



Deliverable 5.5:
Syntheses Report on the basis of qualitative and quantitative case study summaries

**“WHAT REFORMS ARE NEEDED IN EUROPEAN YOUTH POLICIES?
TOWARDS A POLITICS OF CAPABILITY DEVELOPMENT”**

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The synthesis report is based on two publications that were produced for the SocIEtY project. It synthesizes findings from both experimental quantitative research and from eleven regional case studies that applied participatory qualitative research. Detailed results can be found in the following reports that are cited accordingly throughout this synthesis report:

1. **Alejandra Boni & Bettina Haidinger (2015): Case study outcomes on the regional case studies** (Deliverable 5.2), EU research project SocIEtY: Social Innovation - Empowering the Young for the Common Good. Report to the European Commission

With Contributions of:

- **Thomas Ley, in cooperation with Jana Wetzel (2015): CASE STUDY GERMANY: 3 Institutions – 3 Perspectives – 3 Attempts of Participation?**
- **Benoit Beuret, Jean-Michel Bonvin & Stephan Dahmen (2015): CASE STUDY SWITZERLAND.**
- **Valerie Egdell & Helen Graham (2015): CASE STUDY SCOTLAND: Understanding Young People's Experiences of Looking for Work Using Participatory Research: Findings from Scotland.**
- **Aurora López Fogués & Alejandra Boni (2015): CASE STUDY SPAIN: Young People's Voices: The Use of Participatory Video in Quart de Poblet, Valencia.**
- **Giuseppe Acconcia, Enrica Chiappero-Martinetti, Paolo R. Graziano & Francesco Scervini (2015): CASE STUDY ITALY: Youth Unemployment and Public Policies in Italy: The Cases of Two Disadvantaged Areas in Milan and Naples.**
- **Caroline Vandekinderen, Rudi Roose, Griet Roets & Hilde Van Keer (2015): CASE STUDY BELGIUM: The System of Part-Time Vocational Education and Workplace Learning in Ghent.**
- **Niels Rosendal Jensen & Anna Kathrine Frørup (2015): CASE STUDY DENMARK.**
- **Bettina Haidinger, in collaboration with Ruth Kasper (2015): CASE STUDY AUSTRIA: This is a Girls' Space?! Re- Searching for Participatory Parity in Gender-specific Youth Work.**
- **Thierry Berthet & Veronique Simon (2015): CASE STUDY FRANCE: One Young, One Voice.**
- **Evelyne Baillergeau & Jan Willem Duyvendak (2015): CASE STUDY NETHERLANDS.**
- **Adrian Dan, Marian Ursan & Oana Banu (2015): CASE STUDY ROMANIA. The Romanian youth in finding the way to be heard ... by whom? A photovoice exercise.**

2. **Josiane Vero & Céline Goffette (2015): Report on the quantitative case studies** (Deliverable 5.4), EU research project SocIEtY: Social Innovation - Empowering the Young for the Common Good. Report to the European Commission

With contributions of:

- **Robert Raeside, Valerie Egdell & Helen Graham (2015): Understanding Agents' Views of Youth Unemployment and Young People's Integration into Society**
- **Christian Christrup Kjeldsen (2015): Young people's Subjective Capability Quality of Life (SCQL) in Europe**
- **Céline Goffette & Josiane Vero (2015): Exploring contextual and individual differences of working involuntary in a temporary or part-time job among young workers in Europe: a capability perspective**
- **Tao Chen, Robert Raeside, Valerie Egdell & Helen Graham (2015): Job-related training in the UK from 2000 to 2014: Insights from the LFS**
- **Helen Graham, Robert Raeside & Valerie Egdell (2015): Determinants of Labour Market Exclusion in the United Kingdom**
- **Francesco Scervini, Agnese Peruzzi & Enrica Chiappero-Martinetti (2015): Trends and determinants of inequality of capabilities in the labour market in Italy**

SYNTHESIS REPORT: What Reforms are Needed in European Youth Policies? Towards a politics of Capability Development

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1. Introduction

The research project “Social Innovation – Empowering the Young (SociEtY) for the Common Good” both focused on, and integrated the views of, disadvantaged young people, and the practitioners who support them, in the research process. The overall aim of the SociEtY project was to critically consider and extend the given informational basis for designing and implementing policies aimed at tackling inequality. The approach was to bring to the fore young people’s concerns and voices about their self-perception and participation in society.

To accomplish these ambitious research tasks, the research strategy benefitted from the complementarities between qualitative and quantitative methodologies based on the Capability Approach (CA). This report synthesises the quantitative and qualitative research work of the SociEtY project based on the outcomes of participatory regional case studies and quantitative case studies¹.

In the case of the *qualitative research*, partners in the SociEtY project developed innovative participatory research methodologies bringing different stakeholders and different narratives together. An aim of this empirical instrument was to enable deliberative processes in which every participant had equal opportunity to voice their concerns and aspirations with regard to the common good. Traditional empirical research was combined with a participatory methodology to gain new and innovative knowledge about young people’s current social and economic situation and to capture young people’s voices, ideas and aspirations and broadening the informational basis for social innovation in public policies.

The *quantitative research* addressed the assumptions operated and valued by agents responsible for the development and implementation of policy in five European countries using a Q-Methodology. The quantitative research has also developed an understanding of inequalities in capabilities from secondary data analysis, bridging, whenever possible, young people’s responses in national or European harmonised surveys and contextual data at national or regional level. As such the quantitative research creates a critical mass of empirical research to shed light upon the barriers and challenges young people face in two key areas: (1) employment and (2) their integration and participation in society.

¹ Deliverable 5.2: 11 reports on regional case studies (Haidinger/Boni, 2015) and deliverable 5.4: Report on the quantitative case studies (Vero/Goffette, 2015)

The remainder of the synthesis report is structured as follows:

- Sections 2 and 3 summarise concepts and methods applied during the qualitative (section 2) and quantitative research (section 3).
- Section 4 highlights common concepts, concerns and conclusions of qualitative and quantitative research.
- Finally, section 5 provides some common policy-relevant reflections that emerged from the empirical investigations.

2. Participatory research in case studies

This section summarises main concepts, methods applied and empirical findings from SociEtY's participatory research in eleven case studies.

2.1. Common concepts applied

The aim of the participatory research was to approach and take seriously young people's perspectives in order to broaden and reconfigure the informational basis of judgement of justice (Sen, 1990) when considering policies and programmes targeted at young people. For this purpose, it was important to gain access to difficult phenomena such as:

- the formation and construction of aspirations;
- the collective contexts of learning in everyday life and institutional contexts; or
- the scope for participation in public policy programmes from the young people's point of views.

The CA provided the framework for analysis with the aim to broaden the informational basis of the judgement of justice going beyond the examination of the availability of primary goods and resources but also taking into account inter-individual variations between resources and the freedom to pursue ends. The CA attaches great importance to personal choice but at the same time, it considers choices in relation to the resources, norms and institutional arrangements available for the person. Consequently, it can account for interpersonal variations among participants (different perspectives on aspirations or understandings of participation) and puts those variations in relation to socio-environmental factors (López/Boni, 2015: 110, referring to Robeyns, 2000; Crocker, 1992; Sen 1992: xi).

"A person's actual freedom to pursue his or her ends depends on both what ends he/she has and what power he/she has to convert resources into achievement of ends. We are diverse in relation to differences that exist among our ends and objectives. And we are diverse in our ability to convert resources into actual freedoms." (Sen, 1990: 121)

For this purpose, the development of a comprehensive methodology of participation and deliberative processes with different modules building upon each other was crucial. The rationale behind the 11 regional case studies was to capture young people's point of views and experiences in different policy and local settings. The reports focused on displaying young people's narratives, aspirations and conceptions of justice and how these are

articulated, heard, contested and achieved in social policies and practices as well as in other aspects of their daily lives (life-world).

The 11 reports took into account two analytical core dimensions to allow for a common and comparative analysis of our findings:

- Aspirations and the capacity to aspire (see section 2.3.2); and
- Substantial freedoms of participation (see section 2.3.3)

Based on these dimensions, section 2.3 presents the main findings of the empirical participatory research. The two dimensions are explored through the normative frame of social inequality (Beuret et al, 2013), which functions as a transversal dimension. Hence, in the first section (2.3.1) we will disentangle the different forms of social inequality our research uncovered; in a subsequent step the concepts of participation and the capacity to aspire will be related to the young people's experiences of social inequality .

In addition, a section (2.4) will reflect upon the role of participatory research for the capability for voice of young people and for gaining new knowledge to broaden the informational basis for the judgement of justice.

Section 2.5 provides an interim summary on the findings of the participatory research.

2.2. Methods applied, background to the case studies and capabilities in focus

The eleven regional case studies² cover a wide range of policy fields, address the particularities of different groups of young people and apply various participatory methods to uncover and tap into the voices of disadvantaged young people. All the case studies aimed in various ways to take young people's voices seriously and make them subject to feedback and reflection and to (public) deliberation.

The policy fields covered can be roughly divided into two areas:

- 1) The case studies in Romania, Spain, Austria, Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands (n=6) gained access to *disadvantaged young people via social and youth work initiatives*. 'Disadvantaged young people' refers to particular groups of young people experiencing inequality in terms of material distribution, status and representation in relation to others (Fraser, 2009). 'Disadvantaged young people' is an expression that draws upon the relational understanding of the Capability Approach. Real opportunities and the dispositions to make use of them to be able to realise one's concerns are both preconditions for capabilities (Ley, 2015: 25). Accordingly, the case studies give on the one hand insight to young people's meaningful thematics and limit-situations (Freire, 2009[1970]) within and beyond the selected social and youth work initiatives. On the

² Annex A gives an overview of the diverse policy fields and programmes that were explored, the methods that were applied and the thematic foci of the 11 case studies.

other hand, the case studies explored *the strengths and shortcomings of these programmes and initiatives for combatting the inequalities and exclusion experienced on different levels and for enhancing the capacities of young people to aspire what they have reason to value*. Partly, case studies focused on particular groups of (disadvantaged) young people in a (disadvantaged) area:

- Roma in Bucharest, Romania;
- Young people from an urban area with low levels of employment and severely affected by austerity cuts, in Valencia, Spain;
- Girls in the Simmering district, Vienna, Austria;
- Muslim girls in Bielefeld, Germany (besides other groups);
- Young mothers in Denmark (besides other groups); and
- Spanish young people in the Netherlands (besides other groups).

For unveiling the voice of young people and their relations to local support networks and policy initiatives, the six case studies applied different, and sometimes combinations of, research methods. In Austria, Germany, Romania and Spain, arts-based (street-art) respectively media-based (photo workshop, participatory video, photovoice) approaches were used as *an ongoing organisational co-learning process* among participants, to motivate voices through artistic practice *“of the moment, belonging to a pedagogy of the here-and-now”* (Batsleer, 2011: 428) and to make young people’s statements visible and subject to public scrutiny and debate. In Germany and Austria, ethnographic methods such as observant participation were applied, in addition. In Denmark, the Netherlands and Austria biographical or narrative interviews with young people were conducted. All countries used group discussion or focus groups to discuss and contest relevant issues and outcomes among research participants.

- 2) The case studies in Italy, Switzerland, Scotland, Belgium and France (n=5) more intensely focused on *issues of education and the employment of disadvantaged young people*. The (local) policy initiatives explored, addressed young people searching for and finding appropriate educational and occupational trajectories. Hence, the case studies scrutinised the capabilities for education (as a capability and a conversion factor), for work and for voice as well as the rationales behind non-take up within and beyond specific programmes.

From a methodological point of view, the case studies in France and Switzerland drew on sociological intervention method, emphasising the role of young people as co-researchers (Dubet, 1994). During this process, young people not only expressed their views but also reflected their inclusion into a specific programme, their specific life-situation, or their experience of being ‘in transition’ from school to work. The French team also used cartoons documenting the sociological intervention and highlighting certain outcomes in a reflective and critical manner. The Belgian case study aimed at producing process-oriented knowledge about the ways educational and social welfare actors can support young people in the respective system of education using participatory biographical research. All three of them emphasised *ambiguity, complexity, tension, conflicting views between young people and policy and operational stakeholders as the basis for transforming support systems from the young people’s point of view*. In

this sense, deliberative inquiry (Bonvin/Galster, 2010) and positional objectivity do highlight the epistemological significance of value judgements made from particular social positions. The case studies in Scotland and Italy used photovoice and group discussions among young people to gain access to their perceptions of aspirations, voice and (the transformative character) of participation.

2.3. Main findings of qualitative research according to the concepts applied

2.3.1. Social inequality

Social inequalities can be tackled from the perspective of experience, of meaning making, and of subjective judgements of achievements, on the one hand. On the other hand, social inequalities can be interpreted through the lens of processes, i.e. to what extent young people are enabled and allowed – or not – to push their views (or positional objectivities) when it comes to select a specific description of their situation and a specific informational basis of the inequalities and deprivations affecting them. In any case, social inequality refers to the situation in which young people live and to the context in which voices get meaning, are raised or not, and aspirations get realised or not. As such – as we will show in the following two sections - social inequality connects very well with the issue of aspirations and its social embeddedness, and with the duality of participation and opportunities.

We group the main findings of the participatory research with respect to social inequality around three themes: (1) inequality and the stigma of being (perceived as) disadvantaged; (2) youth as a disadvantaged group; and (3) inequality, the deprivation of rights and subsidiarity.

2.3.1.1. *Inequality and the stigma of being perceived as disadvantaged*

Young people highlighted the role of unwanted and sometimes stigmatising classifications pointing towards them as ‘being disadvantaged’, i.e. vulnerable and powerless. Equations such as young people from Roma or migrant descendent = disadvantaged (Romania, Denmark); girls = victims (Austria); areas with low income population = ghettos (Denmark); transition measures = residue of a multi-tiered educational system (Belgium, Switzerland, Scotland); former detainees or being ‘on welfare’ = necessarily disadvantaged on the labour market (Italy, Denmark, France) etc. are perceived as inadequate in grasping the complexity of redistributive, status and representative inequality young people in European societies are experiencing.

Oppression resulting from inequality in opportunities and in achieved freedoms must be named and uncovered. Our case studies identified different groups of young people as most vulnerable, ranging from long-term unemployed to young people from a minority ethnic background to young women (with children) to young people with negative experiences at school. In Scotland, young people’s narratives highlighted that they felt disadvantaged in the labour market and faced a range of ‘structural’ disadvantages in finding work. For example, participants felt that school had not equipped them with the right skills for finding work, and that they were not ‘given a chance’ by potential employers. Hence, they became trapped in a situation where employers will not hire them as they lack experience, but will not offer

them the opportunity to gain experience (Egdell/Graham, 2015). In Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain, young people with migrant backgrounds perceived their labour market prospects as weak, though it should “*not be difficult finding any job, but a GOOD job*”. A female participant in the Italian case study stated that:

“The only reasonable perspective for young women in this area is to be a housewife. This is due to a rooted discrimination to the integration of women in the labour market that is peculiar in our region. This is one of the major reasons that would push me to try to find a job in Northern Italian regions or abroad.” (Research participant cited in Acconcia et al, 2015: 139)

At the same time, those being identified and labelled as ‘disadvantaged’ may become stigmatised due to their sex, origin, neighbourhood they are living in, their educational trajectory etc. and this denotation may fire back. A participant in the Italian case study for instance insisted that, “*being a former detainee was not a cause of disadvantage per se. He wanted to be sure that this was not one of the assumptions of the research*” (Acconcia et al, 2015: 198). The Swiss case study showed that the collective stigma of being a ‘transition measure participant’ or being in the lower tiers of the school system was seen as a penalising factor, especially when it comes to job applications. Hence, most young people reacted with a strong sense of self-assertiveness, highlighting values such as personal motivation, being a hard-working person and playing by the rules, values that permitted them to maintain a sense of respectability (Beuret et al, 2015: 42, 45). The Danish case study was conducted in an area labelled as a ‘disadvantaged’ area by authorities and statisticians (even ‘ghetto’ some years ago – a stigma that stays). However, it found out how young people from various backgrounds interpret the strengths and shortcomings of living in this specific neighbourhood differently. Migrant youth feel they have a strong foothold and are safe in their ‘communities’, but they also feel the urge to be mobile and to move from the area in order to access more opportunities and realise their dreams about education and jobs (Frørup/Jensen, 2015).

The Romanian case study gave a remarkable example of how young Roma people perceive their own vulnerability in relation to others’. Their perspective – materialised through the photovoice exercise shown in Illustration 1 – on other vulnerable, even more vulnerable people, covered a wide range of them, from children to young people, adults and elderly, homeless and beggars, drug addicts and other hopeless people (Dan et al, 2015).

2.3.1.3. Inequality, the deprivation of social rights and subsidiarity

In France and Belgium, the lack of coordination between local actors and the institutional compartmentalisation highlights the jeopardy of young people being deprived of welfare rights (rights to benefits) when caught between the two stools of educational ambitions (getting a degree) and the need for a basic income – often obtaining both is not foreseen. As a consequence, and a recommendation for policy, the financial funding for (upper levels of) education should be available for disadvantaged young people, as was expressed in the Italian case study.

Though young people learn how to challenge the institutions, they also highlight the paradoxical demands addressed to them, as Lucia, a participant in the French case study, expressed:

“In fact, what sucks is that there was a time when we decided to leave school and start working. Then we took advantage of that because of unemployment benefits. At first, it's cool to get money for a month doing nothing. Except that at one point, I was fed up. I looked for a job and it goes like this: you want professional experience, but we are young. You want a degree but we left school before getting any. You want us to get back to school and afterwards you want us to have experience except that we have been getting back to school. So basically we just wanted to know what you want from us so we can finally be able to.” (Research participant cited in Berthet/Simon, 2015: 293)

Another aspect of depriving young people of their rights to welfare and education is lacking information about an offer or the ways to access and realise it. In this sense, information functions as a means of converting a resource (e.g. a scholarship) into a capability (for education) – that is withheld by institutional actors, not sufficiently diffused or poorly adapted to deprived youth.

In addition, the uselessness and inadequacy of employment support programmes – as highlighted in the Italian case study and partly in the Swiss and Scottish case studies – can be interpreted as a deficiency of educational, welfare and labour market policy to foster young people's capability for work. If employment support providers are NOT seen as a chance to get into the labour market and find a better job, if they do not succeed in bridging the transition from school to work, young people should be offered another alternative. Some Swiss youngsters stated, “*we are here by default*”, not because it would constitute a subjectively meaningful alternative, but rather a ‘last resort’ with the alternative being to do nothing (Beuret et al, 2015: 42).

In terms of financial support and access to jobs, the local support network and family proved to be the safety net of last resort. The family background in socio-economic terms is said to be ‘the’ reason for a disadvantageous starting position into a promising adulthood, successful career etc. If the redistributive support system fails to push young people from such backgrounds ‘up’ and to offer them opportunities for making a decent living, then it is down to the family to provide this support – as was highlighted in the case studies of Italy, Romania and Spain. Though equipped with low social capital and financial resources, the family and local economy – including black market activities (Acconcia et al, 2015) – functions as the main provider of economic assistance and opportunities.

“Only my family is a reliable substitute when I do not have a job or money to survive. A cousin helped me to find a short-term job in a call centre. I am engaged in preparing cakes for my neighborhood and I sell them as member of a charity.” (Research participant cited in Acconcia et al, 2015: 143)

In Romania, the focus on family as a central value reflects a more general trend among young people and particularly in the group of young Roma people. Family serves not only as a kind of subsidiarity (family/relatives/friends/community/state agencies) when young people think about/are confronted with problems, but there is also a desperate awareness among young people that except for family support, nothing, or only a cryptic entitlement to rights, embedded in a huge bureaucracy exists (Dan et al, 2015).

2.3.2. Aspirations and the capacity to aspire

As Baillergeau and Duyvendak (2013) outline, aspiration has to do with how individuals frame a desirable future, and what they regard as being a 'good life'. It can be viewed as an 'internal capability' as it develops with the support of the surrounding environment (Nussbaum, 2000) with aspirations derived from, grounded in and shaped by larger cultural norms and the interactions of social life (Appadurai, 2004).

We grouped the case studies' findings about aspirations and the capacity to aspire around the following questions: What aspirations in (1) the world of work and (2) other aspects of their lives make sense to young people? And how do they achieve the capacity to aspire in such contradictory surroundings? And (3) What are the role of practitioners and role models for realising the capabilities to which they aspire?

2.3.2.1. *Aspiring to meaningful work and education*

The findings of all the case studies have demonstrated that the young people who participated in the research had aspirations and ambitions towards achieving certain outcomes in their lives, framing a desirable future, beyond dreams, expectations and educational/occupational prospects. There is evidence from the findings that many young people value more than just money and being in a job, want to do things they are passionate about and they find 'meaningful'. As such there was no evidence of a 'poverty of aspiration' or even an "intergenerational culture of worklessness" (Macdonald et al., 2014), notions, that have underpinned much of the recent political rhetoric surrounding reforms to the welfare system in the UK, as the Scottish case study reports (Egdell/Graham, 2015) and beyond.

The world of work and achieving the capability for work through adequate educational and vocational training is one of the core aspirational topics mentioned. Not only did young people formulate their willingness to perform meaningful work, tasks they really find interesting, but also the longing for decent work, including a fair contract and a stable job at a level commensurate to their educational qualifications. A 'good job' was a job related to an activity that young people enjoy doing or a job that is seen as worthwhile and rewarding, allowing autonomy of thinking and responsibility, and to which is attached a specific value and recognition (Egdell/Graham, 2015: 76; Beuret et al, 2015: 49). Pleasure, interest and participation (as opposed to repetitive work-tasks) are depicted as central components also of vocational activity, and young people precisely draw on these features to critically assess the existing economic order, as the Swiss case study showed (Beuret, 2015: 49). On the

downside, young people perceived the existing employment and vocational system as discriminatory towards them, short of such good jobs and placements and full of any jobs and placements allotted to them. Hence, these aspirations - a specifically aspired capability for work and education – were often discarded due to a lack of opportunities and the inadequate support offered by the social, educational and employment systems. This had three partly entangled effects: confusion and allegedly lacking motivation to aspire, frustration and rejection, and an adaptive preference formation.

The Belgian case study about part-time vocational training shows that due to lacking opportunities and social resources to develop their capacity to aspire, young people often have “a more brittle horizon of aspirations” (Appadurai, 2004: 69). It seems they do not know what they want, cannot persist, do not have an opinion (Vandekinderen et al, 2015). As Smyth and Wrigley (2013) argue, the capacity to aspire of disadvantaged young people is often truncated by life circumstances, structures and systemic forces. Moreover, they ended up at the bottom of a multi-tiered educational system, which might further narrow down the range of future perspectives and alternatives and might thwart the process of realising aspirations (Prodonovich et al, 2014). However, even such a support programme *can* trigger new ideas of one’s life and create opportunities to escape from a predestined trajectory. As such, for a participant in the Belgian case study, Simge, the initial motivation to register in the system part-time vocational training, that is to attend ‘school two days a week’, transformed into ‘graduating’, since the gained qualification might create future perspectives that she has reason to value (Vandekinderen et al, 2015: 183).

The Swiss case study makes clear that while the category of ‘motivation’ allows young people to link what they consider as their own preferences with a concrete professional project, it represents also a key attribute to be evaluated by employers. Motivation and compliant behaviour in this sense function as the proxy for individual responsibility and distract from social inequality stemming from structural and economic factors young people are confronted with. Below, a sequence from the sociological intervention carried out in the French case study:

Issam (youth guarantee): Today the big question is: does anyone find work?

Chairman of Local Mission / Deputy Mayor: No!

Yassin (youth guarantee): So what are we going to do?

Local Mission president / deputy mayor: So, I still think that there is a parameter that is important: first, we need motivation.

(Research participants cited in Berthet/Simon, 2015: 289)

At the same time, young people emphasise that they are prepared to put an effort to achieve their goals. In Scotland, participants took photographs representing their daily journey. These pictures were an icebreaker to discuss in group settings having to get up early in order to arrive on time, the long journeys they made, walking to and from bus stops, getting a coffee on their journey to help them wake up, and listening to music to pass the time. For some this was a difficult routine to get into and maintain (Egdell/Graham, 2015: 77).

“I get the bus at half past and it’s just you’re on the bus for ages and you want to fall asleep but you can’t. It’s really hard to do that early in the morning.” (Research participant cited in Egdell/Graham, 2015: 77)

Often, young people feel abandoned by the educational and social support system and articulate their frustration about the almost systematic rejection of their intended projects, as was outlined in the French case study. Young people anticipate their future employment prospects bereft of aspirations emphasising that they “cannot be fussy [about jobs]” (Jennifer) and will have to “take what is proposed”, even if the work does not pay (Rachid) – and they try to escape it. Fabien, another participant in the French case study, states: “I don’t want to do assembly line work. I want to graduate to work sitting on a chair, work at a desk.” (Berthet/Simon, 2015: 302).

Ideally, the programmes that the young people engage with provide a mechanism through which young people’s capability to aspire can be supported and developed. However, these programmes operate in the context of the constraints in the labour market and the demands placed on them by funders to achieve certain programme outcomes (Egdell/McQuaid, 2014). Hence, there is evidence of adaptive preference formation (Nussbaum, 2000) as young people turn their expectations downwards because of the challenges they observe in the labour market. While the programmes might function as motivator, and reveal the possibilities open to young people, some felt a pull to accept any job opportunity that came along, even if it was not in the sector where they wanted to work or meant that they could not go to college to undertake further training (Egdell/Graham, 2015: 79). Beuret et al (2015: 42) in this sense talk about the programmes’ “reframing of young people’s aspirations to marketable biographies”. At the same time, as the Belgian case study points out (Vandekinderen et al, 2015), who judges what an adaptive preference is. Does one have NO reason to value training in catering (regarded as the ‘dustbin’ of the vocational training system) – except than it is better than something even worse?

In the countries most affected by the economic crisis, such as Spain, Italy and Romania, a general pessimism about young people’s future appeared. Insecurity was a permanent topic when referring to future and to aspirations. The young people aspired to have a country in which insecurity would not be the norm and where politicians could be trusted. Some of the case study participants even refused to talk about aspirations as in Spain, or levelled aspirations down to existence level, as in Scampia, Southern Italy: „*My only aspiration is to find a paid job with a legal contract*” (Acconcia et al, 2015: 144). Others primarily referred to the precarious housing situation as a main obstacle for decent living, illustrated by this photo voice exercise also from Italy:

Illustration 2:



“We want that people of the neighbourhood get their house and are not forced to occupy empty buildings. We want that the schools and universities that are building up in this area are completed and open.” (Research participant cited in Acconcia et al, 2015: 163)

Source: Acconcia et al, 2015: 163

2.3.2.2. Longing for a family

Besides aspirations for decent and meaningful work, the aspiration for family life was an important issue. The interpretation of this aspiration is tricky. Does it mean the longing for normality, a vision of a harmonious family that is highlighted by politicians and the media? Does it refer to positive experiences young people enjoyed, and that they want to uphold and reproduce, or to negative experiences young people want to distance themselves from and make better?

The Danish case study (Frørup/Jensen, 2015) revealed that some of the participants in the research explained their position in society as 'a product' of family problems over generations. Freedom and independence therefore means dissociation from parents, and distancing themselves from the parents' problems and lifestyles that influenced so severely their life trajectories. Conversely, in Romania, Italy and Spain it was obvious that the family was seen as an indispensable safety net that is not provided by other more public institutions. It is the institution that 'cares', and such caring for the family is deeply gendered.

The Austrian participatory (action) research (Haidinger, 2015) carried out with girls showed that the formation of aspirations is closely connected with identity formation and with realising what role is foreseen for girls and boys in a society that is strongly divided along the gendered lines of behaviour, doing and labour. The interpretation of an aspiration for family must take into account the specific roles foreseen by society for women and men in it. In a photovoice exercise carried out in Romania, a participant explained a photo showing his sister:

„My sister is very important to me and I thought about how much she did for us. When I was little, instead of having a normal life, instead of going out with her friends, to be able to go to high school, our parents stopped her from doing these things to raise me and my younger brothers. So we could get a better education and she lost her rights. And I admire her, I am proud of her, although I'm not really that respectful with her. Family for me is power; they are by your side. A kind word, a bad word, they sometimes make fun of you, they make you laugh, they encourage you, they bring you down. It's family. For me family means the people next to you, you don't only think about yourself and you're not an egoist. I think that we all have this instinct to protect, to do what is right.” (David) (Research participant cited in Dan et al, 2015: 252)

At the same time, the mainstream discourse identifies those young women responsible for their place in society's unequal division of labour who opted for family care and an unsuccessful career path. Modern claims towards girls request to go beyond, or to break with, traditional gender roles. Girls permanently experience 'double messages' and have to cope with them: the openness and allegedly 'everything goes' attitude of modern life brings along more (at least theoretical) opportunities, however daily routine and normalcy limits this alleged freedom (Bitzan/Daigler, 2004: 34).

2.3.2.3. The role of practitioners and role models

All case studies highlighted the positive and negative impact of practitioners and the issue of role modelling in their reports. The Scottish findings (Egdell/Graham, 2015) put forward that aspirations are grounded in suggestions from immediate surroundings and experiences. As such, young people may only aspire to work in jobs that people they know are working in, or

in jobs that they have encountered. At the same time, young people want to follow in the footsteps of inspirational people – be it celebrities or closer role models - in their lives.

A way to professionalise ‘role modelling’ is explained in the Dutch case study (Baillergeau/Duyvendak, 2015) that focused their research on community-based peer work. This social work concept aims to place people as young people and social workers that have a similar background to their prospective clients. The basic idea behind this concept is to push ‘positive’ role models that may be inspiring for young people, because they were successful in overcoming the troubles the targeted young people are in, notably a capacity to make a living and to achieve a desirable social status. Whilst elsewhere young people themselves usually spontaneously identify role models, the idea in this case is to nudge young people towards ‘positive role models’ that fulfil a range of socially expected roles. Consequently, ‘coming from the area’ and an experiential knowledge (of what is framed as a social problem such as disability, drug-use, sex work, early school leaving) is increasingly an asset for young people willing to engage in a social or youth work career.

Are social and youth workers peers or not, what is important – as all of our case studies suggest – is their ability to act in a credible and straightforward way, to interpret and validate young people’s aspirations, and to support them in *“imagining alternative kinds of ‘good lives’ for their futures”* (Zipin, Sellar, Brennan and Gale, 2013: 4). The challenge for the professionals is to take seriously young people’s aspirations and appreciate their trajectories and to give them perspectives and opportunities beyond the frame of dominating discourses/policy descriptions about education and labour market participation that are often very focused and limited in scope.

In this respect, youth work practitioners also play an important role for recognising and naming contradictions in processes of identity formation and becoming, as the Austrian case study about gender-specific youth work showed (Haidinger, 2015). Gender-sensitive and feminist youth work aims at accompanying adolescents’ processes of searching and finding with a critical perspective and with awareness of the pitfalls of normalcy. Taking young people’s aspirations and voice seriously means building upon participatory knowledge, nevertheless a (contradictory) dialogue strengthens and makes visible that gendered, raced, classed and other positionalities play a role in opening up or limiting self-knowledge – and a wider range of imaginable aspirations.

The Belgian case study (Vandekinderen et al, 2015) showed remarkably how the pedagogical role of practitioners in the Belgian system of part-time vocational training involves an engagement of unavoidable ambivalence and contradictory processes of meaning making between pedagogues and students. As such, professional actors can act as conversion factors to realise the capability for education of these young people. They support in navigating through everyday life, mobilise resources and support, and keep *“the debate on the conditions (housing, education, work, income) in which people are expected to lead a dignified existence open”* (Roose and De Bie, 2003: 477).

Youth professionals can be and are often perceived as the bridge between young people and policy design. As it is persons with particular time and financial resources and within particular institutional affiliations, their capacities to ‘care’ might also be restricted. The

sometimes patchy character of welfare and educational support systems on the local level makes it difficult and arbitrary to effectually ‘take young people’s concerns seriously’ and to convert opportunities into achievements – even though there might be ‘motivated’ social workers at hand. Yet, the French case study was very critical about the role of local stakeholders and practitioners in defending vehemently a social support and vocational system for young people that does not trigger change but preserves an unequal society.

Stepping one level higher, the case studies revealed that professionals at the local level do in some cases feel powerless and without voice in policy design processes. In Spain and Italy, a general disillusionment was expressed, caused by a lack of connection between policy and real needs (Lopez/Boni, 2015: 100).

2.3.3. Substantial freedoms of participation

Referring to the conceptual framework that has been elaborated throughout the SociEtY project, we may define participation as *“the exercise of influence on the entirety - which can be a political or a social entirety. Therefore, it is always tending to the (re)arrangement of the social agency and the real freedom to express one’s aspirations, expectations, desires and make them count”* (Ley, 2013: 65).

This section will focus on an understanding of participation and the capability for voice from a young person’s – a subject-oriented - view on the one hand and a more processual perspective on the other hand. This perspective triggers basic questions of agency and how to achieve the real freedom to express one’s aspirations, expectations and desires and make them count when decisions concerning oneself are made. What opportunity freedom do young people envisage when they stand at a crossroad of several pathways to continue? What are the rationales behind their decisions? What resources and conversion factors do the young people encounter and which one help or lack for realising the freedom to intervene in policy and programme processes and design?

The section is structured along the following themes keeping in mind the potentially transformative character of participation: opportunity freedom beyond control, exit as a meaningful option, process freedom, voice in public policy processes, and protest and self-organised forms of participation.

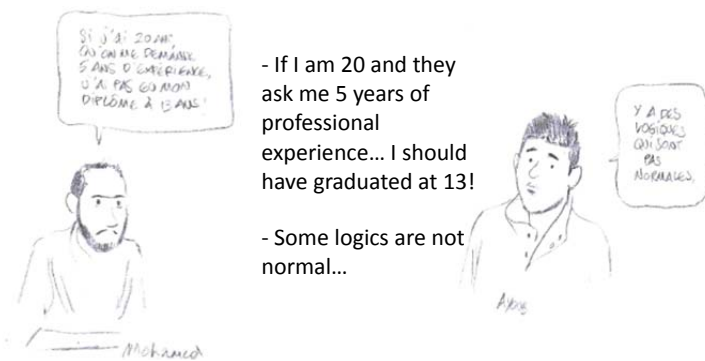
2.3.3.1. Opportunity freedom beyond control of young people

The case studies concerned with employment support programmes (Scotland, Switzerland, France and Italy) concluded that the extent to which employment support programme participation is transformative and gives young people voice and choice is limited. The participants felt excluded from the labour market due to forces beyond their control. Employers reportedly do not give them a chance because of their educational and social background, and a general mismatch exists between the educational aspirations of the young people and the available apprenticeship places or jobs available. This means that while young people may attach value to certain job outcomes and educational trajectories, they do not necessarily have the choices available to them to exercise their voice. They may feel the pull to accept any job or programme rather than fulfilling their aspirations.

Opportunity freedom is also limited by the fact that young people face major difficulties in judging their ‘real opportunities’ when being expected and actually socially coerced to choose deliberately the most reasonable option for their professional future. What is more, the non-availability of entitlements in case of ‘rather preferring not to’ and the lack of a reasonable and equivalent fall-back position (Bonvin, 2012: 16) are also factors hampering a real choice of what the young people have reason to value. So, the take-up of an option originates from very diverse rationales: it can be imposed as a default choice; it can be a real opportunity to change his or her life course to the better; it can be perceived as a mode for survival, a resource but without great perspectives for personal development or professional improvement. In addition, financial reasons were also an important factor in young people’s participation in the employment support programmes, and making them worthwhile activities, as the young people needed to cover their outgoings.

“If you don’t come you don’t get any money. I need money to live off because I have got to pay for a bus pass and things like that. So I kind of need money...” (Research participant cited in Egdell/Graham, 2015: 83)

Illustration 3: Cartoon, French Case Study



Source: Berthet/Simon, 2015: 294

The French case study (Berthet/Simon, 2015) showed that two different perspectives - programme providers and young people - are at odds with respect to justice and opportunity freedom in an established system. The lines of discussion about justice run between a principle of justice anchored in concrete

achievements, life and freedom of human beings (*Nyaya*) and a principle of justice based on policies, idealised institutions and rules such as anti-discriminatory legislation (*Niti*) (Sen, 2009: 20). Young people aim to change the established order to remove inequalities and discriminations they are experiencing day-to-day; programme providers demand that young people accommodate and change their behaviour to reduce inequality within the given system that they principally regard as just. If non-compliance to/within the system is interpreted as an unproductive or even irrational behaviour and perceived as an indicator of disengagement, participation is narrowed down and might function as an affirmative or conformist social act. Conversely, non-compliance might rather uncover unreasonable demands in the context of a certain (unjust) social reality young people are experiencing (Vandekinderen et al, 2015: 198).

2.3.3.2. Exit as a meaningful option

Exit can be meaningful against the background of young people’s everyday reality and within the framework of their aspirations. As such, non-compliance does not necessarily indicate a lack of engagement of the student in a programme, but can be perceived as an indicator of a different understanding of a situation or problem from the student’s point of view (Playle and Keeley, 1998), as the Danish and Belgian case studies reveal. In the Belgian case, the

careful handling of pedagogues dismantling and discussing participants' non-compliant behaviour without sanctioning them opened room for manoeuvre for young people who struggled with their ambivalent aspirations (Vandekinderen et al, 2015).

The Danish case study emphasised the right of young people to make an 'exit' from the system and to find non-conventional alternatives, as some do not see their aspirations addressed by the existing offers. However, recent policy reforms of social security in Denmark leave no opportunity to exit without being subject to financial sanctions. Some of the young people reject the foreseen paths of education: *"Everybody is talking about how I can educate myself, but no one has asked me if I want to have an education"* (Research participant cited in Frørup/Jensen, 2015: 233), as one case study participant claimed. Pressure from local authorities to come back to the programmes on offer made it impossible for her to follow a path beyond the area of compulsory education; only a committed and creative social worker finally had the courage to act against conventional ideas and discourses of social inclusion and supported this woman in her demands. Again here, questions can be raised as to how far this envisaged path stems from an adaptive preference: staying at home as an alternative to being subject to rejection and frustration within a discriminating system of education and employment.

2.3.3.3. Process freedom in programmes

The nature of institutions impacts on the transformative character of participation. The German case study (Ley, 2015) contrasted participation in three settings differing with regard to the degree of institutionalisation and the limits of a subject-oriented participation: first, open youth work is a low threshold offer with voluntary attendance. Youth work is informal, flexible and it is evaluated in relation to its process as much as its results. Therefore, participation is more an ends than a means to come to a certain result in youth work. At the same time, youth work is offering services, workshops, material, ideas for leisure activities etc. to consume or to take part in. In this respect, it provides ways of alternative (perhaps aesthetic) expression and production. However, if youth workers bring in ideas or issues they deem interesting, important and worthwhile discussing or working with, the non-binding nature and voluntariness of young people's participation in such plans often undermines conceptual and long-term planning and collaboration. Therefore, it is hard to turn participation into a long-lasting, collective and transformative process – as also the Austrian case study highlighted (Haidinger, 2015). Many rather perceive a youth centre as a place for just hanging out without an aim and a purpose other than just 'being', and deliberately reject participation. The second venue of the German participatory research was a girls' group in a mosque. Here, participation was strongly linked to aspects of 'being part of', being part of the labour market, being part of different social spheres and the feeling of being part of and represented in their religious community as young Muslim women and share likely experiences of discrimination and interest. Third, in school, participatory efforts are bounded to its institutional rationales and pedagogical (hidden) agendas. Participatory approaches conducted at schools seem to fall more into the category of 'involvement' and a concept of 'learning to participate' rather than 'participation as a collective and transformative learning process' (Vandekinderen et al, 2014). The same category applies for SoclEtY's case studies on employment programmes.

However, findings about the *degree* of young people's voice in shaping the activities of the employment programmes differed. In the Scottish case study (Egdell/Graham, 2015), there was some evidence of partnership and mutual decision making between project workers and young people. In this arena, at least the voices of young people are being taken seriously. However, the extent to which young people can have voice in the programmes is questionable, as the outcome requirements of funders still need to be met and young people's choices may still be limited by the wider socio-economic climate.

As a sharp contrast, the French case study (Berthet/Simon, 2015) concluded that none of the three programmes examined are truly democratic in their design and implementation. Young people can express their criticisms or challenges to meet the expectations of the programme but this is not followed by any modification of the programme. Similarly, giving voice to young people in the course of the studied programmes does not have any transformative intention. Rather, it aims at ensuring young people's compliance to the programme than to make them full actors of it.

Hence, the varying institutional contexts of programmes and initiatives, their preformed social constructions of reality and their different participative approaches have divergent impacts on young people's capability for voice within the respective institutions (Ley, 2015).

2.3.3.4. Voice in public policy: "the world of work and its rules are not negotiable"

A general finding was that young people do not have a direct voice in the setting neither of employment nor of welfare or educational policies. As one of the interlocutors in the Swiss case study put it, "*the world of work and its rules are not negotiable*" (Beuret et al, 2014: 337). Only examples of direct consultation work with service users, young people sitting on committees, and young people engaged in employment support programmes were mentioned.

Often young people are integrated in initiatives operating under the label of 'youth policies', 'community work' or 'urban development'. Also in such settings, participation remains rather superficial; young people's voices may be heard but it remains questionable as to whether they are listened to or to what extent proposals are realised due to financial and other 'practical' impediments, and to what extent young people are included in the concrete implementation of ideas. After the consultation respectively 'choosing' between different offers, the participation process ends, and the implementation is handed over to professionals, as was outlined exemplarily in the Austrian case study (Haidinger, 2015). In the Spanish case study, it was not so much the participatory character of youth projects at the municipal level that was questioned, but the limited support from the national level (López/Boni, 2015). Here, young people would like to participate in the design and implementation of policies, for instance employment policies, which directly affect them. The fact of being deprived of it increases the climate of scepticism and mistrust towards higher level authorities as well as a common feeling of despondency. Generally, it was reported that young people felt policy-making processes are removed from the realities of their lives. They feel not to have a voice or be able to effect change, and that policy makers are out of touch. "*Our voice is worth nothing*" (Research participant cited in López/Boni, 2015: 113), says Pau from Spain. His pessimism is mixed with fear to express and spread your opinion. In this context, he refers to legislative changes that impose severe financial

sanctions in order to restrict demonstrations, the seizure of financial entities or the occupation of empty buildings as signs of protest and resistance.

2.3.3.5. Self-organisation and protests

The case studies of the ‘Roman’ countries, Italy, Spain and Romania, referred to practices of self-organisation and protest as a form of participation and of voice. Representative democratic processes and policies appear as ineffective and unfair, and personally known family and social assistance professionals seem to be the only back-up young people can count on. This brings diverse side effects such as electoral boycott, due to a lack of trust in party politics as a way of expression of unmet needs.

The mistrust of political decision-makers and institutions on the one hand, and the resources (young) people dedicate to local initiatives, voluntary and self-help organisations on the other hand, bring about a high-level of political commitment and public scrutiny at the local level. Their engagement covers diverse social fields. In Scampia, where one of the (two) Italian case studies was conducted, people engaged in the black market and illegal activities often approach vulnerable young people and offered them jobs. However, the young people interviewed appeared to be very motivated to reject this kind of ‘social inclusion’, to participate in anti-mafia programmes and association activities beyond mafia links. The Italian case study also mentions participants’ (in employment support programmes) participation in demonstrations for labour rights – although (or because?) they felt a deep scepticism towards established unions and whether they cared at all about young people’s concerns about the labour market. Another participant took part in a more ecologically inspired movement against the construction of an incinerator. Another has been involved in flash-mobs or empty building occupations asking for labour rights (Acconcia et al, 2015).

In Romania, volunteering and sharing resources in school, in local or church initiatives, was very common in participants’ narratives. Another important issue – as in Italy and Spain, too – was housing, as the photovoice exercise by Emy reflects (Dan et al, 2015: 258). She underlined the very original form of protest (writings on barracks like *“houses for everybody, no matter the ethnicity”*) against the indifference of Local Authorities and society:

Illustration 4:



„This picture represents our street protest because we were evacuated. There, in those barracks, are three families with children, three families who withstood the cold, the rain, the snow. We wanted to send a message with this protest, that no matter who you are or what you’ve done, we are all people. We have rights and we are equal, whatever you do or whoever you are. For me, the protest means hope because all the people in the street are my neighbors, but it’s also an important thing because all of us who live there are like a team, like a family.” (Emy) (Research participant cited in Dan et al, 2015: 359)

Source: Dan et al, 2015: 359

2.3.3.6. Participation and social innovation

Some of the case studies reflected the term 'innovation' or 'social innovation' from a public policy perspective. Some did it in a very critical way. The Italian case study concluded that the employment support programme under the popular heading 'Youth Guarantee' was simply NOT socially innovative, either in terms of projects envisaged or in terms of outcomes, as it did not meet the needs of the unemployed people targeted. However, it is remarkable to imagine the same young people being engaged in local initiatives and demanding and pushing forward their right to voice and participation in self-organised settings. Ironically, the Romanian case study reflected social innovation in the following way: Apparently, there is not much innovative knowledge in the sense of adding something new/original to current practices in order to achieve a better integration and increase the quality of life of vulnerable young people. Rather, young people count on the survival strategies for succeeding, tested and proved as being effective by their ancestors. In times of crisis and social disorganisation, the innovation is retro-innovation (Dan et al, 2015).

The Spanish case study (López/Boni, 2015) identified socially innovative practices in the autonomous work of the *Houses of Youth (Casas de Juventud)*. The young people involved in these are able to present proposals and to organise workshops in the spaces destined for them. This bottom-up and participatory process creates spaces for young people to express their views and to put forward their needs. The topic of participation is taken as a priority and young people are not only included as users but as agents. Nevertheless, questions remained to be answered regarding the representativeness of those voices that are heard and those agents that are visible since there is little representation of minority groups in the *Houses of Youth*. Those who were not part of them did not feel they were sufficiently informed or invited to assist.

Despite the work done by the municipality with the *Houses of Youth*, there is a general feeling of policy as *not* being innovative in Spain. The continuous focus on employment does not reflect the totality of the aspirations and concerns of young people. They ask for a higher degree of participation in formal policymaking processes and for spaces in which their opinions can be developed and put forward.

Participation and space was also the main concern in the Austrian case study (Haidinger, 2015) focusing on gender sensitive youth work. It aims - as a socially innovative, but for sure not new, social work practice - at accompanying girls in transition processes in all possible spheres of life, trying to create free spaces and to amplify the girls' scope of action. The Austrian case study concluded that, adequate space and methods are needed for 'doing gender', for collectively reflecting gender norms and transgressing gender roles. This claim for a "*common striving towards awareness of reality and towards self-awareness*" can apply also for leveraging other forms of oppressions through "*action and reflection*" (Freire, 2009[1970]: 107, 87).

2.4. The role of participatory research: empowering and gaining new knowledge?

The case studies applied different methods and approaches of participatory research to produce knowledge in order to broaden the informational basis for the judgement of justice. They included young people's narratives of experiences in an economic and social system that structurally disadvantages them as well as their interpretations and experiential knowledge of/with policies and programmes aiming at (allegedly) improving their situation.

The methods applied can roughly be differentiated between the following approaches:

1. Arts-based and media-based practices involving young people in creative activities (Austria, Germany, Romania, Italy, Scotland, Spain);
2. The collection of process-oriented knowledge through biographical interviews with young people and secondary interviews with local stakeholders (Belgium, Denmark); and
3. Group settings aiming at the unveiling of contradictions and confrontation between young people and policy or programme stakeholders (France, Switzerland, Netherlands, Germany).

However, most of the case studies used a method mix to complement findings³. Arts-based and media-based approaches worked with photovoice and street-art practices. The purpose of photovoice is to learn how to place a day in a life of a young person in pictures with comments about these pictures addressing relevant questions (Wang, 2006; Wang & Burris, 1997). The Scottish team (Egdell/Graham, 2015: 90) reflected that in terms of the 'added value' of the method, the choices of subject in the photographs provided clues about what is important to participants. In addition, the photographs acted as useful icebreakers to open up discussions about aspirations, values and frustrations. However, it is difficult to say to what extent photo voice empowered and gave voice to the participants. Participants were asked to make a big effort in order to make their voice heard (i.e. taking a photograph on a topic that they would not necessarily be taking photographs about in the course of normal events). The issue of 'problem definition' was also important during the research process; questions need to be asked about the extent of this being participant driven research as it was still a researcher initiated project.

The Spanish team (López/Boni, 2015) stated that the use of digital or innovative tools such as the participatory video are highly recommended to engage young people and to help them to articulate a powerful (in terms of visibility and content) discourse. During the process video techniques were used but also media such as WhatsApp and Facebook were used in a critical manner. Young people were concerned about the inadequate representation of young people in TV. The participatory video helped them to produce content that can challenge that perspective. During this process, they were able to express their views and we were able to get a feedback of the process. Participatory video was perceived as an attractive tool that helped them to construct and be able to transform a critical view into a critical message for a wider audience. What was important in this setting

³ See also Annex 1: Overview of qualitative case studies

was the continuous work carried out between young people and researchers building respect and trust.

The Austrian team (Haidinger, 2015) concluded that, artistic practice *“of the moment, belonging to a pedagogy of the here-and-now”* (Batsleer 2011, 428) such as street-art can motivate voices of girls. New ideas and finally whole oeuvres emerged through an artistic process starting from a self-perception of many girls not being capable of drawing.

Illustration 5: The making of the wall vis-a-vis the girls' garden, Simmering, Vienna



Source: Haidinger, 2015: 272

The practice of street-art involved a commitment to risk-taking with respect to ideas, fantasies, and oneself becoming visible, public and subject to deliberation when performing in public space. This – can be argued – is a breaking through limit situations in the sense of Freire (2009[1970]) and a feminist practice of turning private issues (the restricted space appropriation of girls) into public ones. Such a practice can confront and perhaps provoke the public with political issues such as the existence and symbolisation of girls’ groups and girls’ space as well as with an offensive claim for girls’ appreciation and symbolic visibility in public space. This means limit-situations in terms of constrained and contested (public) space become visible and get public attention. At the same time, a careful balancing between publicity and the commitment to the principle of providing a safe, enclosed and targeted space for girls must be borne in mind and the tension between these two poles discussed. As also the German team (Ley, 2015) indicated, the conceptualisation and implementation of ‘action-oriented’ participatory research is not an easy and straightforward endeavour. Various questions with respect to defining the problem setting and deciding for a concrete project arise. Though it seems to be (pedagogically) reasonable to set a goal and to work towards a final aim, this strategy carries the curtailment of the participatory claim (it can turn from a transformative idea - in whatever form – to a more ‘consumeristic’ idea of being engaged, being part of, having fun etc.). At the same time, the trials and errors of this process to implement an action/a project, the permanent interaction with participants, their motivation or reluctance to contribute to researchers’ proposals or to bring in their own ideas, were necessary steps for learning about participants’ positionalities and agency in semi-public spaces.

The Belgian team (Vandekinderen, 2015) explored ‘difficult trajectories’ of young people in part-time vocational training and mapped complex and exemplary stories that provided information about interactions/interventions/critical incidents experienced as meaningful trajectories. The research team’s intention was to situate the personal experiences of young

people in the discursive field of practices and public issues of social structure in order to catch a more contextualised perspective of young people on their capability for education (Komulainen, 2007). This multi-perspective research aimed to shift the focus from 'capturing the authentic voice of youngsters' to a 'dialogue between contextualised perspectives'.

The French, Swiss and Spanish case studies emphasised the young people's roles as co-researchers. The French team (Berthet/Simon, 2015) decided to collect data through group interviews conducted in the form of CCAPPA (Contradictory, Collective And Participatory Policy Analysis; McDonald, 2002; Dubet, 1994). This method is based on the confrontation of young people's perception and experience vis-à-vis public institutions. An important instrument is to grant the *status of junior researcher* for a day to the group of young people.

For the French team, the development of a new set of methods and the testing a new form of collective, contradictory and participatory interviews have shown some added value. First, it allows confronting the point of views of institutional actors and users (in the French case: dropouts) at the same time and, hence, in a short period. It engages all participants to debate, build arguments and if possible to develop a common deliberation on the issues at stake. Since young people's arguments are based on practical experiences of public policies, their questions go far beyond the ones usually raised up by researchers. The direct confrontation sheds lights on the gap existing between the awaited behaviour of young people from institutions and the actual ability of people to meet with these expectations. Second, the role of a junior researcher helps release young people's voices and builds a reflexive discourse on their relation to public institutions.

In a similar vein, the Swiss team perceived young people as co-constructors of new meanings and actors of the transition system. This collective inquiry included a more or less autonomous formulation of relevant research topics, several encounters and discussions with policy makers, teachers, counsellors and administration staff. Central for the team was to describe the process that led young people to reflect on how their own experience is embedded in different social relations, and is made up by larger social contexts. This method of sociological intervention does not simply aim to reconstruct 'individual' experience, but tries to analyse the social conditions in which the construction of subjectivity takes place. Young people were able to discuss their propositions, to critique them or to reject others. This clearly shows that they, even when vulnerable, are able to demonstrate a 'critical capacity' that allows them to think about their own condition and living (Beuret et al, 2015: 51).

2.5. Interim summary

Chapter 2 provided a synthesis of findings from the eleven regional case studies carried out for the SociEtY project. The participatory research covered two broad areas: The case studies in Romania, Spain, Austria, Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands gained access to *disadvantaged young people via social and youth work initiatives*, whereas the case studies in Italy, Switzerland, Scotland, Belgium and France more intensely focused on *issues of education and the employment of disadvantaged young people*. All case studies applied various participatory methods to uncover and tap into the voices of disadvantaged young

people. They aimed in different ways to take young people's voices seriously and make them subject to feedback and reflection and to (public) deliberation.

Still, the exploration of case studies was built upon two common concepts - aspirations and the capacity to aspire as well as substantial freedoms of participation, both permeated by experiences of social inequality - to allow for a comparative analysis of the specific cases. The remainder of this chapter will present a brief summary of research results according to the common concepts applied.

- *Aspirations in the world of work and education* go beyond mere economic and financial aspects; young people aspire work that is meaningful, stable, worthwhile and rewarding, allowing responsibility and discretion, and to which a specific value and recognition is attached. While the category of 'motivation' to pursue an aim/an educational/professional pathway following their aspirations allows young people to link what they consider as their own preferences with a concrete professional project, it – together with compliant behaviour – serves also as a proxy for the individual responsibility young people (shall) bear for their life and professional trajectories. However, the case studies made clear that the capacity to aspire is often restrained by life circumstances, structures and systemic forces that lie beyond young people's sphere of control.

The aspiration for a fulfilling family life was an important issue as well; however, narratives followed rather traditional ways of gender roles within families.

All case studies highlighted the impact of practitioners and the issue of role modelling. The challenge for them is to take seriously young people's aspirations and appreciate their trajectories. At the same time, they ought to give them perspectives and opportunities beyond the frame of dominating discourses/policy descriptions about education and labour market participation that are often very focused and limited in scope.

- *Participation and the capability for voice* was scrutinised from a young person's – a subject-oriented - view on the one hand and a more processual perspective on the other hand, keeping in mind the potentially transformative character of participation. Opportunity freedom for choosing an educational or professional pathway a young person has reason to value seems to be very limited. Participants felt excluded from the labour market and from meaningful educational trajectories. A general mismatch exists between their educational aspirations and the available apprenticeship and training places or jobs available. In addition, the non-availability of entitlements and the lack of a reasonable fall-back position in case of 'exit' are also factors for hampering real choices. Non-compliance and exit from programmes can be regarded as meaningful options against the background of young people's experiences with discrimination and injustice and within the framework of their aspirations. As such, it rather uncovers unreasonable demands in the context of an unjust reality young people are facing.

Process freedom within programmes is particularly shaped by the degree of institutionalisation of a certain project/programme. The importance of young people's

voice in shaping activities of the programmes is more nuanced and creative in informal and voluntary settings such as youth clubs than in systems with obligatory attendance such as employment support programmes. However, in voluntary settings the transformative character of participation is often limited to being an ends rather than a means to come to a certain result and change.

Another overall finding concerning the capability for voice was that young people do not have a direct voice in the setting neither of employment nor of welfare or educational policies. Policy making processes appear as distant and inaccessible to participation triggering ineffective policies and unfair outcomes for young people. Hence, especially in the 'Roman' countries Italy, Spain or Romania, practices of self-organisation and protest were referred to as a more sincere and appropriate form of enacting the capability for voice. The mistrust in political decision-makers and institutions on the one hand, and the resources (young) people dedicate to local initiatives, voluntary and self-help organisations on the other hand, bring about a high-level of political and social commitment and public scrutiny at the local level, at least.

- The main research findings with respect to *social inequality* concealed the following conclusions. Inequality must be named and uncovered, at the same time, the stigma of being (perceived as) disadvantaged due to gender, race, educational background etc. might jeopardise social inclusion and reinforce non-participation. What is important here is to address the complexity of redistributive, status and representative inequality young people in European societies are experiencing.

In countries hit by the economic crisis most severely and where the welfare system and/or educational system leaves young people of a certain age without entitlements, 'being young' as such was interpreted as a disadvantage. In terms of social support and access to jobs, the local support network and family proved to be the safety net of last resort. A scattered landscape of welfare, educational, labour market and social work policies targeted towards the young bears the risk of young people being not caught by a safety net that is designed either for adults or for children as part of the family. As such, the lack of coordination and complementarity between local, regional and federal actors of policies highlights the jeopardy of young people being deprived of welfare rights when they have to choose between achieving a degree and the need for basic income – obtaining both is often not foreseen.

3. Quantitative research

The rationale behind the six quantitative studies was to highlight, from different levels of analysis and from a plurality of viewpoints, the determinants of youth capabilities in five countries that each represents a different European Social Model. European countries can be analysed using the distinction along different types of welfare regimes as a starting point. In addition to the three ideal-types identified by Esping-Andersen (1990), the definition of a fourth distinctly Southern European social model has become standard practice following the work of Leibfried (1992) and Ferrera (1996). Drawing on this literature we can classify the countries under examination into clusters of Scandinavian universalistic (being

represented here by Denmark), Continental corporatist (being represented here by France), Anglo-Saxon liberal (being represented here by the United Kingdom), Mediterranean (being represented here by Italy) welfare regimes. In addition, a transitional welfare state model is represented here by Romania.

3.1. Concepts applied

To ensure a unified approach, from the hypotheses to the conclusions, the quantitative work is framed by theoretical work based on:

- 1) The concept of '*conversion factors*'. Conversion factors form the personal, environmental and social conditions that promote or impede individual capabilities. They are the way in which the CA takes into account all the effects – be they individual or contextual – that determine how resources and rights can be turned into functionings. These conversion factors can be personal characteristics (e.g. level of education, skills, etc.) and environmental or social characteristics (e.g. level of growth, structure of labour markets, institutional arrangements, infrastructure, public goods and services, gender roles etc). These conversion factors are important because *they* constrain the capability achievement of *individuals*, a matter that is especially important for the young people.
- 2) The *assumptions operated and valued by agents* responsible for the development and implementation of policy in five European countries (DK, FR, IT, RO, UK). Agents were asked to express their views about the conversion factors directly affecting young people in two areas: (1) employment (2) their integration and participation in society.
- 3) The quantitative research has also developed an understanding of *inequalities in capabilities* from secondary data analysis, bridging, whenever possible, young people's responses in national (for the UK and Italy) or European harmonised surveys and contextual data at national or regional level.

3.2. Methods applied, background to the case studies, and capabilities in focus

The case studies offer empirical evidence 'from the bottom up' from key actors (e.g. agents responsible for the development and implementation of policy, and young people). Some of these views are then matched with regional or national contextual data.

- 1) One method used to examine the conversion factors that may impede or enhance young people's capabilities is multilevel modelling. Multi-level models have been the subject of renewed interest since the development of large international databases. These models are useful when individuals are 'nested' into higher level structures; in this case, individuals are 'nested' in countries, each being characterised by specific national institutions and economic trends (especially during the economic crisis). Multi-level models offer an interesting framework, enabling both individual and contextual determinants of an observed event to be taken into account. Conversion factors that could enhance or impede the real freedom young people have to choose a job they have reason to value could be attributable to individual characteristics (e.g. lack of education,

competences, gender, or experience in the labour market). Secondly contextual characteristics may impede the appropriate conversion of commodities or any form of individual capital (be it income or competencies) into capabilities. The main purpose of these case studies is then to share ideas about the contextual characteristics of that may impact capabilities.

- 2) To understand the assumptions operated and valued by agents responsible for the development and implementation of policy, a Q-method approach was also adopted. The Q method approach is neither a quantitative nor a qualitative method; rather, it is a blend of the two, aiming to apply statistical thinking to small samples in a way that the subject sets the measurement system. In this sense, the method is 'participatory'. This approach has merits over the traditional quantitative approaches, called R methods, which are perceived as too restrictive and reductionist, by forcing the subject to report their view, values, attitudes or beliefs on a pre-set measurement system. This is perhaps appropriate at the population level, but gives little flexibility to reflect on the individual.
- 3) To deepen the analysis and highlight inhibiting conversion factors that affect inequalities in capabilities at the national level, other econometric regression models have also been employed, which include in almost all the case studies individual microdata together with socio-economic contextual information in the frame of a 'at group level' analysis.

3.3. Overview of case studies

The following grid gives an overview of the six quantitative case studies.

CASE STUDY	Understanding agents' views of youth unemployment and young people's integration			
RESEARCH TEAM	R. Raeside, V. Egdell and H. Graham with the collaboration of T. Berthet, C. Goffette, V. Simon, J. Vero, E. Chiappero –Martinetti, G.G. Acconcia, F.Scervini, C. Christrup Kjeldsen and A. Dan			
TARGET GROUP	Agents responsible for the development and implementation of policy in different parts of Europe			
FOCUS	Views, values and beliefs of agents towards the young (16-24 years) in two areas : 1) getting into employment and 2) integrating into society			
DATASET	Data collected by project partners in the UK, France, Italy, Denmark and Romania			
YEAR	2014-2015			
METHOD	Q- Methodology and follow up 'standard' interview questions aimed at gathering information on 'inhibitors' and 'promoters' relating to a young person getting into employment, and integrating into society.			
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	Yes			
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS	UK (Scotland), France (Agen), Italy, Denmark, Romania			
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<u>Individual capability-inhibiting conversion factors</u>		<u>Contextual capability-inhibiting conversion factors</u>	
	<u>Employment</u> - Lack of awareness about labour market opportunities (except RO) - Unrealistic expectations about earning potential (except IT) - Poor job search skills - Young people are not trustworthy (except UK) - young are perceived as not engaging with work (FR, RO) - Young people are not reliable, not respectful (FR)	<u>Integration into society</u> - Lack of interest/energy to engage in civic duties - Are not interested in work - Do not conform to society's rules - Do not have a sense of community (FR)	<u>Employment</u> - Poor preparation by school - There are limited opportunities for quality employment and meaningful work (IT) - Early school leavers are stigmatised when looking for a job (RO and DK)	<u>Integration into society</u> - Society has a negative attitude towards the young (IT) - People underestimate the abilities of the young (IT) - Society does not try to include young people (IT) - After the economic crises life has become more difficult for the young
	<u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u>		<u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u>	
	- Young people are respectful and reliable (except FR) - Young people are trustworthy , listen to and take advice on getting a job (UK) - Young people are enthusiastic about work (UK, RO, DK) - Young people are adaptable and flexible (IT, UK)	- In general, agents were positive about young people's capability to integrate into society	- The media portray the young in a positive light (RO only) - Society's institutions do not alienate the young (FR only)	- After the economic crisis life has become more difficult for young people

CASE STUDY	Young People's Subjective Capability Quality of Life (SCQL) in Europe regarding Nussbaum's capabilities for 'affiliation' and 'adequate shelter'
RESEARCH TEAM	C. Christrup Kjeldsen
TARGET GROUP	18-29 year olds
FOCUS	Subjective capability quality of life / capabilities for affiliation / adequate shelter
DATASET	European Quality ofLife Survey (European Foundation for the improvement of Living and Working, Eurofound)
YEAR	2006-2012
METHOD	Multilevel analysis
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	Yes
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS EXAMINED	34 countries with an emphasis on DK, IT, FR, RO, UK,
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<p>In order to 'measure' the different patterns of conversion factors a scale, called 'Subjective Capability Quality of Life' (SCQL), has been introduced and brought into a number of mixed-effect models related to the capability for shelter and affiliation.</p> <p><u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For age and gender in relation to the capability of affiliation the model finds near to no (at least not significantly nor high) effects related to gender and age in the case of Romania. - In the case of France there seem to be a divide between the 70+ and young people. This is even more expressed when focusing on females. <p><u>Individual capability-inhibiting conversion factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In Denmark, in comparison with the other cases, it is worth noticing that young males in Denmark are more disadvantaged than the other age and gender groups related to the capability of affiliation. -The overall picture in relation to the capability for affiliation is furthermore that the young people aged 18 - 29 are still those who are the most disadvantaged in relation to age and gender as conversion factors of their subjective capability quality of life (SCQL). <p><u>Contextual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u></p> <p>Within the comparison of the cases, it becomes clear that different patterns of conversion factors related to age, gender, educational level and labour market participation can be found between the five cases.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Within Denmark, all the age and gender groups are better off than the young males when brought into the model related to the capability of adequate shelter (living area). This is interpreted as a special situation compared to the four other countries. - When controlling for education, employment, gender and age within these models - the effects of living area seem to vanish. There are only very small effects. A difference is for the capability of affiliation where it is found that living in the city has a small but significant negative effect related to living in the countryside. <p><u>Contextual capability-inhibiting conversion factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -conversion in regards of SCQL score is effected negatively for the 40 - 49 years old females in UK related to adequate shelter. Also worth noticing is that the SCQL score follow a positive trend in both genders with increasing age – it is the fully opposite picture in Romania.

CASE STUDY	Working involuntarily in a temporary or part-time job in Europe
RESEARCH TEAM	C. Goffette and J. Vero
TARGET GROUP	15-24 year olds (employed)
FOCUS	Working involuntarily in a temporary or part-time job
DATASET	EU-LFS (EUROSTAT) in conjunction with contextual information at regional or national level
YEAR	Over the time period 2006 and 2012
METHOD.	Multilevel models: individual nested within regions (NUTS1) within countries
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	Yes
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS EXAMINED	AT, BE, CY, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, GR, HU, IE, IT, LT, LU, NL, PL, PT, RO, SE, SK, UK and the corresponding regions
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<p><u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u> - Highly-educated young people have a lower propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job and in an involuntary part-time job, compared to people with an International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED)-medium level qualification.</p> <p><u>Individual capability-inhibiting conversion factor</u> - Women have a higher propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job and in an involuntary part-time job - Young people aged 20-24 years have a higher propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job and in involuntary part-time job compared to those aged 15-19 years.</p> <p><u>Contextual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u> - The effect of the educational level on the propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job varies between countries. - The educational level varies between countries, especially for low ISCED levels.</p> <p><u>Contextual capability-inhibiting conversion factor</u> - The propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job increases with the share of GDP dedicated to active labour market policy expenditure. - Living in a country with a higher GDP increases the propensity to be in an involuntary part-time job. - The propensity to be in an involuntary part-time job also increases with the early-school-leavers rate. - The propensity to be in an involuntary part-time job also increases with the unemployment rate of young people.</p>

CASE STUDY	Job-related training in the UK from 2000 to 2014
RESEARCH TEAM	T. Chen, R. Raeside, V. Egdell and H.Graham
TARGET GROUP	Various age groups in work (16-19; 20-24; 25-49; 50-59 and 60+)
FOCUS	Taking part in job training
DATASET	Labour Force Survey (UK Data Service)
YEAR	2000 to 2014
METHOD.	Logistic Regression
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	No
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS EXAMINED	UK
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factors for receiving training.</u> - Being in the younger age groups; - Holding higher levels of qualification; - Spending longer in full-time education; - Working full-time; - Living in the North West, South West and Eastern areas in England; - Working in the public administration, education and health industries; - Working in a professional or associate professional occupation; - Working for a larger employer; - Having fewer dependent children in the household, and being unmarried; and - Those who had a disability in the past were more likely to have received training than those who had never had a disability.

CASE STUDY	Determinants of Labour Market Exclusion in the UK
RESEARCH TEAM	H. Graham, R. Raeside and V. Egdell
TARGET GROUP	20-24 year olds
FOCUS	Youth labour market exclusion and capability deprivation. A scale of exclusion is built through several pieces of information about the stability of a person's labour market position.
DATASET	UK data from the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) in conjunction with information on regional economic and labour market conditions
YEAR	Over the time period 2000 to 2012
METHOD.	Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and Heckman regression models, including a group-level analysis
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	Across UK regions
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS EXAMINED	UK and its regions
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<p><u>Individual capability-enhancing conversion factor</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Those who have labour market experience are more likely to avoid labour market exclusion <p><u>Individual capability-inhibiting conversion factor:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Those who have an unemployed or inactive father, a migrant parent, a household with more younger members or live in a single parent household, and to a lesser extent living in a densely populated area relative to a thinly populated one, have more risks of labour market exclusion. - Young people who have a parent with tertiary education are considerably more likely to be in temporary employment than those who do not. <p><u>Interaction effects of individual inhibiting conversion factors (some disadvantages magnified others)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The effect of disadvantage is magnified for those living in cities, those with young household members, single parent households, and households with low levels of parental education. <p><u>Contextual capability-enhancing conversion factor:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living in the South of England is capability enhancing. - Higher Regional GDP, and a larger share of young people in the regional population, are capability enhancing <p><u>Contextual capability-inhibiting conversion factor:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living in Northern England or the Midlands is capability inhibiting.

CASE STUDY	Trends and Determinants of inequality of Capabilities in the Labour Market in Italy
RESEARCH TEAM	F. Scervini, A. Peruzzi, E. Chiappero-Martinetti
TARGET GROUP	20-24 years old living in households where they are not 'household head'
FOCUS	Youth labour market exclusion and capability deprivation. A scale of exclusion is built through several pieces of information.
DATASET	Italian data from the EU-Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) in conjunction with contextual variables at regional level
YEAR	1998-2012
METHOD	Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) models, including a group-level analysis
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	Across Italian regions
COUNTRIES OR REGIONS EXAMINED	Italy
RELEVANT CONVERSION FACTORS	<p><u>Individual inhibiting factor:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being a woman is associated with a worse labour market exclusion and with higher capability deprivation - Those that have an unemployed father or mother, live in a densely populated area and live in a household with at least one member younger than 14 years have more risks of labour market exclusion and capability deprivation. - Having a single parent is associated with a worse labour market exclusion <p><u>Contextual inhibiting factor:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living in the South of Italy, and, to a lesser extent, in the Centre is capability inhibiting and worsens the exclusion from the labour market and capability deprivation. - The economic crisis has a striking effect on capability deprivation (increasing inequality across regions and gender) <p><u>Interaction effects of inhibiting factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having an unemployed father is more inhibiting in less densely populated areas for women, and by a large amount in the 1998-2003 period, regarding the capability deprivation. - Being a woman increases the capability deprivation more than being a man if the father is unemployed, in southern regions and in the period 2004-2007, - Having a single parent affects relatively more capability deprivation when the parent is also unemployed and living in a densely populated area. - Living in densely populated areas - typically cities, instead of little towns and villages - reinforces those circumstances for which network and family ties are more important, such as having a single parent or young household members.

3.4. Main empirical findings

3.4.1. Understanding agents' views of youth unemployment and young people's integration

Most agents have positive attitudes towards young people. The agents from France stand as an exception, tending to view the young more negatively, especially in statements made in the interviews.

It appears that agents are not a homogenous group and some differences are detectable between them in terms of the importance they give to statements about young people. From the factor analysis, it seems that there is some degree of alignment between agents' agreement with statements and territorial cultures, in that some factors are composed principally of agents from the same country. The UK, Italian and French agents are most likely to align in this way. However, although there is a tendency for countries' agents to group together, there are a number of factors formed from a mixture of countries. This suggests that overall agents do share similar values, perhaps as a consequence of socialisation into the roles they perform. Regarding the agents from France, although some fit into factors with agents from other countries, a subgroup does stand out as having more negative views on the young than agents from other countries.

Looking at the agents' views gleaned from the 'standard' follow up interview questions relating to young people getting into employment, it appears that most of the inhibitors relate to the attributes of the individual. The exception to this is poor preparation by schools and high employer expectations. Most of the promoters are also related to the individual attributes of the young person. There are few institutional elements – new policies and strong economy are exceptions.

Similarly, agents were asked to list promoters and inhibitors in relation to a young person integrating into society. In the main, statements of inhibitors outnumber promoters, although this time there is more of an institutional element, with agencies and public policy stressed as important promoters amongst the agents. Poverty, unemployment, mental well-being and discrimination in society are mentioned as important inhibitors.

In both scenarios, social connections, social networks and access to social capital are stressed as being important, but also important inhibitors are unstable family life and failure to learn appropriate social skills. Stable family life is also listed as a promoter in regard to integration into society.

Key overall conclusions are:

- Most of the agents believe young people have positive attributes. The majority view is that young people are able and ambitious - they are 'capable'. However, they lack knowledge of the labour market and have unrealistic expectations.

- However, there is a minority view that young people are not flexible, they are not respectful to their peers, and they do not listen to advice. The agents from Agen in France stand out as exceptions to this generality, believing that ‘young people are not reliable’, ‘young people are not enthusiastic about work’, ‘young people are not respectful to their peers’, and that the young lack ambition and are not trustworthy.
- The majority view is that society does not appreciate young people – schools do a poor job of preparing people for work and employers demand too much.
- Social networks and access to social capital is very important for young people getting into employment and integrating into society.

3.4.2. Working involuntarily in a temporary or part-time job in Europe

Besides individual effects, there are also important contextual effects on the propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job or in an involuntary part-time job. The biggest effects are observed at the country level. 14% of the variation in the propensity to be in an involuntary part-time job lies between countries, and 27% of the variation in the propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job lies between countries.

Interestingly, country determinants for involuntary part-time jobs and involuntary temporary jobs differ.

- The propensity to be in an involuntary part-time job increases with the country’s GDP, controlling for individual characteristics. This propensity also increases with the early-school-leavers rate, and with the unemployment rate of young people. No effect is observed for active labour market policy expenditure.
- Concerning the propensity to be in an involuntary temporary job, country GDP and early-school-leavers rate have no effect on it. On the other hand, this propensity increases with the share of GDP dedicated to active labour market policy expenditures. The impact of ALMP on involuntary temporary work is in line with the desire to raise employment rates, which lies at the heart of the European Employment strategy (Salais, 2006). It sees work as the ideal functioning, without taking account of work and employment quality or the person’s specific circumstances (i.e. his or her physical, psychological or other ability to work, to balance work and family life, etc.). This perspective therefore views activation from the angle of adapting to labour market requirements and issues related to quality of life or work are left aside. Hence, from a policy perspective active labour market expenditure fails to be viewed as capability-friendly as it increases the propensity of young workers being in involuntary temporary jobs even if it contributes to increase the employment rate, which is the headline indicator of the Europe 2020 strategy.

3.4.3. Job-related training of young workers in the UK from 2000 to 2014

The proportion of young people receiving job-related training has reduced during the economic crisis in the UK, and the group aged 16 to 19 is most affected. There is also some evidence that older workers are getting proportionately more training. The young are

proportionately more disadvantaged than other groups regarding the likelihood of taking part in work related training. This does not seem to be explained by changes in contracts.

3.4.4. Determinants of labour market exclusion in the UK

The broadening of the informational basis – the use of a scale of labour market exclusion incorporating a number of labour market outcomes, rather than a dichotomous participation variable – has exposed some of the nuance in young people’s labour market participation. It exposes the way in which even those who are in work may not be in stable, high quality employment, and that their parental and educational background may not help them to secure a secure labour market position. Even young people from relatively more advantaged backgrounds were nonetheless highly represented among the temporary workforce. However, although more advantaged young people were more likely to be in short, temporary contracts, those who were in temporary employment were more likely to be employed at a higher occupational level. The use of temporary and zero-hours contracts, and the requirement of many professional occupations for unpaid or poorly remunerated work experience and ‘internships’ before being eligible for a permanent position, is made possible in the UK’s fairly flexible and deregulated labour market. Temporary employment can be a route to permanent employment, and it may be that some of the 20-24 year olds who are currently not in a strong labour market position may in the future manage to secure stable employment. However others, particularly those in lower skilled occupations, may never achieve this stability. Further analysis of this possible segmentation of life chances could help further illuminate disparities in capabilities between young people from different backgrounds.

3.4.5. Trends and determinants of inequality of capabilities in the labour market in Italy

It is not a single factor or a set of separate factors that determine individual (dis)advantage, but the combination and interrelation between personal characteristics and a plurality of contextual factors that affect individuals' positions and may determine individual differences in terms of opportunities/capabilities.

From a policy perspective, this analysis suggests that young people are not all equally disadvantaged. In particular, if we want to increase the equality of young workers, both from the perspective of Sen (1992) and Roemer (1998), we need to compensate for predetermined circumstances that not only worsen the exclusion from the labour market, but also increase the capability deprivation of individuals. In doing so, we should take into account the possible interactions between such circumstances. In times of binding public budget constraints, policy makers should carefully target interventions on more relevant sources of inequality, possibly more correlated to other factors. For instance, policies targeted towards women in Italy, not only can improve the condition of women per se, but could also help to address the gap between Italian regions, since women are worse off in Southern regions.

4. Comparative analysis of the qualitative and quantitative research – highlighting common concerns and conclusions

As Amartya Sen pointed out, the positional nature of views on the world influences and distorts the judgement on public affairs (Berthet/Simon, 2015 referring to Sen, 2009: 213). On the one hand, institutional actors are caught in public action frameworks that shape their perception; on the other hand, according to their social positions, not all individuals are free to build their own view. The dominated are supposed to take as their own the dominant vision of themselves. The oppressed – as Paulo Freire makes clear – exist in a dialectical relationship to the oppressor, in a “*duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor*” (Freire 2009[1970], 48-49). Therefore, the SocIEtY project aimed at deploying socially innovative methods that attempted to make and made research and evolving policy recommendations a democratic and deliberative process where researchers, policy-makers and youth contributed to and contested over critical discoveries.

Both – the quantitative and qualitative – approaches to participatory inquiry yielded a reflection of research strategies and outcomes of the persons concerned. Young people in disadvantaged situations with respect to labour market and social inclusion and local stakeholders were invited to contribute to the processing of data, and the interpretation and contextualisation of research results. In terms of outcomes, the above mentioned positional nature of views became obvious.

Recurring to Sen’s principles of justice (Niti and Nyaya) (Sen, 2009), we need to highlight the distinction between *formal justice*, relating to functionings, and *concrete justice*, relating to capabilities – as was exemplarily done by the French case study (Berthet/Simon, 2015). The majority of case studies showed that concrete, experienced justice is difficult to achieve for disadvantaged young people within a given often uncompromising system. This became particularly evident in those case studies concerned with systems inevitable to circumvent for young people, namely the employment and the educational system. In particular, the French participatory case study as well as the results from the Q-Methodology research for France – but also for other countries – indicated the rigidity of programmes and the unwillingness of case managers and institutional actors to identify deficiencies of the systems they are working for. Instead of aiming to change the social and environmental conversion factors in order to enhance young people’s capabilities, they rather make out young people’s obstructive individual conversion factors that inhibit aspired achievements: Young people lack interest to engage in civic duties, they are not interested in work, they do not conform to society’s rules, they have unrealistic expectations about earnings and labour market opportunities, they are not trustworthy, and they lack motivation.

The participatory case studies concerned with young people’s critical interpretation uncovered the rationales behind the ‘*lacking motivation*’ thesis. We see the two principles of justice – formal and concrete justice – embodied in this example. Practitioners and policy stakeholders are prompt in identifying personal deficiencies in young people’s reluctance to participate: ‘they lack motivation’, they are unwilling to adapt their behaviour and their preferences to realistic expectations. This means, if they *really* wanted they *could* participate in offers, they *could* get a job, they *could* succeed in becoming part of the social, educational or employment system. However, some young people deliberately choose not

to conform and to opt out. *They lack motivation to participate because the labour market lacks meaningful and rewarding work. They lack motivation to participate because the political system of a representative democracy ignores their capability for voice. Exit, hence, is a reasonable alternative to systematic discrimination and conformist inclusion that at the same time comes with high costs because exit is not foreseen.*

Concerning the contextual conversion factors, the two reports that encompassed the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the research come to the following conclusions:

- *Limited opportunities for quality employment and meaningful work* hamper young people's integration into jobs they have reason to value. Aspirations – such as a specifically aspired capability for work and education – were often discarded as a result of a lack of opportunities or inadequate support from the social, educational and employment systems. This can have three partly entangled effects: confusion and allegedly lacking motivation to aspire, frustration and rejection, and an adaptive preference formation. The quantitative analysis finds that the evolution of the unemployment rate is correlated with the deterioration in job quality. The quantity and quality of employment did not evolve in opposite directions but rather in conjunction with each other, such that there is no country in which the unemployment rate declined at the cost of deterioration in job quality. There is evidence that temporary employment for young people is the norm – regardless of their parental and educational background. What is more, the propensity of taking a non-voluntary temporary employment increases with the share of GDP dedicated to active labour market policy expenditures. Hence, such policies – *to push young people in poor-quality jobs just to increase employment - are obstructive conversion factors for enhancing young people's capability for work.* The case studies concerned with employment support programmes (Scotland, Switzerland, France and Italy) concluded that the extent to which employment support programme participation is transformative and gives young people voice and choice is limited due to the structural constraints just mentioned. What is more, the non-availability of entitlements in case of 'exit' and the lack of a reasonable and equivalent fall-back position (Bonvin, 2012: 16) are also factors hampering a real choice of what the young people have reason to value. So, the take-up of an option originates from very diverse rationales: it can be imposed as a default choice; it can be a real opportunity to change his or her life course to the better; it can be perceived as a mode for survival, a resource but without great capacitation perspectives.
- *School is not preparing young people for employment.* At the same time, employers demand too much from school leavers or graduates from vocational schools. The young people's narratives highlight their perception of not being 'given a chance' as a key barrier to enter the labour market. This result ultimately questions the school's role in encouraging work experience and allowing pupils and students to gain work experience while studying.
- The participatory case studies highlighted the *impact of practitioners.* Youth professionals can be and are often perceived as the bridge between young people and policy design. The challenge for the professionals is to take young people's aspirations seriously and appreciate their trajectories and to give them perspectives and

opportunities beyond the frame of dominating discourses/policy descriptions about education and labour market participation and life trajectories. Time constraints and limited personnel resources but also a 'wrong' institutional affiliation jeopardise the involvement and thinking through of adequate practices and support activities for young people on the one hand. On the other hand, principles of justice are sometimes interpreted as a 'must' that are anyway kept in mind. The simple assertion that anti-discrimination is an institution's standard or leading principle of a practitioner is not enough. It must be implemented and lived in daily practice, in dedicated projects, in reflection processes, and in permanent dialogue with the young people concerned. It must be visible and proved in concrete achievements.

- *Young people feel stigmatised and discriminated against due to various ascriptions.* Oppression resulting from inequality in opportunities and in achieved freedoms must be named and uncovered. Not all young people are equally disadvantaged, as was shown in the quantitative case study on trends and determinants of inequality of capabilities in the labour market in Italy: being a woman and living in the South is associated with a worse labour market exclusion and with higher capability deprivation. However, those being identified and labelled as 'disadvantaged' may become stigmatised due to their sex, ethnic background, neighbourhood they are living in, their educational trajectory etc. and this denotation may fire back. This means that policies addressing disadvantaged young people risk to shift from an agenda concerned with challenging existing forms of power relations to an agenda essentially rooted in them and corroborating difference. Therefore, policies and concrete programmes to reduce discrimination and combat inequality must be based on a critical reflection and usage of categories such as 'disadvantage(d)' and allow and promote young people to break out of a position of minor importance and lower status ascribed to them.
- *The lack of coordination between local actors and the institutional compartmentalisation* jeopardises young people's welfare rights when caught between the stools of educational ambitions (getting a degree) and the need for a basic income – often obtaining both is not foreseen. Another aspect of depriving young people of their rights to welfare and education 'simply' is lacking information about an offer or the ways to access and realise it. In terms of financial support and access to jobs, the local support network and family proved to be the safety net of last resort. Does the redistributive support system fail to push young people 'up' and to offer them opportunities for making a decent living, the social support network is back to the family – as was highlighted in the case studies of Italy, Romania and Spain.
- *The economic crisis* has aggravated the labour market and social situation of vulnerable young people and impacts severely on the formation of aspirations. This was particularly addressed by research carried out in Italy, Spain and Romania. Insecurity was a permanent topic when referring to future and to aspirations. The young people aspired to have a country in which insecurity would not be the norm and where politicians could be trusted. Some of the case study participants in Spain even refused to talk about aspirations or levelled aspirations down to existence level.

- An overall finding was that *young people do not have a direct voice in the setting neither of employment nor of welfare or educational policies*. As one of the interlocutors in the Swiss case study put it, “*the world of work and its rules are not negotiable*” (Beuret et al, 2014: 337). Only examples of direct consultation work with service users, young people sitting on committees, and young people engaged in employment support programmes were mentioned. Often young people are integrated in initiatives operating under the label of ‘youth policies’, ‘community work’ or ‘urban development’. Also in such settings, participation remains rather superficial; young people’s voices may be heard but it remains open if they are listened to or to what extent proposals, what proposals are realised due to financial and other ‘practical’ impediments, and to what extent young people are included into the concrete implementation of ideas. The development and delivery of policies through formal channels tends 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. 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. However, the case studies of the ‘Roman’ countries, Italy, Spain and Romania, referred to *practices of self-organisation and protest as a form of participation and of voice*. Representative democratic processes and policies appear as not effective and unfair, the family and social assistance professionals known personally seem to be the only back-up young people can count on. This brings diverse side effects such as electoral boycott, due to a lack of trust in party politics as a way of expression of unmet needs. The mistrust in political decision-makers and institutions on the one hand and the resources (young) people dedicate to local and protest initiatives, voluntary and self-help organisations on the other hand bring about a high-level of political commitment and public scrutiny on local level.

5. Common policy-relevant recommendations

In light of the findings of the two reports, the following policy-relevant recommendations are suggested, setting as priority aims *the amendment of contextual conversion factors that have the power to hamper or to enhance capability formation for education, work and voice*. In this manner, concrete achievements following young people’s conceptions of justice rather than an abstract yearning for formal justice will be prioritised:

- *Promote employment quality*. Policy understandings of disadvantage on the labour market should extend further, to encompass participation in ‘quality’ employment, i.e. decent working conditions, stable jobs and meaningful work young people have reason to value, and wider issues, such as wellbeing and satisfaction with life, and the value attached to job outcomes by young people themselves. The economic view on policy is at risk of being at odds with the aspirations and life-planning of the young people in general, which are not uniquely centred on the labour market. In addition, the activation of individuals through active labour market policies does not enhance employment

quality. Active labour market policies are not capability-friendly either; labour market expenditure increases the propensity of younger workers being in involuntary temporary jobs, even if it contributes to increase the employment rate, which is the headline indicator of the Europe 2020 strategy.

- *Promote social rights* (e.g. the right to job-related training), *making them attached* not to the job, but *to the person* in a life-and-work logic of capability development. Many young people in disadvantaged situations opt for (unsatisfactory) jobs instead of further training to ensure a living. Therefore, the provision of a minimum income and social security coverage for young people they can claim on their own is of paramount importance.
- *Widen the concept of participation* to surpass limits of formal participation and representation. Beyond the expansion of valuable opportunities of participation in employment and education, young people need spaces to allow them to develop and define which areas of well-being are relevant, in order to include different voices at every level of youth policy development (design, management, execution and evaluation). In engaging young people to enable them to make positive decisions for themselves, as well as giving them the skills to be able to interact positively with the world around them, inevitably the issues that most affect them in their daily lives will be discussed and addressed in the course of youth participation. And different parties with different world views would be more likely to have the answers to how they can solve the problems
- *Reach an understanding of youth as a collective but also diverse group*. The political, professional and discursive constructions of youth 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; however, generally, the evaluative yardstick used to assess the value and success of public action, and understandings of young people's barriers in the labour market are very narrow. Therefore, *provide adequate resources for people through 'situated' public policies* and framing measures, as it is not a single factor or a set of separate factors that determine individual (dis) advantage, but the combination and interrelation between personal characteristics and a plurality of contextual factors that affect individuals' positions and may determine individual differences in terms of opportunities/capabilities.
- *Reconsider youth as a transversal but at the same time autonomous field*. Currently, 'youth policy' is a fragmented area that is not considered a fully autonomous policy field and remains divided between existing domains (education, work, training, housing health, etc.). This change would allow handling youth vulnerability as a public concern and as an integrated approach of youth policies.
- *Promote work experience at school* and ensure that young people have the opportunity to obtain work experience while they are at school or vocational training and work with employers to re-appraise skill requirements. *Examine careers advice at school* to ensure that young people are well prepared for the labour market when they leave school.

- *Promote the use of participatory and critical approaches* to research in order (1) to obtain deeper insights into the situation of young people, their existing capabilities and aspirations and a picture of the heterogeneous situation among young people and their ideas and efforts to contribute to a fairer society. (2) To make visible the dialectical and contested relationship between young people and the public policy systems and its proponents young people have to cope with. (3) To strengthen young people's ability to communicate, to argue (collectively) and to have access to information as important factors for enhancing their capability for voice.
- *Rethinking the European evaluation framework in order to analyse youth employment.*
In the face of this deterioration in young people's situations in a time of crisis, what is at stake is the possibility of shaping destinies, both individual and collective. Taking actual freedom as a starting point for conceptualising job and work quality, and involving young people in the design of the evaluation framework would lead to the construction of a battery of indicators capable of revealing individuals' power to act and the room for manoeuvre they enjoy. It would also be necessary to take account of the institutional factors and employer policies likely to expand the scope of what is possible in terms of work and employment. These ideas are struggling to gain a foothold in European circles, but a change of direction with the aim of progressing towards an equal freedom to act is, from a capability perspective, an appropriate aim of public action.

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ANNEX 1: Overview of Qualitative Case Studies

	Programme/project in focus	(Normative) Aims of the project/programme/activity	Activities in the programme	Results of activities/projects from the perspective youth	Methodology applied	Participation/voice of youth through	Analytical focus of findings
AT	Local Youth Programmes/ Feminist and gender-sensitive Youth work/Girls in Youth work	Girls' Participation in youth work activities; taking seriously and contesting the gendered shaping of girls' aspirations; respect, recognition, support for girls' life-trajectories; creating free spaces amplifying girls' scope of action	Leisure activities outdoor and in-door partly with an explicitly gender-sensitive approach workshops in Girls-only spaces;	n.a.	Ethnographic Research; arts-based practices in workshops; problem-centred interviews with girls and youth workers	Arts-based practices and outcomes; visibility of girls-only issues in youth work and public space	Gendered appropriation of public and semi-public spaces, gendered nature of forming aspirations; transformative character of arts-based practices with girls in public spaces; transformative character of feminist youth work
ESP	Young people engaged in activities offered by the municipality (youth area)	Participation of young people in diverse type of activities to enhance their citizenship and active role	Skill focused: applying audio-visuals, learning a profession. Social skills: participation, community-based autonomy orientation – engaging youth in activities that are proposed by the young people themselves	Young people showed a wide acceptance of the programmes. However, regarding labour-training programs (i.e. internship at the municipality) the scepticism to find a job afterwards was high	Participatory video Group discussions Individual interviews	Short-movies and group discussions	Aspirations are diverse and broad; access to labour market is not a matter of individual skills. Participation as engagement; autonomy and individual/group capacity to direct the focus of participation is highly-valued among young people and youth professionals
IT	Young unemployed people in disadvantaged areas and the labour market	Participation of disadvantaged youngsters in policy making processes with a capability approach perspective	Interviews with social assistance professionals; three focus groups with young women, immigrants, long term unemployed involved in activities of grassroots associations	Disadvantaged youth did not have sufficient voice for participating and influencing public policies; they highlighted high levels of corruption, a mismatch between school and the labour market, etc.	Photovoice	Focus groups, writing and photographic workshops	Inequality and disadvantage in the labour market, aspirations and participation
UK	Young people engaged in employment support programmes	To support young people to develop their employability and personal skills to help them move into employment, education or training	Activities mentioned by the young people included: CV writing, interview preparation, job searching, community type activities	Young people talked about being given skills for finding work, being made more aware of the opportunities available in the labour market etc.	Photovoice	Photography and group discussion	Inequality and disadvantage in the labour market, aspirations and participation

	Programme/project in focus	(Normative) Aims of the project/programme/activity	Activities in the programme	Results of activities/projects from the perspective youth	Methodology applied	Participation/voice of youth through	Analytical focus of findings
GER	different groups of young adults in divergent institutional settings:(1) secondary school, (2) mosque, (3) youth club	Civic/political education in school (compulsory attendance); religious belonging in mosque; open meeting place with different pedagogical offers in youth club	Group work, discussions, walk-through inspections of the district with local politicians in school, gender specific group work and discussion in a mosque, leisure activities in a youth club	n.a.	Participatory observation; group discussions; participatory photo workshop	Art-based practices and outcomes (photography and exhibition); group discussions	Questions of voluntariness, the exercise of agency, and (external) drivers of self-positioning; broad concept of participation in the dimensions of creation, confrontation and constitution
RO	Young people socially excluded (mainly from school and labour market) living in disadvantaged areas	Participation of (disadvantaged) young people in diverse type of activities to enhance their citizenship and active role as well as to rise up the awareness of policy makers to undertake actions to improve their situation	Photovoice involving 10 youngsters; discussions with their parents and relatives; Interviews with social activists from the NGO sector	Youngsters living in disadvantaged areas have no voice for participating and influencing local public policies for them; high level of corruption and disinterest among policymakers as a huge obstacle; significant discrepancy between school and labour market	Photovoice	Focus groups, writing and photographic workshops	Severe exclusion, inequality and high disadvantage in the labour market, education, aspirations and participation in the public life
CH	One group in a cantonal social assistance programme (n=10, 5 meetings), two groups in a post obligatory school transition measure (n=19, 2-3 meetings).	Labour-market integration (finding an apprenticeship) and support towards autonomisation (in the sense of independence from benefits).	Means: preparation of individual integration projects, (coaching, CV writing), doing a professional choice (standardized testing, internships), working on individual life-conduct and dispositions, confronting the world of work through internships.	Young people reflected on stigmatization, negative signals on the labour market; showed a high self-assertiveness for becoming actors of their life. They contested the idea of 'work at any (subjective) price' and the alienating dimension of work, criticized the strict 'timing of transitions', while being highly attached to the idea of entering the world of work as fast as possible.	Sociological intervention, including preparation sessions (what topics are important? who are possible interlocutors?) and several meetings with different persons from policy and practice.	Participation in the 'definition' of the research topic, the choice of interlocutors.	Empowering youth through participative research and collective analysis of their social and living conditions, and the embeddedness of their experience in specific social relations. Collective identities, positioning themselves within discourses, the exclusive and inclusive patterns of the Swiss life-course regime and their interpretation by youngsters.

	Programme/project in focus	(Normative) Aims of the project/programme/activity	Activities in the programme	Results of activities/projects from the perspective youth	Methodology applied	Participation/voice of youth through	Analytical focus of findings
DK	Young mothers participate in 'the Young Mothers Concept' Young people participate in activities under the 'Social Housing Master Plan' (Domea), a project that aims to contribute to positive social development in Svendborg social housing areas	The aim of the 'Young Mothers Concept' is through supervision about the parental role to make them ready for the baby and prevent a placement outside home for the child. The 'Domea' project aims to contribute to positive social development supporting an motivating young people to participate in education and employment	Young mothers use day care institutions during pregnancy, participate in activities, have supervision, conversations about parental roles; 'Domea' Project consists of the local social work centre, a youth club, a drop-in centre, outreach work and sports. Activities include homework support, pedagogical counselling, financial advice, job searching, interview preparation.	n.a.	Interviews Workshop Observations in the residential area	Interviews Workshop (confronting the professionals with findings based on the voices and experiences of the youngsters)	The experience of living in socially exposed areas, the experience of inequality and being disadvantaged. Aspirations and the capability to aspire and to participate (exit-strategies and forms of participation)
BE	Our explicit target group are youngsters in the system of part-time vocational education and workplace learning (PVEWL) in Ghent.	The system of PVEWL enables youngsters (15-25) to develop skills through a combination of part-time vocational education and workplace learning, while providing support of social welfare actors. The intentions are: (1) realizing fulltime engagement, (2) increasing the alignment between part-time vocational secondary education, apprenticeships and part-time training and retaining the multi-trackness, (3) offering a programme tailored to each young person and (4) providing a valuable qualification.	Youngsters in the PVEWL system pursue a full-time engagement through an individual trajectory, combining part-time vocational education and workplace learning in order to provide students with a valuable qualification. The component workplace learning contains different possible trajectories: a (full-time) 'personal development trajectory', a 'pre-trajectory', a 'bridging trajectory' or employment on the regular labour market.	n.a.	Semi-structured interviews with youngsters and professionals	Our participatory research aims to broaden the IBBJ by introducing a life world orientation perspective that privileges a situated appraisal of living conditions, identity constructions, opportunities for meaningful participation, etc. in socially unequally structured settings and by including the voice and aspirations of young people	Aspirations and the capability to aspire The capability for education Participation and exit-strategies

	Programme/project in focus	(Normative) Aims of the project/programme/activity	Activities in the programme	Results of activities/projects from the perspective youth	Methodology applied	Participation/voice of youth through	Analytical focus of findings
F	Local public offer (bouquet of programmes) dedicated to early school leavers (ESL). 3 programs under study : Micro-high school; Relay insertion pole and youth guarantee	Bringing ESL back to school (Relay pole insertion) Have the ESL obtain a BAC degree (micro high school) Provide ESL with a minimum income and a job (youth guarantee)	Re-schooling, teaching and class activities with on the job training (Relay pole insertion) Open pedagogical methods, small group activities, teaching (micro high school) Job search, individual support, preparation for employment	Relay insertion pole judged as a downgraded form of education; expectations are low, maintain stigmatisation. Microlycée seen as too academic. One main problem is the loss of unemployment benefits (→lack of autonomy) Youth Guarantee: not enough financial and human means. Relation with companies/ employers is too narrow; beneficiaries remain stigmatised; judged too prescriptive.	Derived from Touraine's sociological intervention: the CCAPPA (Contradictory, Collective And Participatory Policy Analysis) with the addition of iconographic support (cartoonist and photos).	Mainly interviews of decision makers and implementers by the beneficiaries. The early school leavers have been introduced as junior members of the research team and were able to conduct the interviews with the coaching of our research team.	Main analytical entry: Sen's opposition between two principles of justice (NITI and NYAYA) Focus of findings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factors of inequalities • Social innovation • Access to programs – non take-up • Individualization • Brakes and levers in implementation • Territorial variable • Capability to aspire • Substantial freedoms of participation
NL	Young people in disadvantaged areas of Amsterdam, including students of an extra-curriculum programme to encourage educational attainment in spite of disadvantageous circumstances.	Provide support for young adolescents (10-15y) to explore their talents and develop their skills	Homework supervision; social skills training; guest lectures provided by successful professionals suggested by the students (mostly group based activities)	n.a.	One-to-one semi-structured interviews with students, coaches, teachers and management. Group feedback sessions Workshop	Chance to discuss research goal and questions. Feedback session.	Aspirations and the capability to aspire: how do they develop and what factors do influence their development. Discrimination on the labour market: how it is experienced by students and families and what can be done about it.