11.5.3 (Re-)building social bonds and active citizenship through non-formal participation

On a very local, area-based level, youth participation is promoted through 16 community centers disseminated over the city territory, alternatively called maisons de quartiers or centres socio-culturels and monitored by the FASL (i.e. a third sector organization that works as the central entity for the administration and management of the 16 centers). To emphasize the ambitious character of this policy, city officials highlight that the resources devoted to these centers have a very high volume (10 million CHF a year). In accordance with the charter of the FASL, these maisons de quartiers are active in the sector of open youth work, even if the concept of “animation socioculturelle” they are following is not restricted to youth. As the central coordinator of the 16 community centres puts it, “bridging the gap between civil society and the municipal authorities is a central part of the community

345 The repartition key entails obligatory school system (13), matura schools (13 delegates), vocational schools (12), community centers and youth organizations (13), upper secondary school (4), political parties (5).
347 “The FASL shall ensure the satisfaction of children and teenagers’ needs” (FASL 2010)
workers’ mission“. Recent initiatives like “citizens’ walks”348 or “community contracts” aim precisely at integrating the voice of the people (youngsters included) in the definition of needs within the area under focus.

In this vast field of action, the promotion of youth participation carries great expectations in terms of social integration. This appears especially true in the definition of the role achieved by community centers, where participation is conceived as a relevant instrument for activating social capital, reinforcing social bonds or developing specific forms of area-based solidarity. Indeed, several framework documents consider participation as a way of tackling poverty and social exclusion and it is attributed the faculty to (re)inscribe the individual in the local network and social tissue of the community:

“The FASL aims at social inclusion, for anyone to be able to actively participate in the life of the community and social environment, without discrimination of any type (cultural, economical, political, religious, age, sexual or handicap). It strives to offer the population […] occasions to develop and affirm capacities to live together in society (social competencies), in respect with the various identities and cultural expressions” (FASL charter, p. 2).

The learning of “being and living together” (l’être et le vivre ensemble) appears as a core underpinning goal of participation. Such policies thus cannot simply be seen as participation policies, but seem to establish in a larger sense a way of modeling the relationships between the different groups among society (in particular, the older and the younger generations). As another illustration, one can mention that a specific ceremony for youngsters reaching their majority (La Fête des 18 ans) takes place every year since 2011349.

Nevertheless, participation as it is implemented in the field of youth policies often appears to be conditioned by the preliminary formulation of a project. This is especially true for small-scale opportunities offered by programs like jaiunprojet.ch and the so-called “city reserve fund”350, where youngsters’ demands must be formulated in the form of a project to be considered as legitimate.

“Our aim is to support projects. Youngsters put forward their ideas but we seek ideally to encourage them to develop a project that includes various considerations and that can be achieved, not just claims like we would like this or this” (City youth delegate).

Such an example highlights the fact that the politics of participation follow also pedagogical goals (whose effects are not necessarily measurable), in the form of a learning process that is supposed to enhance youngsters’ maturity and encourage their construction as (future) young adults and active citizens. In such a case, participation is typically viewed as a self-sufficient and intrinsically good concept (“participation for participation”), but also instrumental to learn how to behave as a “responsible citizen”.

11.5.4 The ambivalent character of participation: off-loading the burden of social responsibility vs. empowerment?

While benefitting in general from a highly positive appraisal, participative initiatives may also generate incomprehension or critics from the professionals themselves. For instance, social workers of a community center have reported insufficient efforts from city representatives to include the local actors in the recent implementation of an urban participative process:

348 Our translation of the French expression “balades citoyennes”.
349 This event is funded by the city and organized by youngsters themselves in a hotspot of the local cultural scene.
350 These services offer a “one-shot” funding amounting usually between 500 CHF and 2000 CHF.
“...as if they deliberately didn’t want the community to participate. In fact, we discovered by chance that an information point had been set up but nobody was there. If the information would have been communicated, we could have ensured the presence of community members” (Community worker).

In other circumstances, participative impulses “from the bottom” may come in conflict with the views developed “at the top” by members of the local government, which highlights the sometimes unclear character of the rules and conditions of participation: “we had several contradictory information and for me, the procedure was not transparent from the beginning on” (Community worker). Furthermore, participation may or may not be encouraged (sometimes even condemned), according to the issues at stake. Following several interview participants, large-scale projects where representatives or head officers seek to keep their leadership over the process may occasion alibi participation or even admonishments towards community members who are paradoxically perceived as “too much participative”, “too much empowered”, or whose action risks thwarting the initial plans of institutional actors. In certain cases, participation politics may actually represent a useful governance strategy for transferring the management of specific (mostly very locally circumscribed) issues from the city to the community:

“We had various logistical alternatives to avoid the presence of dealers in the park. We thought about restraining the accessibility, bettering the atmosphere by cutting trees. But we thought it’s more effective if people formulate by themselves these solutions and if a collective dynamic of re-appropriation of the park can emerge. So we decide to organize a participative procedure for the community members to get involved in this issue and discourage the dealers to come.” (City head officer for social housing and participative events)

Such an example highlights a rather instrumental use of participation, which might be interpreted as a gradual withdrawal of the city social responsibility. By “delegating” the management of such phenomena (like for example drug dealing or youngsters’ “incivilities” among a city district) to the community, city authorities neglect to tackle the living conditions asymmetries and segregation mechanisms. As a consequence, issues that entail a durable and structural dimension are reframed as epiphenomena and addressed on a very local, area-based level through small-scale projects on a short-time basis. Interestingly, other examples show that these kinds of instrumentation are not one-sided (i.e. from the local government) but may also come from street-level workers, who may find in participative initiatives an “opportunity structure” that will bring some advantages for them to develop new projects. For instance, the head of a community centre reported that the award of a community contract corresponds to a crucial opportunity for bottom-up information transfer and the satisfaction of specific needs:

“It was relevant for us to obtain this community contract. Strategically, this allows to get the attention from city officials and to tackle specific issues like public transports, urbanism, etc. The inhabitants have understood that it was a real opportunity to make their voice heard and develop things that we could not have been able to develop without it, because a community contract means also more money” (Head of a community centre)

351 Since 2010, city authorities have implemented a new instrument called “community contract” (contrat de quartiers), which allows to develop participative projects inside specific city areas on a 3-year term.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
11.5.5 Omnipresent but restrained: the limits of participation

As highlighted in previous descriptions, there is not one unified conception of participation that is implemented all over the city territory. Without considering the actual outcomes of participative processes, the multiplicity of arenas for opinion-giving, as well as the material resources put at the disposal of youngsters to realize projects, constitute clear illustrations of the efforts made to inscribe and foster participation at the local level. Participation represents a dominant framework in the open youth work and functions as a core referential for the realization of youth projects (mostly in the realm of leisure activities). This concept finds also an application in the domain of urban development, in line with the principles put forward by the municipality in its Quartiers 21 strategy:

“The more people can influence the spatial planning of the local place they are living in, the more they identify themselves as inhabitants inside the community”

In our view, these observations should however not hide a range of barriers - in addition to the ones mentioned previously (cf. supra) - to an enlarged and more ambitious conception of youngsters’ participation (see WP2 report). First, while often integrated in the initiatives operating under the label of “youth policies”, “community work” or even “urban development”, opportunities for youngsters’ “real” participation are however absent or only very limited in other policy areas. It is noteworthy to underline (even if the contrary would have been surprising) that youngsters’ views are generally not included in the design and implementation of labor market or education policies, nor in welfare services. As one of our interlocutors put it, “the world of work and its rules are not negotiable” (VET counselor). Second, in the policy areas that integrate a participative framework, typically explicit youth policies, it appears that participation does often not lead to a discussion on the place of youth in society or on the everyday challenges of young people and their life-worlds, but rather focuses on “active citizenship”, in which youngsters are addressed as “ready-made” citizens of the future. In a similar perspective, formal participation as it operates over the Lausanne territory seems to be quite silent in relation to inequalities and disadvantage, and the same observation may be reported concerning the promoters of participation themselves. In this context, critics that have been formulated in the literature may also apply here: “parliamentary forms of participation, often derived from the life-worlds of adults, address mainly those better-off audiences that are already sensible to participation. In addition the degree of influence of different groups varies. Individual and social disadvantages can thus even be reinforced” (Vollmer 2008: 130).

11.6 Social innovation

A short preliminary note on the Swiss innovation regime is necessary to describe the modes and processes of innovation. Switzerland is a highly decentralized, federal country. This is also highlighted by the fact that the Swiss administrative apparatus is mostly situated at the level of the cantons (42% of government and administration jobs), then followed by
municipalities (36%) (Koller 2008: 12). Two contradictory processes characterize the Swiss governance arrangement: On the one side, one can observe a stronger delegation of responsibility to the local level (for instance through cost containment measures in the unemployment insurance, leading to a higher number of persons having recourse to cantonal schemes). On the other side, there is a tendency for a soft, top-down regulation and harmonization initiated by the federal and inter-cantonal level. These two top-down processes are complemented by bottom-up social innovation, in which local level experiments are developed. Both elements are important for social innovation. As described in WP3 report, the specific Swiss governance regime is, due to its multilevel structure and the high autonomy of municipalities in specific areas, an interesting case for analyzing social innovation. Kazepov (2013: 237) shows in his comparative appraisal of different social innovation regimes, that different types of territorial organization are prone to develop specific types of social innovation. A country like Switzerland has, according to his typology, a high capacity for innovation in the third sector and for bottom-up empowerment. On the downside, as it is a highly fragmented system with lacking coordination between horizontal and vertical policy integration, a scaling-up of social innovation from the lower levels is relatively difficult.

As a full description of the Swiss governance arrangement has been delivered in WP3, this chapter will resume a few “social innovations” that have been identified on the local level, with a particular focus on the processes at stake.
11.6.1 Processes of social innovation: muddling through (or incremental change via)
institutional entrepreneurship and top-down agenda-setting

Some local policy innovations derive from a growing pressure at the street-level and result in incremental adaptations rather than bold policy proposals. This applies especially to the recent initiatives implemented in the SSL, which we termed “muddling through”.

“Social policy in action is a constant adaptation; we have not a broad vision and an overall unifying concept which guides all of our actions. We rather react towards problems which are identified, documented, and objectivized by our service, these problems are tackled by the elected communal officers, who draft reports. And eventually, a draft report with propositions emerges” (Social assistance policy officer)

Other innovations are driven by some kind of “institutional entrepreneurship” by local welfare professionals, administrators or politicians. As an illustration, the implementation of a local “one-stop shop” for youngsters without an apprenticeship installed a monitoring system of the trajectories of youngsters that generated new statistical data on them, on the basis of which professionals attempted to highlight youngsters’ specific needs and to make the different administrations take account of them. In using such a kind of “statactivism” (Bruno, Didier & Prévieux 2014), welfare professionals have been able to lobby the local administration to liberate new funds for innovative measures:

“The fact that we will have robust numbers in the coming years will be interesting, and it is the right moment, because elections are coming soon, and when it comes for instance to ask the political class to create new positions and to recognize the problem, we will have to have these numbers – otherwise, it will not be possible to convince especially those parties that are close to the economy” (T1 case manager).

As a matter of fact, it is interesting to look at third sector organizations as social entrepreneurs who are bringing up new issues “from the streets to the suites” (McLaughlin and Scott 2006), and assess their role in developing innovation. This can be observed in the institutionalization process of several policy schemes. In this perspective, the genealogy of the cantonal coaching program for youngsters having found an apprenticeship after social assistance (TEM accent) is highly illustrative:

“The starting of TEM originates in the fact that we were drowned by demands of youngsters who had broken their apprenticeship contract. These cases were growing and growing, focusing the attention of all the team. So yes... we decided to set up a service specifically dedicated to these demands, with an individualized coaching to be able to intervene very quickly and in real time, for the youngster to avoid the breaking of his/her apprenticeship. So yes... the initial concern was to off-load these demands. And over the time, we have become more effective because the demands were still high.” (Member of a youth third sector organization)

As highlighted by this interviewee, the TEM service emerged inside a third sector organization, which was very active over the Lausanne territory in proposing a general support for youngsters. The set-up of this service was at first specifically aimed at responding to a newly identified need, for which the organization was obviously not prepared and therefore it was unable to adequately satisfy it. After an initial “tinkering to build up...”

335 In this concrete case, this “institutional entrepreneurship” led to the implementation of half-day measures for those youngsters who were too weak/not used to work in a full position, the implementation of 2-week preparation in school skills to better prepare youngsters for recruitment assessments, and many more...

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
something that could work immediately” (Member of a youth third sector organization), the service became a pilot-project (after getting the financial support of the federal fund for professional training\textsuperscript{354}) and gained a growing visibility at the local level through particularly active institutional entrepreneurs, lobbying and putting new social problems on the agenda of the city administration. Another illustration of such a process of local experimentation can be found in the lobbying conducted by the Housing association for youngsters in education (ALJF). Born at the turn of the 2000s, the ALJF was initially a very small organization, whose action consisted mainly in seeking empty houses and formalize a “trust contract” (\textit{contrat de confiance}) with the legal owners so as to be able to bring up new and inexpensive accommodation facilities. Over the time, this organization managed to gather important public funding for the provision of affordable housing opportunities. This might also be interpreted as an example in which civil society organizations are “stepping in” sectors in which the local state is not able or not willing to intervene (see also below).

Other processes of social innovation are clearly geared by the agenda-setting and financial incentives offered by higher level administrations. As an example, the local youth delegate highlighted that the new federal law on youth policies had an “incentive-giving” role for the development of local youth policies. Local policy makers admit that the federal state “soft version” of a top-down approach to innovation in youth policies had important effects, especially in proposing a terminology (that has been taken up by the canton of Vaud) articulated around the “three Ps” of the Children’s rights convention (“participation, protection and provision”). Such a top-down approach can also happen through agenda-setting by federal and supranational actors (especially in the case of the federal programme “Youth and violence” and the European programme “Youth in action”).

\textbf{11.6.2 Top-down innovation in a multi-level governance system: the example of youth participation policies and of “one-stop shops”}

This section provides two examples of top-down social innovation: One example stems from the field of VET policies and the implementation of specific strategies for supporting “disadvantaged” youngsters in their transition from school to work. As many of the policy areas concerned by the transition problem were under cantonal responsibility, the federal state could not directly legislate. In order to compensate this, federal policymakers used a by-pass strategy and gave to the new VET law a strong innovation dimension. Indeed, according to the new VET act (voted in 2004), the Confederation is equipped with the possibility to fund pilot-projects (art. 4), to foster their implementation at the cantonal level in relation to “disadvantaged youth” (art. 55) and even to fund “disadvantaged groups and regions” (art. 7). Since 2010, these funds have been largely used to support the cantons to launch schemes, inter-institutional coordination initiatives and the case-management for professional training (CMFP), as the new VET law urged the cantons “to provide measures which prepare young people with individual educational deficits for initial vocational training” (art. 12). Similarly, the new 2013 law on the “encouragement of youth activities” (LEEJ) institutionalized new funding modalities, not only for local, experimental programs of “national relevance”, but as well for the development of cantonal youth policy concepts. Hereby, the idea of innovation and policy “scaling-up” is explicit, as the projects have to “contain innovative aspects”, be “transferable”, and correspond to a “proven need” and the knowledge transfer has to be ensured\textsuperscript{355}.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{354}This fund is centrally administered by the Federal department for youth and culture (DJFC)
\textsuperscript{355}A deeper description of the projects funded within this scheme can be found in WP3.}

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).
11.6.3 Social innovation on the local level (and the difficulty to define social innovation in a prescriptive way)

When it comes to describe concrete social innovations, it is hard to operate a clear-cut definition of which social practices should be considered and evaluated under the term ‘social innovation’. Therefore we choose a number of policies and try to explain for each why we consider that it contains innovative elements. Since we have not had (yet) direct access to the voices and views of youngsters, we consider only two main features to address social innovation:

- Policies are described as “innovative” by actors, and/or
- Initiatives entail new underlying “causal mechanisms” or, in other terms, “programme theories” (Rogers 2008), through which a specific policy is meant to create specific outcomes.

11.6.3.1 In the domain of organizational policy innovation: The development of integrated transition policies

Both the FORJAD and CMFP schemes led to the development of integrated local support networks in the realm of access to apprenticeships for vulnerable young adults. It entailed the de-compartmentalization of different legal vessels (social assistance, education, special education and the coordination of social assistance schemes with educational grants).

- One innovative aspect consists in removing institutional barriers to enter education, as before these reforms youngsters lost eligibility to social assistance, once they were in education.
- The creation of a new coaching-scheme for youngsters (TEM accent) transiting from social assistance to apprenticeship acts as a mediator between employer, professional school, young person, and the different social institutions. This plays also an important role in recruitment processes, as employers are now informed that young people are “followed up” and they are thus expected to be keener to give them a contract.
- The implementation of 5 “one-stop shops” for youngsters aged 15-18 allows to make visible a number of social needs not covered until then (see above). This led to the development of new measures (for instance “welcome” classes for foreign youngsters having language deficits, low-threshold measures, funding of measures by different institutional partners).
- A more “effective” allocation to transition measures, which previously happened in a non-coordinated manner.

11.6.3.2 In the domain of local youth policies

In part 5 and 6 of this report, we have identified the problem that classical, parliamentary forms of youth participation confront specific groups to certain barriers, causing especially more disadvantaged groups not to participate. In addition, part 5 has shown that young people in rupture with institutional bonds are seen as an emerging problem. The innovations listed below strive to tackle these issues; they are sometimes fully-fledged intervention concepts, sometimes only “practices”:

- The “Pavé” project (“Cobblestone”) tries to approach youngsters on those places in which they meet (and sometimes occasion some trouble). It combines a socio-cultural axis (a bar, games, places for sitting down, a scene, music instruments, etc.) with a preventive axis (different services ranging from health providers, street workers, vocational counsellors). This strategy is interesting because it aims at creating spaces
for youngsters to voice some aspects of their life-worlds, while incorporating a preventive dimension in an informal setting. Such an initiative may also be adapted to address the issue of social rights in the case of non take-up.

- The outreach work accomplished by the TSHM workers: albeit being a classical method of youth work – and having been installed due to security concerns, it displays a number of innovative professional practices. Several episodes have shown how the outreach worker acts as a translator between young persons (both as individuals and as a collective) and the authorities, and tries to translate concerns of young people in a language intelligible to local public authorities (and vice versa).

- “Youth promoters” are adult professionals who give any young person advice and counselling in setting up an own project, or an own association. While these promoters often help young people with individual projects (e.g. a music or art project), they focus more and more on setting up youth forums (where citizens, representatives of the municipality and youngsters discuss an issue on demand of young persons). As such, they act as “translators” of youth claims in the public sphere, and help – as “enabling devices” – to get their claims heard. This project is particularly interesting as it effectively avoids the barriers that persist in parliamentary forms of youth participation.

11.6.4 The other side of the coin: ambivalences of social innovation

It is important not to forget that the funding modes that are meant to encourage innovation also have a downside: As projects are more and more financed on the basis of specific projects, in particular through “service contracts” (contrats de prestations), or for specific target groups, local third sector organizations face financial pressure, especially when it comes to maintain offers which are more “generalist” in nature, and target no specific group or public.

“Our main problem is that we have a growing difficulty to find financial support for our basic services because they are not specific. The type of advice we propose, for issues of any kind, are becoming barely fundable, especially if our services don’t include integration measures. And even if it remains an essential entry door for the 16-25!” (Member of a youth third sector organization)

As such, the previous quote clearly shows that certain service infrastructures cannot be maintained easily. This is an important issue, as the delivery of many services is allocated to third sector organizations. In this perspective and given the current orientations of the State funding system, these organizations adopt strategies to make their organizational structure correspond to the changing demands stemming from the local welfare state (e.g. through becoming increasingly “hybrid”, thus mixing different organizational rationales coming from the market sphere, the state and the civil society sphere).

A further ambivalence of the notion of social innovation is that it combines very well with a programmatic of welfare-state retrenchment and the logic of activating resources of the civil society. In this perspective, one ambivalent feature could be that under the title “social innovation”, more and more services previously provided by the state are shifted to local third-sector and civil society organizations. Already in 1993, Butschi and Cattacin (1993: 362) stated that, “whereas the liberal state of the nineteenth century only intervened when civil society failed in solving its problems according to the principle of subsidiarity, the modern welfare state incites civil society to deal with the problem”.
### “Problems” (as described by different stakeholders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Proposed “solutions” (not necessarily innovations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social assistance</strong></td>
<td>“young people lose access to social assistance when starting an apprenticeship”</td>
<td>(canton) FORJAD scheme (apprenticeships for young adults in difficulties)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“youngsters face barriers for entering apprenticeships”</td>
<td>• Decompartmentalisation of educational, labour market, study grants and social assistance policies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“high number of apprenticeship drop-outs”</td>
<td>• Individual follow up, even after having found an apprenticeship (TEM accent)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“no leverage (sticks) to force young people to accept an offer”</td>
<td>(city) Municipal social assistance</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“lacking motivation to participate in offers”</td>
<td>• Creation of a pluridisciplinary “integration unit”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“explosion of costs”</td>
<td>• Stricter conditionality criteria</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“overrepresentation of youngsters in social assistance”</td>
<td>• Weekly payment of benefits (instead of monthly)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“avoid the installation of youngsters in social assistance at the age of 18”</td>
<td>• New intake protocol</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“intergenerational transmission of poverty”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Access to apprenticeships</strong></td>
<td>lack of coordination between different legal vessels, leading to “misleading trajectories”</td>
<td>Integrated transition management/one stop shops</td>
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<td></td>
<td>inefficient attribution to transition measures</td>
<td>• Fast attribution to a transition measure</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“young people without a solution after obligatory schooling”</td>
<td>• Standardized assessment of skills</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“mismatch of young persons’ aspirations and available apprenticeship places”</td>
<td>• “Responsibilize youngsters for their professional choices”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“lack of apprentices in specific sectors”</td>
<td>Others:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Young people in rupture with institutionalized bonds</strong></td>
<td>most disadvantaged youth remain invisible or end up detached from all kind of state support</td>
<td>● The “Pavé” project (cobblestone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“don’t trust adults anymore”</td>
<td>● Outreach work</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“refuse any appointment with social workers or simply don’t come”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Urban and security policies</strong></td>
<td>“social exclusion that manifests itself in a breakdown of social bonds”</td>
<td>● “Reinforce the presence of social workers in the city centre and potentially at-risk places”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>declining social “mixity” in specific areas</td>
<td>• Local, participatory area-committees and associations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“feeling of insecurity generated by social exclusion, precariousness, loneliness, incivilities and open violence”</td>
<td>• “Safari walk” and “citizens’ walk”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“youngsters in a process of rupture with social bonds spontaneously regrouping in public space”,</td>
<td>• Area-based community contracts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“sometimes violent” youth gangs</td>
<td>• New form of collaboration between youth outreach workers and police</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2/3 of population describe having faced “incivilities” by group of youngsters</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Housing problems</strong></td>
<td>“Social assistance beneficiaries in hotels”</td>
<td>● New city social housing project designed for youngsters</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“percentage of the 18-25 category is in constant growth among beneficiaries of social housing”</td>
<td>● Solidarity accommodation project (sourcing accommodation facilities in private households)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“risk of losing their housing for financial reasons, problems with neighbours or arbitrary decisions from the owners or rental companies”</td>
<td>● Coaching of youngsters in social housing by outreach workers</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Youth/participation policies</strong></td>
<td>“Social exclusion manifests itself in a breakdown of social bonds”</td>
<td>Awareness-raising campaigns</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“declining social ‘mixity’ in specific areas”</td>
<td>● “Your town, your life, your voice” program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“feeling of insecurity generated by social exclusion, precariousness, loneliness, incivilities and open violence”</td>
<td>● “Me and the others” project</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“youngsters in a process of rupture with social bonds spontaneously regrouping in public space”,</td>
<td>“Youth project promoters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“sometimes violent” youth gangs</td>
<td>Youth forums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2/3 of population describe having faced “incivilities” by group of youngsters</td>
<td>Community centers/youth centers (specific actions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme FP7 under grant agreement n°320136 (see Article II.30. of the Grant Agreement).*
11.7. Discussion and conclusion: the Informational Basis of Judgement of Justice of Youth Policies

This final chapter describes the discursive construction of youth as a category of public action, with a special focus on the normative implications and the different actors that play (and/or have played) a central role for the construction of this category. We loosely draw on neo-institutionalist theories, highlighting the importance to address youth policies as a contested field of public action, in which a specific constellation of actors (be they individual or collective) struggle and position themselves in the youth policy field. Not only the “different policy constructions of youth” (Jones 2005: 43) that emerged during recent reforms, but also the institutional framing of youth as a life-course phase (e.g. from welfare state, educational actors and other powerful institutions) participating to what “youth” is, enter into consideration.

We consider that the discursive arenas in which the youth issue is debated are made up of different (sometimes conflicting, sometimes cooperating) actors, who structure and make up the ways in which we think about youth and young persons. As a matter of fact, the making up of the youth policy field can only be understood through the mapping of different policy actors in order to reach a relational understanding of the dynamics which fuel institutional and discursive change in youth policies. Our approach is inspired by research conducted by leading neo-institutionalist researchers (Scott 2008, Scott, Descenes, Hopkins et al. 2006) who analyze how advocacy organizations led to restructuring the field of youth services. These authors show that “organizations bring about new conceptions of youth, influence the organization of the field, and ultimately change the way public policy addresses youth’s needs” (Scott et al. 2006: 691).

Organizations in the youth services field are not entering and staking out a virgin territory—a “green field”— but are working to reform and restructure not one but several existing, interrelated, highly institutionalized organizational fields, including education, social services, and juvenile justice. The concept of organizational field refers to a collection of diverse but interdependent organizations “that constitute a recognized area of institutional life” (DiMaggio & Powell 1983: 143; see also Scott & Meyer 1994). Our description of the IBJJ, in line with Salais (2010) and Farvaque (2006), follows the idea that “a chosen informational basis points to a convention of evaluation and action and hence, towards the cognitive, pragmatic and normative dimension of public policies” (Farvaque 2006: 160). Analytically this implies to disentangle the construction of the informational basis and to describe the “chain” of production of “cognitive categories” (Salais et al. 1998; Desrosières & Thévenot 1988). Farvaque (2006) also proposes to connect the analytical concept of IBJJ with the concept of “conventions of evaluation”, an approach that provides tools for analyzing the different normative presuppositions and cognitive formats by which actors evaluate and qualify things and situations. Put it bluntly, we use an approach highlighting the existence of different discursive arenas, in which processes of “naming and framing” operate, contributing to the definition of what is problematic about the youth and, in turn, suggesting some policy developments.

11.7.1 Youth policies disentangled: three discursive arenas in which youth issues are debated and negotiated

As highlighted in previous sections of this report, youth related policies as they are implemented at the level of the city of Lausanne cannot be isolated; they rather have to be understood in relation with higher levels (cantonal and federal) orientations and governance
In this perspective, one can identify three central dimensions that are constitutive of the IBJJ, all of them incorporated in different discourses and indicators and represented by different groups of actors.

- **Young people as future workforce**

In such a perspective, youngsters are fundamentally considered as objects of social investment (amongst others in terms of skills required for the economy) or, alternatively, as cost burdens for the social insurance system (when not meeting the requirement of financial autonomy through the market). In this respect, age represents a central criterion, be it for the targeting and design of new policies or when it comes to decide whether one should (or not) be entitled to specific measures. As an additional characteristic of this discursive arena, youngsters are generally considered as detached entities, i.e. as individuals that are free to contract and transact in a competitive society. With reference to the conventions’ model of Boltanski and Thévenot (1991, 2006), the evaluative and cognitive framework, as well as the vocabulary that is used to describe youngsters’ situations, refers to the spheres of the “market” (insofar the discussion evolves around the competitiveness of Swiss enterprises and the lacking market readiness of the young persons). Also relevant is the “industry” order of worth (insofar insistence is put on youngsters’ performance, the skill needs of the future Swiss economy or the issue of skills mismatch). As expected, the discursive struggles are mainly evolving around the issue of the extent to which the apprenticeship system should be guided by market mechanisms and what role should be foreseen for state intervention 357. At the local level of the canton of Vaud and the city of Lausanne, this debate is fed by the idea that apprenticeship positions are limited, thus becoming scarce goods that youngsters have to compete for and for that reason, they must be as well equipped as possible (which is eventually constituted as the main role of transition measures providers).

On the federal level, key players in this field are the State secretariat for education, research and innovation (SEFRI), as well as employers’ organizations and labor market actors. In the wake of the apprenticeship law reforms (2004) and the subsequent reforms of the unemployment insurance, these actors have been leaders in incentivizing cantons to overhaul their transition systems, promote inter-institutional collaboration and bring more youngsters into dual apprenticeship schemes, especially from the background that more and more apprenticeship positions remain without applicants. It is thus first and foremost a discursive field that evolves around a concern for young people as a supply side problem for the future workforce.

Within this field, the elaboration of a common Swiss benchmark-indicator for youngsters with upper secondary education (95% until 2015) but also the creation of specific problem groups (e.g. “youngsters with multiple integration barriers”), have played a particularly important role (see also WP 3 report). Additionally inter-institutional coordination vessels (the SKOS and the CDIP358) have played an important role for putting the question of youngsters without upper secondary education on the agenda of social assistance actors.

On the cantonal level, these actors are by far more diverse, reflecting the heterogeneity of youth social integration policies and problem constructions (Reynaud and Acklin 2013). In the case of the canton of Vaud, third sector organizations played a central role in the promoting of the JAD category (“Jeunes adultes en difficulté”) in a political climate (left majority) characterized by emblematic political persons acting as “institutional entrepreneurs” that made the “JAD issue” a key political agenda.

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356Thus, the IBJJ includes also features that have already been mentioned in WP3 report.
357See in particular the struggle related to the trade unions campaign for a right to education in 1998 described in WP3 report.
358CDIP: Swiss conference of cantonal educational directorates; SKOS : Swiss conference for social assistance.
**Young people as citizens of the future**

The second discourse mainly addresses youngsters as members of a greater political entity who are in need of education to satisfy the requirements attributed to liberal citizenship. This discursive arena fundamentally constitutes youth as an object of participation politics, aiming at fostering its representation inside the modern democratic state. The cognitive formats and the dominant vocabulary that characterize this arena refer to the “civic” sphere (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991, 2006), which is guided by a notion of the common good and grounded on a social contract (especially between the generations). Here, the main issue consists in giving youth a *presence*, a stable and durable visibility in the formal organs of contemporary democracies, so as to ensure the participation of all in the definition of the common good. Young people are thus typically described as bearers of specific citizenship rights and constituted as legitimate participants in the public sphere. While in informal arenas, participation is often referred as a mean of sustaining or reinforcing the social bonds through the development of area-based projects, formal participation is perceived as a way of bridging the gap between youngsters and governments. Such a discourse is most prominent within initiatives and among organizations operating in the field of (soft) “youth policies” in the narrow sense, i.e. those explicitly aiming at encouraging the voice of youngsters in the pursuit of the public interest. For instance, all parliamentary motions that have led to the development of a “Swiss strategy for a children and youth policy” (2008) have incorporated as a main topic the political participation of youngsters.

As another characteristic, discourses emphasizing youth participation often insist on its pedagogical value. In participating, be it in formal organs or in very small-scale projects, youngsters are supposed to develop new and useful skills. The simple fact of taking part in a participative process is often perceived as a success in itself, independently from the final outcomes of the procedure. It is also important to note that this discursive field is populated by different actors than in previous field: On the upper level, the Federal office for social insurances (OFAS), diverse commissions and the representative organs of civil society organizations working with youth are the most active players, while on the cantonal level, diverse administrative services are responsible for this topic. Most importantly, within a decentralized, highly subsidiary Swiss system, it is mainly the local municipalities that are responsible for the implementation of schemes that include (but can go beyond) the formal, parliamentary forms of participation.

The participation discourse is a prime example of the relative autonomy of the different discursive fields: While claims for participation are ubiquitous, they are mostly restrained to the civic sphere and in those democratic arenas that constitute the modern state, respectively that constitute youth directly. Much more seldom are calls for enhanced participation within the sphere of work or consumption, neither do examples exist of more ambitious participative processes involving users of social services.

**Young people as carriers of specific forms of self-expression, consumption and lifestyles.**

While the previous discourses are mostly working on youngsters as future adults (*becomings* rather than *beings*), the last discursive arena that we have identified puts more focus on what they are (or are supposed to be) or on what they do (or are supposed to do). In this sphere of public action, youngsters are fundamentally recognized as *cultural beings*, who might be encouraged in their aspirations and leisure-time activities through logistical, technical and financial support, especially if they succeed in formulating their demands in the format of a *project*. As illustrations, one can mention the realization of cultural events and artistic productions, as well as the putting at disposal of various places for creation and sport activities (music rehearsal places, skate-parks, hip-hop and graffiti workshops, etc.).
some kinds of expressions and activities are considered as legitimate forms of youthfulness, thus justifying state encouragement and support, some other youth behaviors are becoming subject of state intervention, which can alternatively take the form of prevention, control or repression. The boundaries between legitimate forms of youthful expressions and “risky” behaviors requiring state intervention and prevention are hard to delineate and are subject of a problem construction stemming from different actors. These boundaries appear rather as the result of punctual government reaction to emerging issues than a fully-fledged strategy. Recently, these included prevention campaigns for alcohol and drug use, youth and violence, and risks linked with the use of social media by youngsters.

At the city level, installing video-surveillance camera in well-known youth meeting points, implementing a youth outreach work, a youth police brigade or a squad of nocturnal social workers, or the setting-up of small-scale projects seeking to reach youngsters in the public space constitute other modalities of state responses against illegitimate or problematic “youth behaviors” (e.g. in terms of health or crime prevention). These were often the outcome of situations in which “adult” citizens complained about specific behaviors of youth in the public space, leading to a reaction by the local municipality. As such, this highlights the old tension in the social construction of youth that easily oscillates between categories of care, of cure and of control. Official discourses suggest that it is more about “channeling” youth’s forms of self-expression into “productive”, “non-harmful” or at least “socially accepted” behaviors.

One exemplary case is the opening of municipal sport facilities for youngsters in the evening hours, which was meant to prevent youngsters from hanging around in the streets and in public places.

The categorization of the diverse IBJJs under these three discourses might seem gross but it adequately grasps the normative justifications for the development of different policies. It is interesting to note that various actors from different administrative levels and political resorts populate the “youth field”. Even urban policies and security policies are therefore always also youth policies. On the other side, it becomes clear that the “youth issue” is debated in a number of different discursive fields, each of them highlighting different dimensions. It is interesting to notice that these different discourses hardly intertwine or cross-reference to each other – they seem to be relatively hermetic discursive arenas. This might be due to the specific administrative and geographical scale of these different arenas: While “harder” youth policies are mostly designed and implemented on the higher level administrations (federal and cantonal), “soft” youth participation policies are administered at the local, municipal level. It is clear that each of these “layers” of youth policy have their own informational basis of judgment in justice, their own rationalities and implications, which are also due to their specific institutional structure but also the historical and political traditions in Switzerland.
Del. 4.1: Local Stakeholders in Youth Policies in Europe

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References


