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Contact: Marc GOFFART

European Commission
Office: SDME 7/33
B-1049 Brussels

Tel. (32-2) 29-91713
Fax (32-2) 29-79608
E-mail: marc.goffart@ec.europa.eu

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European Research on Youth

Supporting young people to participate fully in society

The contribution of European Research

2009

Directorate-General for Research
Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities

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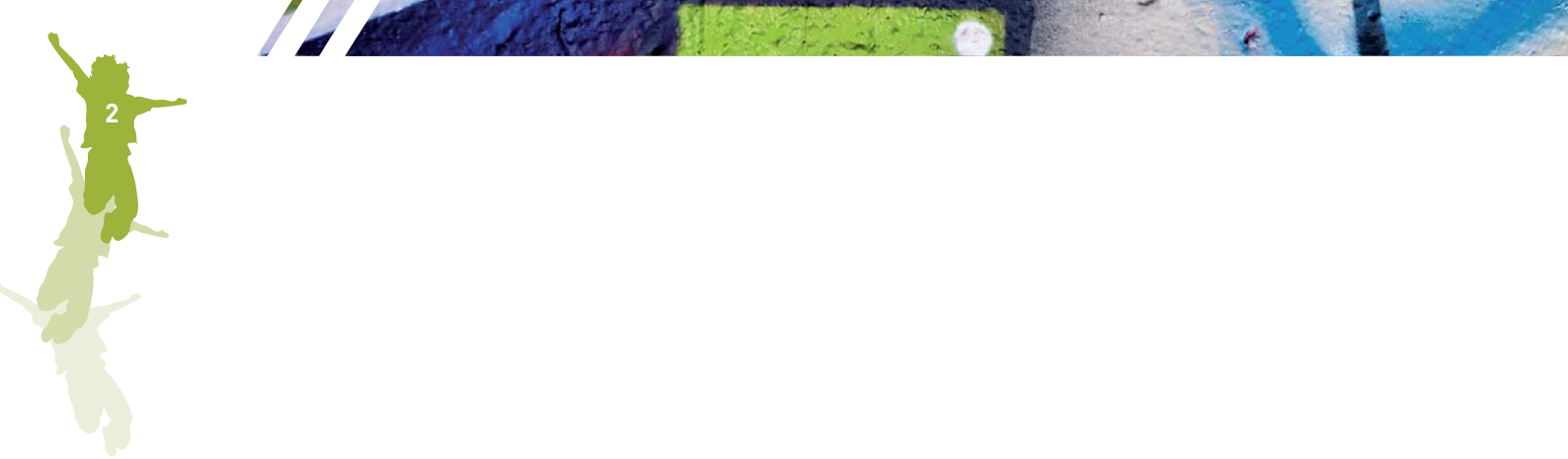

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Foreword

Young people are one of the major resources of Europe. They also represent its potential for the future. However they are also a group which face many challenges such as youth unemployment and related social problems. The resulting lack of personal and professional development perspectives for young people have created high levels of social disaffection in many European countries and a ghettoisation of marginalised young people in many cities. This is a disadvantage for individual young people and for Europe as a whole.

This publication examines the results of a number of youth related projects funded under the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Research Framework Programmes of the European Union i.e. from 1996 to 2013. It analyses some common recurring themes which are of interest to policymakers and which could contribute to the formulation of policies to support young peoples' transition from education to employment and their full participation in society.

The Framework Programmes for research, and in particular their policy-oriented programmes for socio-economic sciences and humanities, play a significant role in addressing major economic, scientific and social challenges which are important for Europe. They enable us to identify recommendations and strategies which have the capacity to contribute to evidence-based policymaking at regional, national and/or European levels.

The projects reviewed emphasise the importance of an integrated and holistic approach to policymaking. It can draw on resources outside the dominant philosophical or theoretical mindsets prevailing in a given thematic area. Multilateral and participative approaches, which incorporate a broadly based approach to the subject matter and involve those who are the subjects of the policymaking on a crucial factor of success.

Such participatory policies emerging from a dynamic process of partnership and equality of interaction between key actors will stand a better chance of effectively resolving the issues they are designed to remedy than purely unilateral approaches.

Partnership is an underpinning concept in policy framing and in addressing the needs of those who may be in danger of marginalisation within societies.

The involvement of those who are the subjects of the policies to be developed is essential if unintended consequences are to be effectively addressed. Policymaking should be seen as a process which works with people rather than for people, if it wants to be successful in delivering solutions which support young people in the transition to the world of work and are also responsive to their longer term needs.

There is a significant body of evidence which raises the question of how young people perceive their identity and their role within a given social context. Levels of participation raise issues about how citizenship is experienced in local contexts, but also at national and European levels.

The strengthening of concepts of citizenship and the young person's identities within his own local and national context, in addition to his European identity, is closely linked with the policy measures taken which support equity within societies.

More effective links between the worlds of enterprise and education are also crucial in ensuring that young people leave formal education and training fully equipped to participate in the labour market in the context of the knowledge society highlighted in the Lisbon Strategy.

Policymaking with young people, engaging with their realities and developing structured approaches to exclusion issues, creates a laboratory where each aspect of one's identity as a citizen, of a region, a country or the European Union may be fully analysed and explored.

Jean-Michel Baer
Director

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This report was drafted by Sean Feerick, expert in education and youth issues, who made a review of research results concerning scientific evidence for policy-making in the field of youth.

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1. Setting the scene

Young people are one of the major resources of Europe. They also represent its potential for the future. In a European Union which must position itself globally as an outward looking, innovative and creative economy built on the principles of inclusiveness, respect for diversity and openness to change they are key players. In a time of constantly developing technologies and rapidly changing political, social and economic realities they are among the most equipped to contribute to the solutions of the future. Today's young Europeans have grown up in the Europe of the Single Market, Schengen and the Euro. Many have benefited from mobility programmes such as Erasmus, Comenius, Leonardo and Youth. In many instances they have been educated to think beyond national boundaries and to reason in terms of European rather than national responses to the challenges faced by their societies.

However they are also a group which face many challenges. In many European countries youth unemployment rates are unacceptably high. Lack of the personal and professional development perspectives which are provided by the opportunities which employment provides, have created high levels of social disaffection in many European countries and a ghettoisation of marginalised young people in many cities.

This is not only a waste for individual young people. It is also a waste for Europe. Societies need the contribution of the ideas, enthusiasm and fresh insights which young people bring to resolving problems and facing challenges.

These projects address a wide range of topics and demonstrate that youth issues are inextricably linked to core social, political, economic and cultural concerns such as working life, poverty and precariousness, housing, health, education, family, welfare, citizenship and social cohesion.

This Policy Review examines the insights which research brings to the question of young peoples' involvement in society and how policymakers can build on research findings in order to enable Member States and the European Commission to harness the significant contribution young people can make as individuals, employees and citizens.

The review presents and analyses the results of youth related projects funded under the DG Research Framework Programmes since the Fourth to the Seventh one. Its main purpose is to distil some **common themes** recurring in the projects which are of interest to policymakers and which will contribute to the formulation of policies relating to young peoples' transition from education to employment and their participation in society. The projects chosen provide important insights for policy formulation and a solid basis for European cooperation in this field.

The aim of the review has been to identify areas of major thematic interest for policymakers and to identify the messages that are important, rather than providing an overview of how each project examined addresses different aspects of each thematic area. The central part of this review explores the policy-useful messages which emerge from the research. It analyses the recurring themes when addressing patterns of inclusion and exclusion of young people in society, their transition to the labour market, and their participation in society.

The review uses as its starting points three major areas which will inform the approach taken in analysing the projects namely:

- the significant policy reflection undertaken by the Commission on youth and their participation in society[1];
- the broad policy context provided by the Renewed Social Agenda[2] and its presentation of the challenges facing young people;
- the policy context provided by the DG Research Framework Programmes.

1 European Commission, Decision No 17192/2006/CE of the European Parliament and the Council establishing the programme Youth in Action for the period 2007-2013, JO L 412/44 of 30.12.2006.

2 European Commission, Communication, Renewed Social Agenda: Opportunities, access and solidarity in 21st Century Europe, COM(2008)412.

2. Policy context

2.1 EU youth policies: identifying some underlying trends

While Youth Policy at EU level has only been formalised 10 years ago with the consultations undertaken with a view of preparing the **White Paper on Youth**[3], the concerns on Youth at EU-level have been tackled since at least 20 years. With the development of the first programme activities in this area in 1989[4], and the promotion of European cooperation, the EU has embedded a culture of cooperation between youth work actors on the ground, and also created a basis for policymaking which seeks to respond to young peoples' needs as individuals and members of society.

Successive programmes in the field of education, training and youth have provided a laboratory for exploring ways in which young people can be supported in their education and training[5], as well as in the process of developing their citizenship and social solidarity competences through European Voluntary Service and other activities within the broader framework of the successive programmes targeted at young people.

Such programmes have also influenced the development of a more formal EU policy relating to youth. This White Paper, drawing on the experience of policymakers at European and Member State levels, as well as the results of a public consultation, identifies the major challenges faced by young people, and suggests the types of policies which are important if these challenges are to be addressed.

The White Paper of the Commission presents three strategic messages which should inform policymaking in relation to young people:

- a substantial number of young people have lost confidence in decision-making systems and experience disaffection in terms of traditional participation in public life and youth organisations;

- policymaking needs to focus on the individual and how to best support his/her participation in society in order to address this level of alienation. Individual pathways between the worlds of learning and work are essential if policymaking is to support the development of inclusive societies where the issues relating to youth disaffection are addressed;

3 European Commission, White Paper, A New Impetus for European Youth, COM(2001)681.

4 Youth for Europe Programme 1989 and its successor programmes in 1995, 2000 and the Youth in Action Programme 2007-2013.

5 Socrates and Leonardo Programmes since 1995 and the Lifelong learning Programme 2007-2013.

- there is a need for the development of policies not only at a European level, but also for the active engagement of policymaking at Member State and regional levels in identifying suitable implementation strategies.

The White Paper also emphasises the major contribution the **Open Method of Coordination**[6] in the field of youth can make to developing policy responses to the challenges faced by young people. It suggests the active participation of young people in processes designed to identify appropriate responses through organising direct dialogue, involvement of young people in policymaking initiatives and the development of the kinds of projects which will foster their closer participation in the policymaking process. Participation and information are seen as two priorities which are necessary to drive this process.

The White Paper stresses that there needs to be a greater understanding of youth and their needs in other policymaking areas. This not only concerns areas such as education and training but also other areas which impact on the quality of life of young people and their relation with society, such as health and housing policies, finance and social welfare.

The White Paper stresses the **complementarity between formal and non-formal education**, and highlights the important role of non-governmental youth organisations in promoting citizenship, social inclusion, and development of entrepreneurial mindsets among young people. Policymaking in these areas therefore needs to ensure an effective youth dimension which is fostered through a meaningful dialogue with young people using appropriate consultative channels.

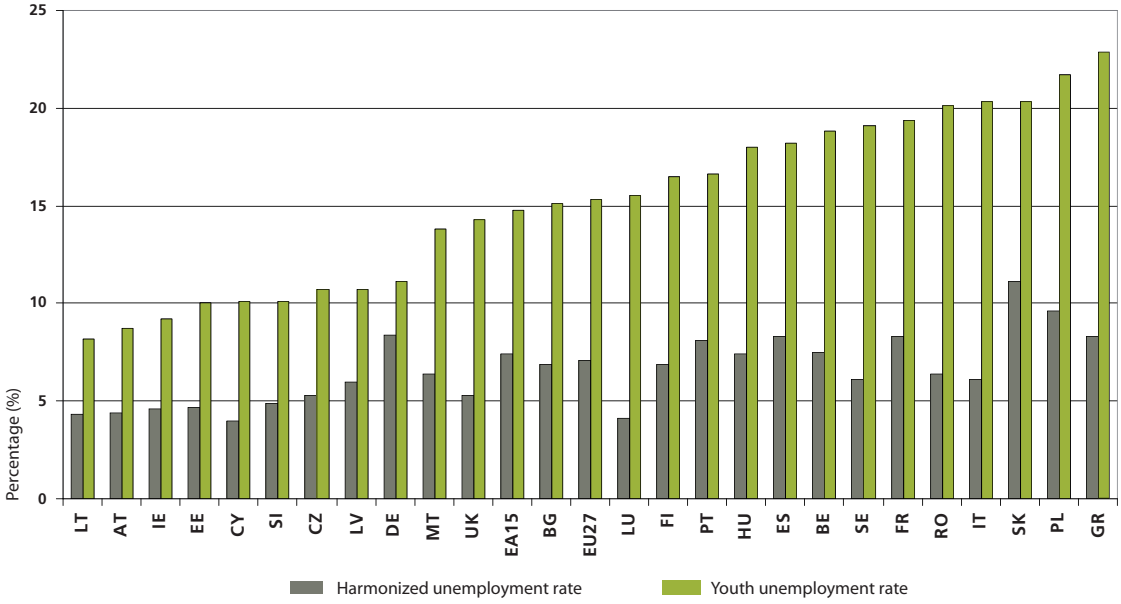
6 The Open Method of Coordination within the framework of the follow-up of the Lisbon Strategy and its related education, employment and social policy processes has played a significant role in supporting the exchange of policy practice and implementation experience at a European level.

Education, employment, and inclusion of young people were covered by "mainstreaming" until the adoption of the **European Youth Pact**[7] by the European Council in 2005. These areas are now part of the Lisbon strategy and Member States have to report in their "national reform programmes" on how they are implemented.

The Youth Pact incorporates three broad strands which should be priorities in policymaking, namely,

(i) education and training;
(ii) employment and social inclusion;
(iii) reconciliation of working life and private life.

Harmonized unemployment rate and youth unemployment rate in 2007



Source: Eurostat, 2008

When drawing up the policy context for research projects in the youth field, it is relevant to mention the European Commission's strengthened emphasis on youth participation in all policy domains and in society in general through a Communication on young people's full participation in education, employment and society.[8]

7 The Youth ministers of the Member States of the European Union adopted Conclusions calling for the establishment of a European Youth Pact on 21 February 2005.

8 European Commission, Promoting young people's full participation in education, employment and society, COM(2007)498.

The first ever Council Recommendation in the youth policy field (2008)[9], emphasises volunteering as a means to enhance young people's professional skills and competences, employability, sense of solidarity and foster active citizenship.

Policymaking relating to youth will need to address a number of challenges over the coming years if young people are to be supported to play their important role in European societies. A key priority is to create the policy framework which will ensure that societies are prosperous, where there are more and better jobs and where young people have clear pathways between the world of learning and work. Greater efforts are also required to promote cohesion within societies, intergenerational solidarity and the development of inclusive multicultural models where all young people can find a place. This process is an essential foundation stone for the development of citizenship practice not only at local and regional levels, but also at a European level.

This broader policy concern with the development of prosperity and the integration of young people into policymaking processes which support their participation in society will emerge in many of the policy messages in the projects reviewed. It will allow identifying practical examples of how to most appropriately address these issues in practical and sustainable ways.

2.2 Renewed Social Agenda

The **Renewed Social Agenda** presents a strategy for supporting a Europe where promoting opportunities, access and solidarity is seen as a major priority in responding effectively to the challenges posed by the ever present social and economic changes we face. The introduction to the Commission Communication stresses the important role the European Union has played in creating a society of unprecedented opportunities in terms of choice and living conditions[10]. However the Communication also emphasises the stark reality of high levels of youth unemployment and disaffection within our societies when it states that "too many young people are inactive or unemployed, and too many young people leave school early (...) as a result there are still too many people living in poverty (especially children and older people) and in social isolation".

9 Council Recommendation of 20 November 2008 on the mobility of young volunteers across the European Union C(2008)319.

10 European Commission, Communication, Renewed Social Agenda-Opportunities, access and solidarity in 21st Century Europe, COM(2008)412.

This statement clearly presents the scope of the problem to be addressed. It also provides an important background against which we can examine the results of some of the projects funded by the **Framework Programmes** which address issues of youth exclusion, poverty, unemployment and the transition between education and employment. The challenge is seen not so much as one of identifying the skills young people will need in order to participate in employment. It is rather to be seen in terms of the skills and competences which are needed for a new type of economy and how citizens can be best equipped to succeed.

The message to policymakers is also clear. There is no single answer to the challenges faced by societies. Responses must draw on a number of sources and must be capable of producing flexible social policies in order to meet the challenges. Such responses also need to be able to empower individuals to fully participate in society as citizens and as employed people.

Youth is seen as the key determining factor for Europe's future. This expectation however is counterbalanced by the particularly acute marginalisation they suffer through lack of opportunities to access education and training.

The EU is seen as playing a key role in providing a context for addressing these issues through its role in supporting policies to improve solidarity between generations and addressing specific problems relating to young peoples' access to education and training, the labour market as well as housing and finance. The Renewed Social Agenda refers specifically to the policy impetus provided by the European Youth Pact and other initiatives such as the Commission Communication on Schools in helping to address these issues.

Investment in human capital, the creation of new and better jobs and the development of new skills are seen as major pillars for the development of an EU strategy to address the problems of exclusion, unemployment and disaffection. Fostering of growth and jobs is seen as the major contribution the EU can make to developing prosperity. The Lisbon Strategy and European Monetary Union have already created a basis for significant progress in this respect.

The Renewed Social Agenda puts at 19 millions the number of young European people who are at risk of poverty and at 6 millions the number who drop out of school.

Social dialogue, the development of processes which facilitate change, the involvement of the social partners and other key stakeholders are seen as key components in creating a space for the creation of effective policy responses to the challenges faced by European societies.

The Open Method of Coordination is seen as one of the major contributors to success in supporting exchange of policy practice and implementation experience at European level. It has also increased confidence between policymakers in Member States and contributed to removing barriers between approaches and sectors in policymaking processes.

Therefore a new openness in policymaking and a readiness to engage with new partners in the process of identifying and developing appropriate policy responses can be seen in the European context. This provides a background against which the policy messages in the projects analysed in this review can be examined. This allows identifying a number of recommendations which are important for policymakers working in the youth policy area.

2.3 Role of the Research Framework Programmes in supporting the use of scientific evidence in policymaking

The EU Framework Programmes managed by the DG Research have, since their inception, played, and continue to play, a significant role in addressing major economic, scientific and social challenges which are important for Europe.

Significant work is undertaken within these projects to ensure that they contribute meaningful messages which will support the use of scientifically developed evidence and rigorous social analysis in policymaking. A key feature of these projects is their capacity to strengthen the process of evidence-based policymaking not only at a European level but also within individual Member States.

The projects supported within the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities (SSH) address major structural issues, such as participation of young people in society, citizenship, and the development of inclusive and cohesive societies.

The projects funded have a key role to play in informing the European Union's policy development at the political level. They also provide policy-useful information and insights in terms of collaborative practices in the communication and information sharing process between projects and key actors and engagement between policymakers and end users at every stage of the policymaking process at European and national levels. In this respect they show how the Open Method of Coordination can work in areas like Youth, Education, Employment, and Social Inclusion.

The results of the projects help to understand the importance of appropriate connections across the policymaking spectrum and to use research results to inform dialogue with politicians and senior policy advisors so that policymaking benefits from the most up-to-date information available from the research community. Recommendations and strategies which have the capacity to contribute to evidence-based policymaking at regional, national and/or European levels are identified. These recommendations are drawn from projects which address some of the most important issues addressed by those with responsibility in the field of youth and their integration in society.

3. Key thematic research areas

Certain projects put the emphasis on the factors which contribute to the full integration of young people in society and their successful participation in economic life. Such factors have the capacity to create the conditions which ensure a prosperous development of societies both in terms of individual success and of society as a whole. They contribute to an environment in which young people feel stimulated to be creative and empowered to develop innovative responses to professional and societal challenges. These projects also show the importance of coherence in the policymaking process.

> There is a need to ensure that those for whom policies are designed are part of the policymaking process as subjects rather than as objects of the planning process.

They examine a range of policy conditions and contexts which enable them to identify success factors and recommendations for policymaking. This section will explore the results of these projects in order to identify a series of policy practices and recommendations which can contribute to this debate. It will examine in detail the concepts which the projects have addressed and highlight the messages which have the capacity to provide a European added-value to the reflection on how to best promote the development of a society which will ensure economic success and social integration for all its citizens and for young people in particular.

Two underpinning concepts need to be addressed to fully understand the extent of the challenges faced by societies and in particular by young people:

- the development of more targeted and relevant responses through **integrated transition policies** within policymaking systems;

- the concept of **"agency"[11] and connection** between education systems and the wider community in order to promote coherence of approach and engagement of all key actors in the policymaking process.

11 Agency defines the capacity of an agent to act in a world. For human beings it indicates their capacity to make choices and to impose those choices on the world.

3.1 Pathways between the worlds of learning, work and society

3.1.1 Defining priorities: the economic and social context which creates prosperous societies

A significant number of the projects supported under the Framework Programmes address the conditions which are necessary in order to ensure that young people are supported to participate as economic actors in society. They have focused on strategies to reduce exclusion, the development of integrated responses to employment and integration challenges, cross sectoral partnerships in policy development and the relation between education systems and the broader enterprise and employment context.

These projects examine a range of issues which play an important role in creating successful examples of policies targeting the participation of young people in employment. They are also useful in helping us to identify indicators of success in policymaking in relation to providing opportunities for the participation of young people in the world of work.

The experience of these projects points to the importance for policymakers to work towards policies which ensure that young people are empowered to contribute to the development of a dynamic and successful economy. They show that success is not haphazard but is planned for through the creation of appropriate policies with clearly planned for outcomes.

A key feature of such policies is the emphasis on partnership and cross sectoral approaches. Some of the most interesting examples of successful initiatives at local and national levels are provided by projects which show how policies are framed and developed in a targeted and integrated way rather than addressing different aspects of a problem using ad hoc and sometimes sporadic solutions. In addition, those policies which have seen young people as key actors in the development of responses, rather than as the objects of particular policies, have also pointed the way to developing initiatives which create optimum conditions for success.

Ensuring the conditions for economic well-being, and maximising opportunities for involvement of young people in employment are seen as major vectors for the development of successful, socially inclusive and forward looking societies.

Several initiatives have been successful in creating the conditions for the transition of young people into the world of work and the development of prosperous societies which are capable of harnessing the creativity and dynamism of young people.

3.1.2 Integrated transition policies: developing tailor-made, coherent and context-related policy responses

A key feature of the projects which explore the issue of supporting young people in the transition from education and training into active participation in the world of employment is their emphasis on the importance of an integrated and holistic approach to policymaking.

This approach is characterised by:

- a concern to focus on issues and/or target publics at a first stage and to adopt policymaking strategies which are solutions-based and targeted at the needs of individuals within a specific context;
- a change in the processes by which policy is developed with substantial effort devoted to partnership across sectors and the involvement of key stakeholders in policymaking;
- a tendency to see those who are the targets of a particular policy as key actors in the reflection process and in the identification of a response to a particular policy issue. In this instance young people are seen as the subjects of policy development rather than the objects of the process. They should be major stakeholders in the policymaking process.

The multi-faceted nature of this reflection is well exemplified in the **Misleading Trajectories project** ("Misleading Trajectories: evaluation of the unintended effects of labour market integration policies for young adults in Europe")[12]. This project identifies the importance of the contextual dimension in policy development. While European policy documents may create a broad framework within

12 http://www.iris-egris.de/en/uebergaenge/misleading_trajectories/

which more specific, national, regional or indeed sectoral policies may be delineated, the factors which impact on young people's transition to work are heavily dependent on the particular context within a given Member State. The project provides an in-depth analysis of the way in which holistic perspectives on transition to work and the respective assessment and monitoring of success levels has become an integral part of the EU policy development process.

The **INCLUD-ED** project ("Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe")[13] emphasises the importance of broader approaches to addressing the issue of educational disadvantage and its impact on access to education and employment. It argues that education should be considered in connection with the other policy factors related to exclusion such as employment, economy, social inclusion, youth, healthcare, justice, housing and social services. This perspective and the conclusions of the **Misleading Trajectories project** ("Misleading Trajectories: evaluation of the unintended effects of labour market integration policies for young adults in Europe")[14] support a view which prioritises the intrinsic motivation of individuals and works on the premise that the broader policy context will be supportive of individual efforts to participate in the world of work.

Such policy initiatives are often framed at EU level, but also in Member States within an all-embracing Lifelong Learning Policy. Such an approach values the individual and foresees a continuum of learning and development which embraces the personal and professional aspects of the individual's life.

The reality confronting individuals may be somewhat different however. National and other contexts within individual Member States may be characterised by difficulties of access to appropriate learning and/or training opportunities for young people in certain categories.

Individual education and training contexts, and their concomitant certification and access to employment systems may also make it difficult to recognise and harness informal education.

National policies on vocational education and training may be outmoded with a tendency to prioritise specific skill areas rather than the transversal skills which are seen as important in a lifelong learning context.

13 http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/
14 http://www.iris-egris.de/en/uebergaenge/misleading_trajectories/

Such systems, which are more traditional in their organisation and policy development methodologies, do not support young people to make innovative and creative transitions to the world of work. They tend to assess policy effectiveness in terms of quantitative outcomes rather than in qualitative and holistic terms. In terms of framing lifelong learning policies policymakers must also be aware of the significant "cultural" differences that exist between the world of education/training and the world of work and labour market.

The important role of context is a recurring theme in many of the projects addressing young people and the policies which impact on their transition to the world of work. **YUSEDER** project ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion: dimensions, subjective experiences and institutional responses in six countries of the EU")[15] examines the extent to which successful initiatives at individual project level can be transferred to other countries and regions. The findings highlight the importance of not underestimating the importance of structural and cultural peculiarities in the implementation of policy.

However this does not necessarily imply that policymaking cannot learn from the examples of projects and initiatives developed in other contexts. Such policy examples may provide a catalyst for addressing issues in new ways or with the benefit of considered reflection on the impact of particular policy initiatives and how they were implemented in a particular context. This is part of the added-value of policymaking in the European context, particularly within the context of the Open Method of Coordination where the opportunity to reflect back into ones own system the meaning or rationale for certain types of policy decisions may provide new insights into dealing with particular problematic situations.

The strong message which underscores this analysis of the importance of context in determining responses to specific circumstances is that it is critical to prioritise the kinds of policies which ensure that the **circle of disadvantage is broken**. This requires Member States and other policymaking levels as appropriate, to develop the kinds of policies which prioritise continued training. When addressing issues of coherence and integration of policies many of the projects provide examples which devote considerable energies to promoting participative processes and dialogue between all the stakeholders within the system. The **EMILIE** project ("A European approach to multicultural citizenship: legal, political and educational challenges")[16] stresses the importance of adequately engaging the educational needs of very different groups of students when addressing

15 http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/
16 http://www.eliamep.gr/en/emilie/

issues of exclusion. These include those belonging to the majority population, new arrivals, immigrant children who have been living in the receiving country for a number of years, second or even third generation young people, as well as those whose stay in the country is likely to be short term.

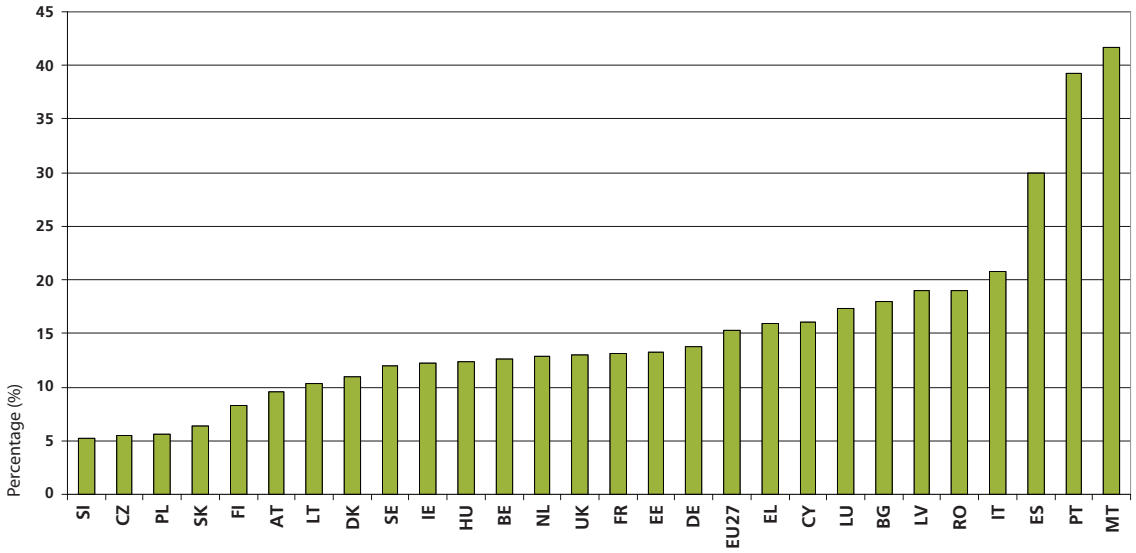
In light of this, the **EMILIE** project ("A European approach to multicultural citizenship: legal, political and educational challenges")[17] puts forward a number of policy relevant considerations regarding access to schooling; language, culture and history; multicultural and citizenship education; as well as anti-discrimination policies and practices in the workplace. Similarly the **YUSEDER** project ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion: dimensions, subjective experiences and institutional responses in six countries of the EU")[18] emphasises the importance of engaging those involved in vocational guidance as well as those with policy responsibilities in terms of education and labour market provision, in order to avoid the development of disparate policies which address parts of problems rather than root causes.

A second major finding across the projects analysed is the interaction between the infrastructure requirement of labour market systems and the needs of the individual. This may be seen as a tension arising from differing perspectives within education and training systems and in the world of employment. Such differences may be most obvious when discussing education and training and the transition to the world of work. The research indicates that there are significant cultural differences between the world of the labour market, but particularly the specific needs of employers and those who are specialists and policymakers in the field of education and training.

The situation is well presented in the **CASE** project ("Social exclusion as a multidimensional process")[19]. This project, which is heavily influenced by theories of social exclusion and inclusion, highlights a particular dilemma in policymaking which is targeted at young people in danger of exclusion who may be excluded from the labour market. It finds that it is difficult to mix welfare with educational and disciplinary aims when framing policies. In order to avoid social exclusion of at risk groups of young people it is preferable to prioritise the provision of suitable organisational arrangements which enable systems either to avoid social exclusion or to cope with it. This is best done through supporting networks of associations and developing policies at a macro level rather than by supporting individuals directly.

17 http://www.eliamep.gr/en/emilie/
18 http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/
19 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/006_en.html

Youth education in 2006 (%)
Early school leavers



Source: Eurostat, 2007

Such an approach however also supports the view that policymaking should draw on resources outside the dominant philosophical or theoretical view in a given thematic area.

Such an argument provides a clear message relating to the importance of multi-lateral and participative approaches, incorporating a broadly based approach to a particular subject, involving along with key actors those who are the subjects of the policymaking. Policies which are developed in such a cultural context, and which emerge from a dynamic process of partnership and equality of inter-action between key actors will stand a better chance of effectively resolving the issues they are designed to remedy than unilateral approaches.

The researchers speak in terms of **broadening the conceptual field** to involve social psychology theories by introducing ideas such as belonging, trust and accessibility of resources as well as political theory, particularly those of democracy and equity by "installing levels and degrees of participation" as the more general formula-tion of what social exclusion means politically.

3.1.3 Reinforcing the connections between education systems and the wider community

The second part of our analysis will focus on the interaction between education and training systems and the wider community and in particular the concept of agency between these two levels.

Policymaking in the field of youth, addressing ways to ensure the personal and professional participation of individual young people in society, constantly straddles the issue of supporting the individual and the need to ensure that society creates opportunities for economic success which is seen as the necessary basis for socially inclusive and prosperous societies. Elsewhere we will explore some of the other dimensions of this issue.

In terms of integrated transition policies however we can see that whether policymaking is approached from an individual standpoint or from the broader labour-market needs perspective, the messages are the same. Some issues are best addressed through policies targeted at the individual. The Knowledge Society and the constantly changing global context require major investment in creative and innovative policies to support personal development in a lifelong learning context for young people. These policies are only part of the solution however.

Reinforcing the connections between education and the wider community is defined as "agency" in the **Balancing Competencies** project ("Balancing competencies: enhancing the participation of young adults in economic and social processes")[20]. This project argues that agency is promoted when educational communities practice opening up and are connected to wider communities of labour and social, cultural participation. This concept is best understood in the context of how education institutions and systems interact with the societies in which they operate and how policymakers involve key stakeholders and the targets of policymaking in the process. It is concerned with notions of policy development with, rather than for people.

20 http://www.pjb.co.uk/npl/bp14.doc

Broader, structural level intervention is also necessary in order to create the environment for participation in the labour market and to lay the building blocks of a prosperous labour market.

The **UP2YOUTH** project ("Youth. Actor of social change")[21] reflects on how institutional structures of social integration such as politics, state, markets, family need to be re-conceptualised in order to allow for policymaking which is both in line with the implications of social change and open for the involvement of young men and women. The research emphasises the key role that young people themselves play as actors in the process of social change in addition to whatever structural arrangements may be in place in given policy contexts. The complexity of the personal and social situations in which individual young people may find themselves creates a dynamic which contributes to new solutions to the challenges they face with regard to the three issues of reproduction, integration and participation. This provides a further refinement of the concept of "agency" and its role in the policymaking process.

In the previous section a reference was made to partnership-based policymaking processes. Discussing the concept of agency, the focus is on the development of cultures of professional practice and on policies which promote interpretative and reflective practice. Such ideas are at the heart of what can be considered the added-value of cooperation in the European context. The Open Method of Coordination has created not only a methodology for collaboration on issues of shared concern by European policymakers, but has also created a space for exploring policy options, and addressing in a non-threatening way some of the more problematic issues with which they are confronted.

When applied to the education field the concept of agency refers to the way in which education systems interact with the wider world. This is of particular importance when discussing issues of inclusion and exclusion, the preparation of young people for the world of work and their active participation in society.

The **UP2Youth** project ("Youth. Actor of social change") highlights the importance of the development of alternative learning settings and non-formal education in compensating for the absence of formal qualifications.

http://www.up2youth.org

But it also concerns the effectiveness of the school in creating a solid basis for young people's acquisition of the skill of lifelong learning. However non-formal education may also be considered as a valuable means of fostering citizenship, employability and entrepreneurial spirit, social inclusion and youth autonomy.

For young people, who experience learning problems in formal education, as is often the case for migrants because of linguistic and cultural challenges or interrupted educational trajectories, it is particularly important to develop alternative learning settings. Informal learning processes can be successfully used in strengthening the integration process. Through informal pedagogy and practical work, young people acquire a number of skills not only relevant in professional work but also in their everyday life.

Learning successes or failures differ highly, depending on both the ethnic minorities' country of origin and the actual level and area of education. Many countries have preparatory classes and language classes, but the advantages and disadvantages vary depending on migrants' country of origin, attitude and cultural values held by parents, relatives and friends. Informal learning stemming from ethnic minority families and peers can in some cases create further difficulties, in particular where such learning focuses on values and traditions from the country of origin. Such cases may further isolate or limit ethnic minority youth from taking part in ethnic majority culture and learning activities.

The **EDUMIGROM** project ("Ethnic differences in education and diverging prospects for urban youth in an enlarged Europe")[22] studies how ethnic differences in education contribute to the diverging prospects for minority ethnic youth (incl. Roma) and their peers in urban settings. Despite great variations in economic development and welfare arrangements, recent developments seem to lead to similar consequences for certain groups of second-generation immigrants in the western half of the continent and Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, often experiencing new and intensive forms of involuntary separation, social exclusion, and second-class citizenship. **EDUMIGROM** critically examines the role of education in these processes of socialisation, 'minoritisation' and knowledge distribution. It explores how schools contribute to reducing, maintaining, or deepening inequalities in young people's access to the labour market, further education and training, and also to different domains of social, cultural, and political participation.

A recurring finding across the projects surveyed is the need to address the concept of agency and the connection between education communities and the wider community as a matter of urgency. This is a multi-faceted task involving

22 http://www.edumigrom.eu

not only partnerships between appropriate stakeholders but also the organisation of relationships in terms of the structures that should exist to facilitate such connections. We are here touching on many of the concepts we addressed in our earlier section when we discussed the importance of partnership and policy-making with, rather than for people.

This is articulated in the **YOYO** project ("Youth policy and participation")[23] when it examines the way in which policies succeed in motivating young people in their transition from the world of education and training to that of work. The research finds that success levels in terms of remuneration are rarely linked to the nature of young peoples' work and training per se. Rather, satisfactory remuneration levels are linked more to the conditions imposed on young people in formal training and labour market programmes. The implication of this finding is clear. Policies must be developed which move beyond an exclusive focus on the needs of one or other of the parties concerned directly with or by the particular policy issue. There are no viable answers which do not address the needs of both the employer and the employed. Where policies are framed in ways which are responsive to the needs of both, then more useful ways of ensuring the successful transition of young people into the world of work can be assured.

Other examples like **FATE** project ("Families and transition in Europe")[24] highlight the usefulness of integrated transition policies in supporting young people's participation in the world of work.

> In Denmark policies aimed at supporting young people's independence are recognised as an explicit goal of social policy.

The issue therefore is to be seen not in terms of addressing infrastructural or institutional issues alone, but also in terms of the added-value for individuals of policies and responses to societal issues.

Partnership again emerges as an underpinning concept in policy framing and in addressing the needs of those who may be in danger of marginalisation within societies. In the **ENTRANCE** project ("Enterprise and its transfer to combat social exclusion")[25] specific examples are provided of policies which effectively address

23 http://www.iris-egris.de/yoyo
24 http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/policy/fate/fate.html
25 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/027_en.html

the issue of "at risk" young people. Enterprise education is seen as an effective initiative in supporting such young people by focusing on work place needs. It is also seen as an effective way of bringing the worlds of education and employment together.

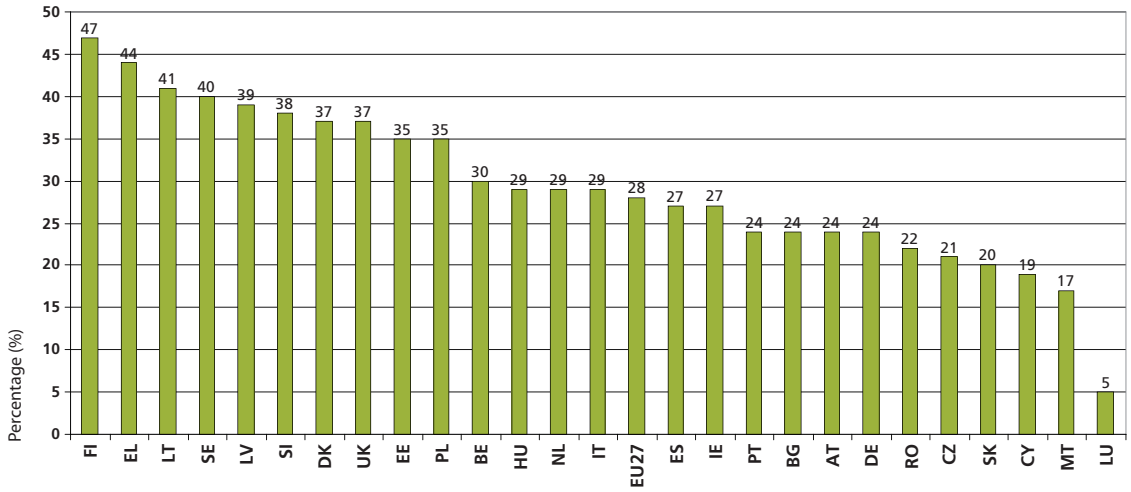
Positive results for young people are seen in terms of high self-esteem, motivation to take responsibility for their own lives, a more positive view of life and the development of social skills necessary to turn visions into reality. What is seen here is the value of opening the world of education and training to the "real" world of employment and the added value to the learning experience of young people which stems from such connections. The project identifies the major policymaking message to be drawn from this example as the **importance of social partnership and the involvement of key stakeholders**.

Supporting social partnership rarely happens by accident however. It is the result of planned approaches to solving problems, addressing issues and developing and implementing policies. This analysis is pursued in **EGSIE** project ("Education governance and social integration and exclusion")[26] which explores patterns of social exclusion and segregation of young people. The findings point to a significant variation in patterns between the countries with liberal social regime traditions and those with social democratic traditions. While the former may include less provision for supporting individuals at system level or the provision of tailored programmes to ensure their transition to the world of work, the latter tend to provide programmes which involve institutional and/or system led responses to specific problems.

The **YIPPEE** project ("Young people from a public care background: Pathways to education in Europe")[27] explores the cultural, social, psychological and practical factors which encourage and enable young people who have grown up in a public care institution to continue their education beyond the school years. Young people from a public care background (who spent part or all [at least one year] of their childhood in public care) constitute a highly disadvantaged and socially excluded group of young men and women. For example, from UK figures it is estimated that fewer than five care leavers in a hundred go to university. The project explores the pathways by which they might overcome their childhood disadvantages through further and higher education, as well as their own resourcefulness.

26 http://www.ped.uu.se/egsie/
27 http://tcru.ioe.ac.uk/yippee

Students in tertiary education as % of the people aged 20-29 in 2005



Source: Eurostat, 2007 (Data for France was not available)

Programmed and partnership driven responses to exclusion issues may avoid some of the pitfalls of purely market-driven responses. There is some research which finds that increased access to education on its own may not always allow for increased access to the world of employment. Indeed increased access to education sometimes has the unintended result of a greater danger of exclusion because of educational level. Some policies aimed at promoting inclusion may have the opposite effect.

One of the major barriers to be overcome is that of different timescales in the education and production systems. This issue is addressed in the **EDEX** project ("Educational expansion and labour markets")[28]. The misfit between timescales is seen as a crucial background factor in understanding the relationship between education and employment and analysing their evolution. An awareness of these differing timescales needs to be understood at the heart of the policymaking process. Partnerships which accommodate a multiplicity of viewpoints and which are equitably based are capable of transcending this dichotomy.

Partnership practices at a European level, particularly those which have developed as a result of the common framework for social policies (cf. **YUSEDER** ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion in Europe")[29] have tended to be successful because they have striven to accommodate a variety of view points in developing policy responses to specific employment related issues. This approach, which has evolved within the wider context of the follow-up of the Lisbon

28 http://edex.univ-tlse1.fr/edex/

29 http://www.nova.no/subnet/Hammer/unemployment.htm. This project includes an analysis of the National Action Plans (NAPs) which have been developed within the Common Framework for Social Policies in the EU.

Strategy may be seen as one which promotes a concept of agency between key players in the policymaking and implementation processes. It provides a basis for addressing sometimes problematic issues in a context where it is necessary to ensure shared ownership of results and "buy-in" by both those in danger of exclusion from the world of employment and those who are creating employment opportunities within societies. When applied to policymaking at the interface between the worlds of education and employment it creates a clear identification of the importance of a European model of policy framing in the employment sphere: the need for a social Europe to complement the economic Europe.

3.2 Strategies for social cohesion and inclusion

3.2.1 Social cohesion and inclusion – definition of priorities and policy context

Social cohesion and issues of inclusion and exclusion are fundamental principles across all EU social and employment policies. These issues are seen as transversal ones which need to be addressed when discussing the development as well as the implementation of new policies. This working out of social inclusion and exclusion issues, as well as the need to develop social cohesion within European societies, underpins each stage of the policy development process.

The principles which should underpin policies targeted at developing the Knowledge Economy, building a social Europe and supporting the full integration of young people into societies are presented in policy documents such as the European Youth Pact (2005) and the Renewed Social Agenda (2008) and the biennial reports published within the context of the **Education and Training Work Programme**[30]. By establishing the principles which should inform policy development, politicians have shown the political importance of addressing issues of inclusion and exclusion and the disaffection of young people within European societies.

30 Education and Training 2010 Work Programme successive reports published every 2 years.

The particular challenges facing the European Union are those of balancing efforts to ensure that the European economy prospers in the context of increasingly difficult to control globalisation with the need to build inclusive societies.

A key concern is to avoid social fracture by developing policies that put a premium on participation, and the provision of opportunities for all citizens and residents within a country. The European Youth Pact provides the clearest examples of this approach. In a context of the demographic downturn and high levels of youth unemployment in many European countries there is an acute sense of marginalisation of many young people. The strategy proposed in the Youth Pact is to work with and for young people to ensure they participate fully in every aspect of social and economic life. Youth are also seen as a key target group in the Renewed Social agenda. The suggested solutions to problems of disaffection and youth unemployment are seen in a context of partnership and engagement with those who are the subjects of policymaking.

The driving force throughout these policy documents is the concern to **strengthen European social models**: the European way of promoting cohesion within societies. These policymaking concerns are around the issues of ensuring that all citizens are treated equally and that societies put policies in place which provide all citizens and especially young people with the opportunity of full participation in society. Participation in employment and access to a suitable job or professional activity are seen as a base line for achieving success in this area.

3.2.2 Social strategies to reduce and to promote exclusion-engagement between key stakeholders, with and for young people

In the previous section, the importance of involving all the appropriate stakeholders in the process of policy development has been pointed out. The appropriateness of the process was defined in terms of policymaking with, as well as for young people. The projects examined below focus on the importance of investing time and resources in the development of the kinds of social strategies which promote engagement between key actors and see policies as something which developed through a constructed process of interaction between key actors.

The **CSEYHP** project ("Combating social exclusion of young homeless people")[31] has a direct and action-oriented approach to combat the social exclusion of young homeless men and women (white native born, ethnic minority native born and migrants). In order to do so, the young people get a central role and participate in the project in various ways, through providing their own perspectives on their life trajectories, but also by involving ex-homeless young people as co-researchers. The project seeks to test two intervention models on youth homelessness (UK, the Netherlands) in two other countries (Portugal, Czech Republic) and to define policy recommendations for NGOs and policymakers in this domain, applying also to young people with low education qualifications, and lesser employment and social integration prospects.

While some cultures show evidence of greater ease and experience of involvement of key actors in the policymaking process as in the Scandinavian countries, there is clear evidence which shows the importance of concerted action at a political level in supporting such processes of engagement between the major protagonists in the policymaking process. The **EGSIE** project ("Education governance and social integration and exclusion")[32] best encapsulates the concept when it advances its theory of how the EU policymaking context has effected subtle yet perceptible changes in the way policies are developed.

The growing importance of regulatory ideas which promote increased congruence on specific policy questions within and between systems has helped create a new policymaking context which emphasises the importance of involvement of key actors in the process. The thematic content of this process, which is concerned with supporting the development of sustainable knowledge-based policies, quality-based learning to work progression and the increase in the mobility of young workers, has created its own dynamic. The transnational element of the interaction between policymakers and the identification of shared end results, to be achieved through a collaborative process over time has changed the way in which policies directed at young people, and particularly those in danger of exclusion are framed.

This policymaking process, inspired by the methodologies of the Open Method of Coordination in the field of youth stresses the importance of inclusion, not only as the end result of the policymaking process and policy implementation. It has also placed inclusion at the centre of the methodologies which are used in developing these policies and has contributed to giving young people and other players in the process, an increased sense of the value of their experience when policies are discussed.

31 http://www.movisie.nl/homelessyouth
32 http://www.ped.uu.se/egsie/

The **EUMARGINS** project ("On the margins of the European Community - Young adult immigrants in seven European countries")[33] analyses the phenomena of exclusion and inclusion of immigrants dynamically, arguing that the most marginalised will also have experiences of inclusion and the least marginalised will have possible experiences of exclusion too. Thus the project seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the reasons why some young adult immigrants find their way to participate as active citizens in society, whereas others struggle to achieve access to the majority society's institutions.

Another aspect of this viewpoint is developed in the **EUYOUPART** project ("Political participation of young people in Europe - Development of indicators for comparative research in the EU")[34] when it discusses the impact of the development of comparable indicators and measurement instruments at European levels in policymaking. This impact is visible at a number of levels. Firstly there is the impact at a methodological and content level. Producing statistical information which is comparable across Member States and which will enable the production of policy-useful material requires a level of sharing of content that is a new departure for many policymakers.

However this process engages the participants, and particularly those who shape policies at a national level in a process of mutual confidence building which enables them to share sometimes sensitive information. It is this incremental movement forward which is the motor for the development of policies targeting the major challenges which exist at an EU level in relation to the exclusion of significant numbers of young people from social and economic life. This approach provides an example of one of the central tenets of the White Paper on Youth when it stresses the importance of developing a new impetus for the development of targeted and creative policies to address youth exclusions issues.

In addressing the question of social strategies and engagement of key stakeholders the research reviewed identifies a number of pitfalls. These relate primarily to the unintended results of policymaking which sometimes only become clear when the effects of the implementation of a particular policy are assessed.

This danger is best exemplified in the **EGSIE** project ("Education governance and social integration and exclusion")[35] when it presents the results of its evaluation of policies which have aimed to increase access to education with a view to improving the possibility of entry to the labour market. In its analysis of systems where policies have been concerned to expand education systems to include

33 http://www.iss.uio.no/forskning/eumargins/index.html
34 http://www.sora.at/EUYOUPART
35 http://www.ped.uu.se/egsie/

more young people for longer periods of time it observes increasing patterns of social exclusion and segregation. This arises because of the tendency in some countries to perennialise education and training schemes, which by encouraging young people to stay within the formal education and training system create a distinction with those who move more efficiently into the labour market. Thus, policies which are designed to support young people towards labour market participation have the unintended effect of creating a class apart which has real difficulty in securing worthwhile or "real" jobs.

The interplay between policies to promote inclusion and their impact on vulnerable groups, particularly women, migrants, cultural minorities, people with disabilities and young people is an area which is of particular interest in the **INCLUD-ED** project ("Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe")[36] Common educational strategies that lead to academic success and social inclusion in Europe were identified.

Targeted group specific methodologies and use of additional resources in the classroom, increased use of additional teachers, extending the learning time for students with more difficulties, and individualising the curriculum to facilitate student learning are practices which help towards the achievement of academic success.

Another aspect of an unintended result of policies to promote access to education and training is the phenomenon of increased exclusion from the world of work because of education. Because of a proliferation of training and professional development courses in order to keep young people in the education and training system rather than on the unemployed register, the standard required for entry to the world of employment continues to rise in many areas. This leads to the creation of a significant subsection of young people who suffer disaffection and will experience significant difficulty in getting unto the first rung of the employment ladder.

The important policy decision which needs to be made in order to address such unintended consequences is to explore the development of solutions with those who are the subjects of the policies to be developed. This is a major success factor in the development of social scenarios which are equitable and which provide for the development of societies where access to knowledge is seen as

36 http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/

Immigration of non-nationals share (% of total immigrants)

COUNTRY	IMMIGRANTS (1000)	EUROPE	AFRICA	AMERICA	ASIA	OTHERS
BE	68,8	60,4	21	7,7	10,2	0,7
CZ	58,6	80,2	0,8	2,9	15,8	0,2
DK	30	64,7	3,8	9,5	20,2	1,9
DE	579,3	74,9	4,4	5,8	14,1	0,7
ES	682,7	41,5	17,7	33,8	6,9	0,1
FR*	140,1	15	64,4	8,7	11,4	0,5
IT	392,8	57,8	17,8	12,6	11,7	0,1
CY	21,9	79	1,2	2	16,8	1
LV	1,2	89,7	0,2	5	4,7	0,6
LT	2,1	66,5	0,3	8,2	10,9	14,7
LU	12,3	88,1	4,6	3,8	2,6	1
HU	22,2	83,2	1,6	2,8	12,1	3
NL	63,4	51,9	9,5	11,3	18,8	8,5
AT	101,5	79,8	4,3	3,3	10,3	2,4
PT	16,8	41,1	33,6	20,2	5	0
RO	3,7	79,6	1,1	13	5,5	0,9
SI	13,3	97,2	0,2	0,9	1,4	0,1
SK	7,7	77,3	1,6	4,8	15,9	0,5
FI	12,7	59,6	10,8	4,7	23,7	1,7
SE	51,3	52,8	10	6,2	28,8	2,3
UK	407,4	33,8	13,1	6,7	37,9	8,5

Source: Eurostat, 2007

**Excludes nationals and EU immigration from EU-15 Member States*
Some EU Member States are not included in this table because no data were available.

important for all citizens. Policymakers have an important role to play in ensuring that their work leads to the equitable distribution of the resources which support full participation in society. The scenarios they construct and the methodologies they employ will be the major determinants of successful, inclusive social outcomes.

The final element which is seen as contributing to the development of such policies determines the processes used to monitor policy implementation and determine factors of success. The findings here echo the earlier discussion on the influence of regulatory frameworks and the use of statistics and benchmarks in determining the success factors in policy implementation. While these contribute to a shared sense of purpose and enable mutual learning between policymakers there is a danger that the may limit the basis on which the policy implementation is evaluated.

A key finding of the **Misleading Trajectories** project ("Misleading Trajectories: evaluation of the unintended effects of labour market integration policies for young adults in Europe")[37] is that the evaluation of policy effectiveness needs to be seen as holistic and qualitative rather than purely quantitative. When policy implementation is evaluated it needs to be done in terms of the policy continuum. This involves examining the coherence between the starting point for the development of a particular policy, the multi-dimensional aspects of its development and implementation, the cultural and social contexts. How policies and their implementation are evaluated should be present from the earliest stages of the policy development process.

The recommendations that apply to the policy development process also apply when framing the evaluation of effectiveness. Those actors who are important as the target publics of a particular policy are also key players in determining how it should be evaluated. The terms of reference of such an evaluation should be framed in a way which enables the multi-dimensional aspects of how a particular policy might be considered to be assessed as effective. Approaches need to be based on engagement with key stakeholders and a clear awareness *ex ante* of success factors.

3.2.3 Holistic rather than purely quantitative monitoring of progress

A considerable body of the material reviewed raises the role of context in determining the success of particular policies. How employment is seen in a given social context and the strategies used to support policies aimed at encouraging the entry of young people into the labour market are important factors in assessing the success of particular policies As demonstrated in the **Social Construction of Employment** project *("La construction sociale de l'emploi")*, employment is seen as a social construct in some countries with significant cultural and social factors influencing not only how policy is developed, but also what specific measures are chosen in terms of implementation, and most importantly how policy implementation is evaluated.

37 http://www.iris-egris.de/en/uebergaenge/misleading_trajectories/

The **PROFIT** project ("Policy responses overcoming factors in the intergenerational transmission of inequalities")[38] studied how inheritance of inequalities (in particular poverty) occurs. On average, about half of the young people growing up in poor families (in the 8 middle-sized towns in 8 European countries) remain in ("relative") poverty, while only about half experience advancement.

> The cumulative effect of a discouraging family and a non-supportive school are the most likely factors leading individuals to stay in poverty and follow their parents' life course.

The economic standing of a country is not a decisive factor: educational, labour and welfare policies matter as well, pointing to the relevance of policies. While social policy is not perceived by young adults as a factor impacting on their life course, the survey data reveal that policies can contribute to upward mobility of underprivileged young people.

Social contexts where the State is seen as playing a key role in supporting transition into the labour market may tend to apply set formulae, sometimes supportive of individual needs, sometimes less so, when developing transition policies. In this context it may be more difficult to determine the real impact of a particular policy, as participation in an education or training course per se may be seen as a factor of success. There may be no social context for establishing real added-value in terms of an individual's participation in the labour market.

This view is further developed in the **YUSEDER** project ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion: dimensions, subjective experiences and institutional responses in six countries of the EU")[39] where the research points to the difficulty of transferring implementation models for successful projects between systems. What works in one cultural context may not necessarily work elsewhere. The role of context is seen as the major factor which should be considered when assessing policy implementation.

However this dominant role of context should not be seen as a barrier to making progress in the policymaking sphere. An analysis of the material provided in the **FATE** project ("Families and transition in Europe")[40] approaches the issue of context from a different angle. While its importance should not be under-estimated, what is most important is the dynamic which influences policy development.

38 http://www.profit.uni.lodz.pl
39 http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/
40 http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/policy/fate/fate.html

This is seen in the interaction between the key actors in the process and particularly where the needs of the individual are seen as the basis on which systems need to develop policy responses.

> The findings here highlight the significance of the dynamic interplay between the different policy actors as a key element in the process.

Referring to the concept of marginality in describing position in the labour market with specific reference to young people the research highlights the notion of movement either towards integration or exclusion. This tends to push policymaking towards an axial point where work/employment measures are seen to be the most effective labour market programmes. Here we see another side of the coin from the socially engineered situation referred to in the **Social Construction of Employment** project. The emphasis is on the dynamic dimension inherent in a process where societal and market forces combine to create their own reality.

This raises an interesting question which returns on the interplay between supporting individuals and developing infrastructural responses to the need to improve the transition of young people into the world of work. The consensus in the **FATE** project ("Families and transition in Europe")[41] is that support to individuals, particularly in terms of the development of strategies to qualify unemployed youth in accordance with the demands of the labour market is an important determinant of success. It is the interaction between the system level responses and the development of individuals' personal education and training pathways which is important. Their general level education and the development of skills yield dividends in terms of ultimate successful participation in the world of work.

Similarly this project, which approaches the issue of work training from the opposite end of the spectrum to the **Social Construction of Employment** project raises the question of continued participation in education and training which may be used at a structural level to hide unemployment figures, or which may set the individual on a path to repeated participation in education and a variety of training programmes.

The responses to this dilemma are not clear cut. However as discussed in the previous section they may be most effectively sought in the development of holistic policymaking responses at a societal level. The scope of this type of response is identified in the **CASE** project ("Social exclusion as a multidimensional process")[42] where the research advocates broadening the conceptual field into social psychology by introducing "belonging, trust and accessibility of resources" to the

41 http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/policy/fate/fate.html
42 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/006_en.html

policymaking process. These are responses which are premised on notions of participation of a broad range of concerned actors, but also empowering the key players to be responsive in developing situations.

Policymaking in a European context, particularly within the context of the Open Method of Coordination has become a driver of change in Member States. It has been a catalyst for exploring approaches which learn from the examples of peers and which also encourage the involvement of a wide range of actors in the policy-making process.

3.2.4 Partnership approaches within systems and the role of cross sectoral approaches to supporting cultural change

The projects surveyed devote considerable time to discussion of the importance of partnership approaches to policymaking within systems. In earlier sections, the involvement of key stakeholders in the process has been underlined. The idea of making policy with, rather than for people has been argued. Here, the focus is more on institutionalised notions of partnership within established policymaking contexts. The analysis concentrates on different ways in which partnership approaches are articulated within systems. The link between these approaches and different sectors within systems is explored. How the approaches which facilitate transfer of practice and experience across sectors can provide a context for a more target driven policymaking process?

While the examples quoted in the projects surveyed address the broader structural aspects of partnership and cross sectoral approaches, the research reveals a common thread.

> In some of the most positive examples of such partnerships this thread is premised on the notion of developing **policies which are supportive of young people's motivation**.

This emphasis on the young person as the starting point for policymaking, its methodologies and structures, creates examples which are perceived to be successful in delivering policies which support young people in the transition to the world of work and are also responsive to their longer term needs. The question driving the research is how policies succeed in motivating young people to engage in their transition to the world of work.

This question is a concern of a number of the projects reviewed. In the **SPREW** project ("Generational approach to the social patterns of relation to work")[43] it is phrased in terms of the way in which young people are supported where traditional models of relation to and progression in the world of work are addressed. The new context which is faced by policymakers is described in terms of the "rupture between new work forms and standard work characterised by standard jobs, linear careers, knowledge transmission between senior and junior workers and what is called the perception of a 'common destiny' between old and young generations." This new situation makes way for a diversification of beliefs and new ways of managing relations between the generations as well as their relation with the world of work.

The **YOYO** project ("Youth policy and participation")[44] identifies intrinsic factors such as how young people are inducted into patterns of working as the key determining agents in deciding on how young people participate in the labour market. Communication between sectors, clear pathways between the education and employment sectors are indicators of successful transition. Policymaking contexts which display an awareness of the importance of such approaches and use them in building their approaches will have greater success in ensuring participation of young people in employment and in minimising the dangers of social disaffection.

The issue faced by policymaking systems is described in the **Balancing Competencies project** ("Balancing competencies: enhancing the participation of young adults in economic and social processes")[45] as one where "policy formulation needs to pay more attention to the necessity of having multiple and flexible options of training and guidance available for young adults even though their actions and choices may fall outside programme objectives."

How policies need to be frameworked when balancing the needs of young people and employment systems. Sensitive and multi-faceted issues such as how young people can be supported to have a sense of ownership of decisions and engagement with the world of employment require multi-faceted approaches. In earlier sections this issue was examined from the standpoint of the key actors in the process. Here the emphasis is on the capacity of systems to respond with the kinds of approaches and policies that empower young people and provide them with valid choices. There is an added level in the policymaking process; that of looking beyond the immediate societal or labour market needs to a more generalised need for belonging at a fundamental level.

43 http://www.ftu-namur.org/sprew/
44 http://www.iris-egris.de/yoyo
45 http://www.pjb.co.uk/npl/bp14.doc

An inherent part of this type of policymaking response is the need for what is termed institutional reflexitivity in policy development. This is seen in a system's capacity to identify major current and emerging issues and to respond appropriately. It is an approach which also implies looking at issues in a positive way with a view to achieving a "win-win" result for everybody. It involves enhanced practices of communication between key players and also an approach which facilitates thinking "outside the box" in terms of identifying new policies and appropriate implementation strategies.

The policy findings in these projects are highlighted in the recommendations identified in relation to inclusive and engaging methodologies in order to ensure the involvement of all key actors. They raise the issue of citizenship and how it must be seen as a defining factor in the policy development targeted at young people, particularly if local and national engagements are promoted with democratic processes, but also an increased sense of what it means to be European and an EU citizen.

3.3 Citizenship and participation

3.3.1 Citizenship: defining priority and underpinning principle of policymaking

Citizenship appears as an underpinning concern across a broad range of EU policies targeted at the individual and the young person. Policies are seen as having a key role in developing societal models which are premised on equity, participation and the positive contribution that individuals can make to well-being in social, as well as economic terms. Citizenship is also seen in terms of multiple levels of identities; the identity of the individual within his own immediate environment as a citizen of a region, his status as a citizen of a nation state and his status as a European citizen.

These concerns are present in policies targeted specifically at supporting young people and individuals in the education, training and youth areas. They are also a key priority in projects funded within the EU Research Framework Programmes, particularly but not exclusively in those projects funded within the social sciences and humanities area. Other policy areas in the employment, migration and environment areas have also been developed with a clear focus on the social position, quality of life and contribution that the individual can make not only to the society in which he lives, but also to the development of European citizens.

The concept of European Citizenship first appears in the **Treaty of Maastricht** at the beginning of the nineties. Its appearance as a concept which should be understood in terms of an additional level of identity, of belonging provides a legal basis for the development of EU policies which are conceived in two ways. A first level identifies certain rights which the individual has, as a citizen of a Member State. These relate to condition or status within a particular country-gender, as employee, consumer, and citizen. Arising from the legal basis provided by the Treaty, various directives and recommendations provide a new level of jurisprudence which identify and provide support for certain rights within an EU context. These rights are also mobile rights. They can be availed of in one's own Member State. They can also be availed of throughout all the Member States of the EU, thus reinforcing the important European principle of mobility.

In addition to this growing legal support of the individual's rights which has been an incremental process over time, the Treaty ascribes to citizens of each Member State a new level of citizenship which they hold by virtue of their being citizens of an EU Member State. This European citizenship confers a number of rights such as free movement throughout the EU, the right to install oneself in any country of the Union and to avail of social protection regimes and access to diplomatic and consular protection. European citizenship is also linked to notions of identity, and is seen as an additional level at which individuals will define themselves. Common formats for passports and driving licences provide a first step in reinforcing this level of European identity.

In parallel there is a growing tendency towards subsidiarity where decisions should be taken at the level which is closest to the citizen. This reinforces the sense of individual empowerment and the importance of intermediary levels of governance at local and regional levels, in addition to the traditional centralised model of decision-making which has been a feature of the nation state. Paradoxically this local and regional level supports an increased sense of the importance of European identity and links between regions.

The Maastricht Treaty also provided the legislative basis for major European level programmes in the education, training and youth fields. These programmes introduced the European dimension and support to European citizenship in their objectives. They also placed a high priority on inclusion, supporting the full participation of all young people in education and training, intercultural education and dealing with diversity among their objectives. These programmes, mirrored by other initiatives which addressed the skills needed to participate in the economy such as ADAPT and EQUAL created a large research base and body of innovative material on how to best address issues such as developing the skills needed for full participation in society and access to the employment market. They also introduced the concept of volunteering[46] where young people were encouraged to support initiatives of benefit to the quality of life of European citizens.

The experience of such programmes laid the groundwork for the more direct policy related work initiated in the education and training area with the Lisbon Process. This work, which is known as the Education and Training Work Programme 2010 has created a strengthened policy cooperation between Member States, articulated around the needs of the labour market and how young people are best supported to lead full and active lives in the knowledge society. This policy direction within the context of EU initiatives is further developed in the Renewed Social Agenda which prioritises issues relating to employment, prosperity and full participation as key axes for policy development in the social and employment related fields.

This section examines how the projects which have been supported in the Framework Programmes provide an increased sense of the relevance of notions of full participation in society, the need to avoid exclusion and the importance of promoting equity as key components of a reflection on citizenship within a European context.

3.3.2 Engagement with multiple levels of citizenship at local, national and European levels

The concept of multiple levels of citizenship is one which appears in a significant number of the projects reviewed. It is a concept which is often seen to be closely related to patterns of partnership within specific social contexts.

Levels of participation raise issues about how citizenship is experienced in local contexts, but also at national and European levels.

46 Decision 1686/98/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 20 July 1998 establishing the Community Action Programme European Voluntary Service for Young People.

There is a significant body of evidence in the Framework projects addressing issues of young peoples' participation in education, training and employment which raises the question of how young people perceive their identity and their role within a given social context.

In the **Orientation of young men and women to citizenship and European identity** project[47] this issue is explored in some depth. The research is premised on a fundamental question, namely why, when and where people acquire European identities. The research results focus on the role of practice in supporting the acquisition of notions of what citizenship means and its importance in helping young people to grow into a realisation and an acceptance of the important role they can play at social as well as economic levels in society. Indeed where young people feel that they are listened to and that they have an important role in their own particular contexts they also have an enhanced sense of what it means to be a European citizen. Essentially the question is premised around coming to terms with and understanding the language and practice of citizenship. This is both a question of education and learning through doing.

European citizenship is enhanced where people experience a sense of engagement with their national and local citizenship.

This interplay between levels of citizenship is an important indicator of success of social policy and levels of participation in employment. This finding echoes earlier arguments about the need to engage young people actively in the process of policymaking as subjects rather than objects of policymaking.

A further key component of the argument on practice of citizenship and the interplay between levels of citizenship is addressed when exploring the kinds of policies which are developed in order to avoid the total exclusion of young people from the economic and social activity of society. In the **YUSEDER** project ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion: dimensions, subjective experiences and institutional responses in six countries of the EU")[48] there is a useful analysis of the importance of a common framework for social policies in the EU. The importance of NAPs in this respect is stressed[49]. They remind policymakers of the relevance of the broader context provided by the Lisbon Process in supporting reform and good practice in policymaking within Member States.

47 http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/

48 http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/

49 Every EU Member States draws up a National Reform Programme (until 2005, National Action Plans) which describes how the Employment Guidelines are put into practice at the national level. They present the progress achieved in the Member State over the previous 12 months and the measures planned for the coming 12 months: they are both reporting and planning documents.

The major contribution the partnership process provides is in the area of devolping a creative space for collaborative exploration of potential solutions to shared challenges. At a policy level a context is provided to enable policymaking practice to be shared in a way which is non-threatening but which also allows transversal objectives such as involvement of stakeholders in decision –making processes to be accepted. We can discern the formalisation of a European way of addressing societal needs in the area of participation and involvement of young people in the world of work, but also in the processes which help to create employment policies.

The importance of the engagement with concepts of citizenship whether at local, national or European levels is further explored in the **Balancing Competencies** project ("Balancing competencies: enhancing the participation of young adults in economic and social processes")[50] which explores the incidence of policies aimed at avoiding the total exclusion of young people within European societies. The findings of this project, which explores the importance of identifying flexible responses to policy issues or problems are articulated around the need to create spaces for encounter and dialogue in all policymaking processes. This is seen as an important feature of identifying responses to particular issues faced by young people in danger of exclusion. However it also enables us to understand the need to see the individual rather than the regulatory framework as the starting point for policy development. This emphasis on the individual with his multiple levels of being in every social context reveals the importance of supporting him to engage with each level of his citizenship and to understand his identities.

The **YOUNEX** project (Youth, unemployment, and exclusion in Europe)[51] builds on previous work on social exclusion as well as on civic and political participation to advance knowledge on the causes, processes, and perspectives for change related to the social and political exclusion of unemployed youth. The project elaborates a multidimensional theoretical framework that combines macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level explanatory factors while taking into account various dimensions of exclusion: departing from the political and institutional settings in each city (allowing to grasp the local political opportunity structure), it studies the networks of associations present in these localities (to understand the organizational opportunities to be socially and politically active) in order to analyse the unemployed and precarious youth (for an understanding of social and political exclusion as well as individual well-being). This multidimensional approach should allow considering the mediating impact of European, national, or local public policy on the way people cope with their situation of unemployed.

50 http://www.pjb.co.uk/npl/bp14.doc
51 http://www.younex.unige.ch

The strengthening of concepts of citizenship and the young person's identities within his own local and national context, in addition to his European identity, is closely bound up with the policy measures taken which support equity within societies. We will now examine the insights the projects provide in relation to promoting the development of equity in society and how this is linked to young peoples' level of engagement in society and their sense of commitment as citizens of their local community and the wider European context.

3.3.3 Promoting equity within societies

The argument on the promotion of equity within societies is closely linked to that of promoting social inclusion in general and the participation of young people in society in particular. It is also linked to questions of the policies that are needed in order to ensure that young people are supported to engage in education, continued training and the world of work. The projects reviewed provide a variety of material which highlights policy practices in this area which will be important in promoting equality of participation and the development of solutions to support young peoples' involvement in society and their development as individuals and citizens.

In addressing these inter-related issues two major trends are identified: a strong argument in favour of decentralising decision-making to the most appropriate level within systems in order to respond effectively to the challenges; an inter-related argument concerning governance and the philosophies underpinning the preparation of legislation. There is a strong argument supporting decentralisation of policymaking within Member States. This is driven by the need to ensure effective participation by key stakeholders in decision-making and also by the need to ensure the responsiveness of policy solutions.

In the **Policies of Social Integration in Europe** project this process is referred to as the decentralisation of competencies and activities. This is a process which encapsulates both what types of policy and/or legislative measure is decided at a local or a regional level in addition to the methodologies through which decision-

making takes place. It is driven by the concern to see the individual as the starting rather than the end point for policy development. It is also a way of working which values the individual's participation and engagement with the process.

As such it relates to earlier discussions on the need to see policymaking with rather than for, the subjects of a particular policy. The process is formulated in another way in the **FATE** project ("Families and transition in Europe")[52] when referring to the importance of recognising the support of young peoples' independence as an explicit good of social policy.

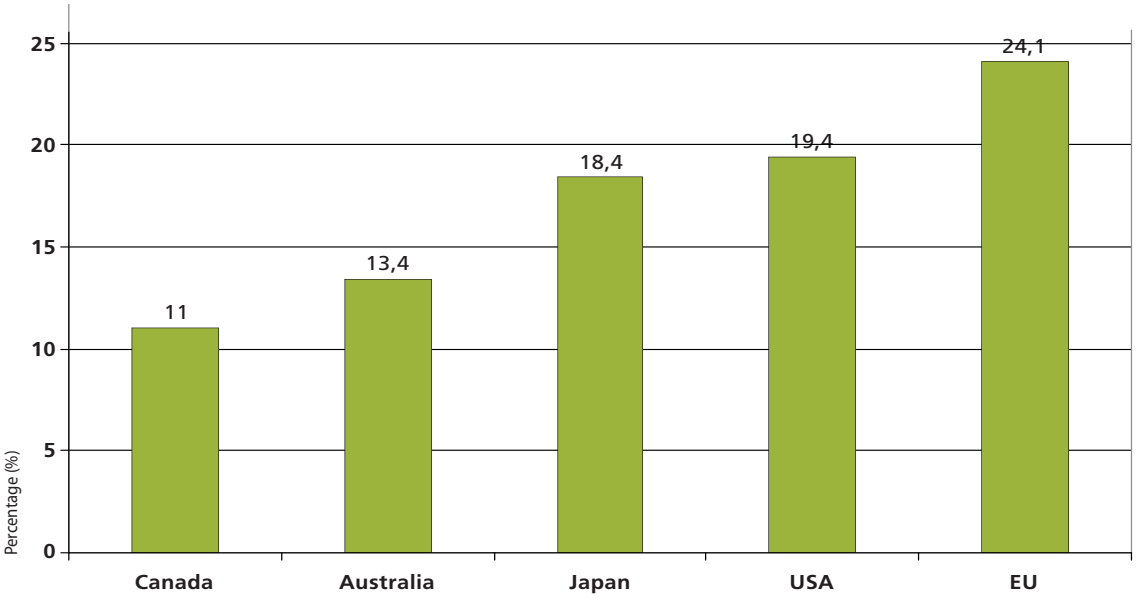
This question is formulated somewhat differently in the **YUSEDER** project ("Youth unemployment and social exclusion: dimensions, subjective experiences and institutional responses in six countries of the EU")[53] when it examines the importance of affirmative policymaking action in order to avoid the perennialisation of unemployment and other negative aspects of social policy development. In discussing the issue of supporting young people to engage in continued training and preparation for labour market entry, the project stresses the importance of developing practices that support rather than impede young people's entry into the labour market. In this respect they argue the importance of supportive measures such as the development of appropriate forms of vocational guidance as a way of building on young peoples' experience and responding specifically to their needs. The central tenet of the research produced here is the need to ensure that policy development is inclusive and supports the development of responses which are responsive to individuals' needs.

Policymaking in the education and training field is a major contributor to finding appropriate solutions to the issues of young people's participation in the world of work and their broader participation in society. Notwithstanding differing timescales in the worlds of education and employment as we have seen earlier in the **EDEX** project ("Educational expansion and the labour market")[54] which is a crucial factor in examining the interaction between each area, there is a clear indication that this dynamic interaction is a critical factor in developing effective policy responses to the issue of young people's participation in the labour market.

There is a very clear message about the importance of high quality basic education as a foundation for later participation in education and the world of work.

52 http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/policy/fate/fate.html
53 http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/
54 http://edex.univ-tlse1.fr/edex/

Low achievers in reading
(at age 15) on the PISA reading literacy scale (%)



Source: OECD, 2007

The research finds that the higher an individual initial education is, the more efficiently, quickly and effectively he will learn. This has important implications for policymaking relating to young people and the interaction between employment and education.

However it is also significant in terms of the approach it suggests to policymaking in this area. Effective patterns of participation in society and engagement with the world of employment will be nurtured where the successful involvement of individuals in education is seen as a priority. This high level of initial education which supports the young person to engage with the learning process throughout their life, lays the seeds for their full development as individuals and as citizens. It also creates a basis for the development of policymaking practices which are premised on the need to find solutions to societal challenges which are equitable and value the potential contribution of all young people.

The **EMILIE** project ("A European approach to multicultural citizenship: legal, political and educational challenges")[55] highlights the key structural changes which are necessary within education systems in order to ensure wider levels of inclusion and the establishment of a basis for the appropriate exercise of citizenship. Education systems need to address issues such as teaching the languages of receiving country and country of origin, linkages between schools and local communities and adequate support to teachers and trainers. Citizenship education should also cover areas such as social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy.

55 http://www.eliamep.gr/en/emilie/

The key role of education and an effective collaboration with the world of employment in developing effective policies to promote inclusion and the participation of young people in the world of work is considered in the **ENTRANCE** project ("Enterprise and its transfer to combat social exclusion")[56]. This project examines the incidence of effective teaching and learning for "at risk" pupils and the examples provided in enterprise education programmes. Such programmes are successful because they relate to development of high self-esteem, motivation to assume responsibility for one's life, development of positive view of life and the development of the social skills necessary to turn vision into reality. The research undertaken sees a key role for enterprise education in providing "at risk" young people with a suitable context for developing this range of competencies.

Closely linked to the processes inherent in the above areas is the idea of progressively involving the young person in decision-making. This equips the young person to participate in other similar processes where he begins to exercise his citizenship and engage his multiple levels of identity. It is this capacity to transfer successful solutions from one context to another which is a key factor of successful practice of citizenship. Enterprise education, which supports the development of individual competencies, is a major contributor to the young person's ability to engage with the world of work, but also to his ability to engage in a positive way with the society in which he lives. These are the cornerstones of successful patterns of engagement with society and also contribute to the ability to engage with practices of citizenship at a wider European level.

3.3.4 Individual and structural approaches to the development of citizenship

Throughout the projects an apparent tension can be seen between initiatives at individual and structural levels to supporting the participation of young people in the labour market. This also influences the approach taken to structuring their participation in society as citizens. The tension is heavily dependent on the broader social and political context in which policy is developed.

This is a clean difference between countries with a social democratic tradition such as the Scandinavian countries and those countries with a more liberal oriented approach to economic and business development. The former find it easier to look at broad system-wide responses to societal issues, while the latter places more store on the contributions which individuals themselves can make to improve their chances of gaining employment and their participation in society. The importance of context in defining the approach is addressed in the **Social Construction of Employment** project where the research underlines the importance of the cross-sectoral legislative framework in addressing issues of participation in the world of work.

56 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/027_en.html

The logic behind such an approach is also evident in the **CASE** project ("Social exclusion as a multidimensional process")[57] when it emphasises the importance of developing responses to exclusion issues at an infrastructural level. The provision of infrastructure either to avoid social exclusion or to cope with it, provides better results than approaches supporting individuals. Many of the projects surveyed reason in similar terms. Policymaking should look holistically for solutions which are of major importance for the stability of society. Such solutions will set a high value on engagement with all key actors and the provision of structured opportunities to ensure their participation at each stage of the policymaking process.

The participatory approach is also clearly stated in the **CHICAM** project ("Children in communication about migration")[58] where the research emphasises the important role that migrant and refugee children should play in decision-making at local, national and EU levels in relation to policies that impact on them.

> The research findings stress the importance of policymaking with young people rather than for young people.

The **CIVICWEB** project ("Citizens and Governance in a knowledge-based society")[59] explores the role of the Internet in supporting the practice and sense of citizenship among young people. It is working particularly on the issues of supporting young peoples' participation and exercise of democratic citizenship, enhancing information, promoting volunteering and a greater understanding of the different forms of civic engagement which are possible within societies. Online and offline participation in civic and political actions are strongly correlated and complementary to each other, rather than substitutive. Thus, engagement still begins and ends offline, with the Internet sustaining and contributing to this.

The **UP2Youth** project ("Youth - Actor of social change")[60] considered the findings regarding volunteering as a way of developing citizenship, and found these are somewhat ambivalent. Some studies claim that traditional engagement and political participation are being replaced by new short-term and project-type forms of engagement while others conclude that only a very low percentage of young people are involved in volunteering (paralleling adult experience). Volunteering is no longer chosen on the basis of a particular issue but also as a means of developing further

57 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/006_en.html
58 http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/156_en.html
59 http://www.civicweb.eu/
60 www.up2youth.org

competences and improving the volunteer's CV. This practice restricts volunteering to those with high formal qualifications who benefit from non-formal experiences in addition to formal credentials. It is very rare that disadvantaged youth can balance their lack of formal qualifications by non-formal experiences and competencies.

However it is impossible to argue that there is a uniform view on the appropriacy of responses at an infrastructural level to issues of exclusion and participation in society. Many of the projects examined opt for an approach which is structured around the individual and the development of supportive measures to enable him or her to cope with the challenges faced in gaining access to the labour market or in participating fully in society. These projects identify responses which are premised on the importance of policies to support the ongoing education and training of individuals; so that they develop the skills necessary to gain access to employment and to cope with the levels of change which are a feature of the Knowledge Society. These responses have ranged from the importance of enterprise education to the development of lifelong learning education policies in shaping such policies.

The question to be asked therefore is whether there is an optimum response? Is one approach to be preferred over another? The answer is dependent on the context in which policy is developed. Each social and political context will produce its own best patterns of policy development, practice and implementation. The key message which emerges is the need to take stock of local circumstances in developing policy responses. Holistic approaches, which involve all the key stakeholders, which see young people as active partners in the policy development process and which build on cultural and contextual practice are the most likely to produce results which make an incremental difference in relation to levels of participation in the labour market.

The key question is how approaches premised on infrastructural level responses as distinct to individual level responses make a difference in terms of the practice of citizenship. The overwhelming response emerging from the projects is that citizenship is enhanced where the individual is seen as the key protagonist in the development of societal responses to exclusion issues.

Policymaking with young people, engaging with their realities and developing structured approaches to exclusion issues produces a laboratory where each aspect of one's identity as a citizen, of a region, a country or the EU may be fully engaged with and explored. Citizenship is enhanced where individuals are valued. Where the policy approaches developed to address the specific needs of young people in danger of exclusion work with them as key actors in the development of responses, young people will engage with society and recognise their role not only at a local level but also at wider national and European levels.

4. Ensuring policy usefulness: messages for policymakers

4.1 Importance of context in policy formulation

Policymaking is closely related to the context in which it takes place. Context is influenced by issues of history, tradition, culture and social realities within a particular society. Similarly contextual issues will to a large extent determine the success or otherwise of policy implementation. Appropriate solutions to policy problems are only possible when the complexity of context related issues is recognised and policies formulated in ways which build on this realisation.

The key messages may be summarised as follows:

- The successful integration of young people in the labour market depends not so much on their individual levels of commitment as on the conditions which particular societies impose on their participation in the labour market.

- When examining examples of successful policy implementation in other countries it is important to consider carefully the role played by national and/or regional structural and cultural circumstances in the implementation. This is of particular importance when examining the potential for transfer of successful solutions to common problems across regional, national and European contexts.

- Common frameworks at a European level, such as those suggested by the Lisbon Strategy, and in particular the Open Method of Coordination as applied to the Youth policy area, will be successful where they provide an impetus for a reform process within Member States which is capable of recognising the inherent cultural and social realities in specific local contexts.

National or regional level legislative programmes which derive from specific European recommendations may be quite different in terms of content and scope when implemented in specific countries. Successful implementation of EU recommendations will require an appropriation and interpretation which fits specific Member State circumstances.

4.2 Drivers of success: concern for social cohesion and inclusion

Social cohesion

Policymaking relating to young people must be premised on the concern to ensure socially cohesive societies. Responses developed should enable all the actors in a given policy context to find their place and to feel an engagement with the social and economic reality of the society in which they live.

Social cohesion and the development of participative and open societies where young people are able to participate fully as members of society is a key policy objective in all advanced societies. Key findings of interest in a policymaking context are:

- Individuals need to feel a sense of engagement with the society in which they live, regardless of their social condition, geographic origin or age. The research evidence shows that European citizenship is enhanced where young people experience a sense of engagement with their national and local citizenship.

- Policies which look holistically at issues of participation of young people in the world of work and which promote cooperation between project organisers and businesses and enterprises will be more successful in promoting sustainable approaches to social cohesion within societies.

- Enterprise education has a key role to play in providing "at risk" young people with the kinds of skills which will enable them to develop the patters of participation and engagement with the world of work which are the hallmarks of socially cohesive societies.

- Policymaking which works with "at risk" populations including migrants and disadvantaged groups and involves them in identifying solutions will be more successful in ensuring cohesion than "top down" policies which do not involve them in the policymaking process.

Inclusion

This is closely related to the question of social cohesion. Here we are concerned with developing policy responses which promote the inclusion of all young people in the practices of policy development, as well as seeing inclusion as the essential end result of policy development processes. Inclusion is also closely related to the notion of equity and creating societies where all citizens are equally valued.

Inclusive societies tend to be those where citizenship practice works well. There are important lessons for policymakers who are working at national as well as European levels. Among these are:

- Inclusion and exclusion are two closely related concepts. Some policies which are targeted at promoting inclusion may have the opposite effect. This is particularly true of education, where policies aimed at increasing access to education may lead to increased incidences of exclusion because of lack of education.

- Exclusion risks may be higher in those countries which do not traditionally favour system-wide infrastructural responses to inclusion issues particularly in relation to education. The research examined shows that the tendency to exclusion among youth is higher in liberal regime countries than in the social democratic countries.

- Policymakers should look to alternative ways of supporting young people in the difficult-to-help bracket. Such approaches which look at issues in newer and more creative ways are important in order to avoid the danger of a small but significant number becoming permanently excluded within societies.

- A focus on the dynamic interaction of inclusion and exclusion concepts may help to create the right congruence of circumstances to support innovative and creative policy development which is responsive to individual needs.

4.3 The policymaking process: multifaceted and complex

- The process of policymaking is characterised by a dynamic interplay of factors which include key actors (officials, those who implement, target public), traditions within a particular culture or country, and an anticipation of the results of particular initiatives, both intended and unintended.

- There is a tendency for elite-driven reform processes to exclude the masses and particularly young people. The process of policymaking needs to actively involve young people in identifying solutions, formulating policies and exploring implementation issues.

- Policymaking should be seen as a process which works with people rather than for people. This implies a key role for the subjects of policymaking, whether young people in danger of exclusion or children of migrants, to be actively involved in decision-making processes which are related to them.

- Policymaking needs to be seen as a dynamic process which is not reactive to developing circumstances but which tries to proactively shape circumstances in order to best respond to needs.

Partnership

Partnership is at the core of the policymaking process. Policymakers should not operate in a vacuum or in a context where they only meet other policymakers. Stakeholders, those who will be the subjects of any policies developed, are key partners in the development of policies which are capable of responding effectively to issues identified within societies.

The projects analysed highlight the importance of partnership approaches in developing well conceived and well targeted approaches. Key messages here are:

- Policies aimed at promoting the employment of young people should be developed through a partnership process which includes young people, businesses and enterprises as well as officials with policymaking responsibilities within a country or region.

- Partnerships between the world of education and work are crucial if the issue of transition of young people to the world of work is to be facilitated. Despite different time scales in these two sectors it is essential that they work collaboratively in identifying appropriate pathways for young people into the world of work.

- Policymaking needs to create spaces for encounter between key actors – those who are formulating policies and those who are the projected target public for a particular policy. Such spaces which create a context for a dynamic two-way communicative process will also involve key stakeholders at each stage of the continuum between education and active participation in the economic and social life of a society.

- Young people should be key actors in decision-making processes which are characterised by effective social partnership and the involvement of key stakeholders in the policymaking process.

Planning

Planning for success needs to be an integral part of every policymaking process. This entails not only the development of a response to a particular issue, but also an anticipation of intended as well as unintended results of the implementation of specific policies. Planning for effective policy implementation should be seen as a holistic all-embracing process focused on outcomes. Planning is also closely related to how policymakers envisage their work within its broader structural context.

Key messages emerging from the projects are:

- Effective planning should take account of the multi-faceted nature of the issue of young peoples' involvement in the labour market. It is a question of developing practices which enable issues to be viewed from a multiplicity of standpoints and to explore how to most efficiently develop appropriate support mechanisms to help young people in the transition from education or training programme in order to permanently lift them into full participation in employment.

- In order to be successful, planning strategies need to adopt a broad-based approach which combines concepts drawn from the field of social psychology with an emphasis on notions of belonging, trust and accessibility of resources, and political theory which introduces new degrees and levels of participation in decision-making processes.

- Planning strategies need to adopt a holistic approach which views issues in their full complexity and which explores policy options from a number of perspectives with a view to ensuring suitable coverage of all the potential outcomes.

Flexibility

Policymaking must strive to respond flexibly to emerging issues rather than adopt approaches which may exacerbate particular problems rather than provide solutions. Flexibility is achievable where policymaking is developed through partnership approaches based on structured forums for dialogue and engagement of the subjects of policymaking in the process of developing solutions.

Flexibility of approach is also a key characteristic of the kinds of planning approaches referred to above. Flexibility also is a key end result of policymaking processes. Among the conclusions which are discernible in the projects surveyed we find:

- Policy formulation relating to the training and guidance of young people needs to pay more attention to the necessity of having multiple and flexible options for young adults even in cases where the range of choices and/or options may fall outside particular programme objectives.

- Policy approaches adopted in response to specific social issues need to be flexible and constructed in ways which make the policy adaptable to the needs of individual young people.

- Integrated transition programmes (ITPs) should be developed in ways that permit the development of models that have the in-built capacity to respond to a variety of needs and social contexts. Flexibility should be at the centre of the policymaking approach.

Approaches targeting individuals or structures

This is an inherent dilemma in policy development relating to inclusion and exclusion and supporting participation in the labour market. The material examined provides examples of successful use of both approaches, but it is difficult to discern a preference for one approach over another. It may be important to look at both approaches and to see where they can be combined in order to ensure optimum results.

Both approaches are highly dependent on context and the socio-political policymaking traditions in a country. The key messages are as follows:

- Policies which are specifically designed to support young peoples' independence are seen as a specific end result of social policy in some countries. This is particularly true of policies designed to support transition from education and training into the labour market.

- Some lifelong learning policies may be of limited value in supporting transition to the world of work because of outmoded ideas about the content of education and vocational education and training within certain education contexts. Too narrowly conceived lifelong learning policies may not result in the transversal skills which are necessary for successful participation in employment in a globalised, knowledge and service-based economy.

- Initiatives which are driven from the top and supported by a clearly visible infrastructural arrangement have tended to be more successful in ensuring the participation of young people in the labour market.

- There is significant evidence that provision of appropriate infrastructure either to avoid social exclusion or to cope with it, is more effective than approaches targeted at supporting individuals.

4.4 Evaluation: ensuring effective policies

Evaluation should be an ongoing concern in policymaking. It is not an adjunct to be considered at the end of the process, but should be present from the initial stage of policy conceptualisation. The process needs to include provision and methodologies for testing the validity of proposed responses and examine the different levels of their potential impact.

Among the important messages of interest to policymakers in this respect are:

- The development of indicators and measurement instruments needs to be an essential part of the policymaking process *ab initio* in order to ensure that there is suitable provision of information to support policymaking on an ongoing basis.

- More holistic perspectives on the transition to the world of work and the respective tools of assessment and monitoring of progress must become a priority in the European agenda.

- Evaluation and monitoring of policy effectiveness should be construed in holistic and qualitative terms rather than on a quantitative basis in order to provide a full in depth view of what works and the impact of particular policy initiatives.

5. Supporting successful policymaking at European and other levels: recommendations for the future

This review identifies a number of recommendations for policymaking in terms of content and methodology. Some of the recommendations are concerned with the ways in which policymaking happens in general when addressing issues of engagement of citizens, avoiding exclusion, and the practices which contribute to success. Others address the content of policymaking more directly and provide advice on how to most appropriately address issues relating to young peoples' participation in employment, their transition from education and training to the world of work, and finally their participation in society as committed and engaged citizens.

The recommendations are presented at two levels:

- A first level of recommendations which are directed to policymakers in general which identify good practice to inform the policymaking process.

- A second level which identifies recommendations of particular interest to those who are working in the youth policy field and dealing with issues of exclusion, effective transition to the world of work and citizenship.

5.1 Recommendations to policymakers in general

In order to ensure good practice policymaking should be seen as a process which:

1. involves all the key actors in a given area, stakeholders and those who will be the target public of the policy.

2. is holistic, involving the consideration of every aspect of a particular issue, at the levels at which action is required, and considering the impacts both intended and unintended which are likely to be the end result of the policy.

3. where context plays a crucial role in determining what works and what does not. Policymakers need to be aware of the role of context when examining policy models from other countries and ensure that they fully consider the importance of the cultural, historical, and social context within which they are operating.

4. builds on the broader policy context created at EU level through macro level approaches such as those advocated in the Renewed Social Agenda and the Lisbon Process, creating an impetus for reform processes within Member States. Policymakers should act on this impetus and adapt their policies to suit their local contexts.

5. is creative, all embracing and which anticipates issues rather than one which is premised on developing a reactive approach to particular problems. Policymakers should take a longer term view which sees particular initiatives as part of a continuum of legislative action.

6. ensures appropriate balance between the development of policies targeting individual needs and approaches which address broader infrastructural questions within which social objectives can be achieved.

7. where evaluation and monitoring are seen as a continuing part of the policymaking process. They should not be based on quantitative data but should also address the effectiveness of policies in qualitative terms.

5.2 Recommendations to those working with young people

In order to ensure effective policymaking by those working with young people and their transition from education to work policymakers should:

1. ensure that the voice of young people is heard when formulating policies to enable them to move from education and training into the world of employment. Policymaking should be with young people rather than for them.

2. prioritise involving young people in identifying solutions, developing appropriate responses and exploring implementation issues particularly, but not only, when they are addressing issues of preparing responses to issues of exclusion from the labour market and society.

3. encourage partnerships between the worlds of education and enterprise in fostering the transition of young people into employment and in supporting the development of the competences and skills young people need to participate fully in employment and society. Policymakers should promote such partnerships and use them as a testing-ground when they are developing policies.

4. adopt flexibility of approach in the identification of options when examining issues relating to the integration of young people into the world of employment. This entails examining options and choices which may involve a number of policy areas which potentially impact on the transition from education and training to the world of employment.

5. ensure effective transition of young people into active life. This will not happen in a sustainable way without significant investment of time and resources in putting in place appropriate system wide infrastructural initiatives which target social inclusion and the effective participation of young people in employment.

6. elaborate policies which are aimed at ensuring the effective engagement and participation of young people in citizenship initiatives at local and national levels. These have an added benefit of enhancing young peoples' sense of themselves as European citizens.

7. take care that enterprise education plays a major role in ensuring that young people develop the kinds of skills which will enable them to participate effectively in society and in the labour market.

8. ensure that they are aware of any unintended outcomes of policies to promote the inclusion of young people in society. There can be a danger that some such policies may have the effect of excluding significant numbers of young people because of a lack of education and/or training.

Annex: list of project titles and websites

7th Framework Programme

CSEYHP – Combating social exclusion among young homeless populations: a comparative investigation of homeless paths among local white, local ethnic group and migrant young men and women and appropriate reinsertion methods (01.05.2008 – 30.04.2011)
http://www.movisie.nl/homelessyouth

EDUMIGROM – Ethnic differences in education and diverging prospects for urban youth in an enlarged Europe
(01.03.2008 – 28.02.2011)
http://www.edumigrom.eu

EUMARGINS – On the margins of the European Community – Young adult immigrants in seven European countries
(01.10.2008 – 30.09.2011)
http://www.iss.uio.no/forskning/eumargins/index.html

YIPPEE – Young people form a public care background: pathways to education in Europe
(01.01.2008 – 31.08.2010)
http://tcru.ioe.ac.uk/yippee

YOUNEX – Youth, unemployment and exclusion in Europe
(01.05.2008 – 30.04.2011)
http://www.younex.unige.ch

6th Framework Programme

CIVICWEB – Citizens and Governance in a knowledge-based society
(01.09.2006 – 31.08.2009)
http://www.civicweb.eu/

EMILIE – A European approach to multicultural citizenship: legal, political and educational challenges
(01.07.2006 – 30.06.2009)
http://www.eliamep.gr/en/emilie/

INCLUD-ED – Strategies for inclusion and social cohesion in Europe from education (01.11.2006 – 31.10.2001)
http://www.ub.edu/includ-ed/

PROFIT – Policy responses overcoming factors in the intergenerational transmission of inequalities
(01.05.2004 – 30.04.2007)
http://www.profit.uni.lodz.pl

SPREW – Generational approach to the social patterns of relation to work (01.06.2006 – 31.05.2008)
http://www.ftu-namur.org/sprew/

UP2YOUTH – Youth - Actor of social change
(01.05.2006 – 30.04.2009)
http://www.up2youth.org

5th Framework Programme

CHICAM – Children in communication about migration
(ended 2004)
http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/156_en.html

EUYOUPART – Political participation of young people in Europe – Development of indicators for comparative research in the EU
(ended 2002)
http://www.sora.at/EUYOUPART

FATE – Families and transition in Europe
(ended 2004)
http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/policy/fate/fate.html

Youth and European Identity – Orientations of young men and women to citizenship and European identity
(ended 2004)
http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/

YOYO – Youth policy and participation
(ended 2004)
http://www.iris-egris.de/yoyo

4th Framework Programme

Balancing Competencies – Balancing competencies enhancing the participation of young adults in economic and social processes (ended 2001)
http://www.pjb.co.uk/npl/bp14.doc

CASE – Social exclusion as a multidimensional process (ended 2001)
http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/006_en.html

EDEX – Educational expansion and labour markets (ended 2001)
http://edex.univ-tlse1.fr/edex/

EGSIE – Education governance and social integration and exclusion in Europe (ended 2000)
http://www.ped.uu.se/egsie/

ENTRANCE – Enterprise and its transfer to combat social exclusion (ended 2002)
http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/027_en.html

INTEGRATION SYSTEMS – The Policies of Social Integration in Europe Systems of Collective Action (ended 2000)

Misleading Trajectories – Evaluation of the unintended effects of labour market integration policies for young adults in Europe (ended 2001)
http://www.iris-egris.de/en/uebergaenge/misleading_trajectories/

Social Construction of Employment
(La construction sociale de l'emploi)
(ended 2000)

YUSEDER – Youth Unemployment and Social Exclusion (ended 2000)
http://www.ipg.uni-bremen.de/research/yuseder/
http://www.nova.no/subnet/Hammer/unemployment.htm

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This publication examines the results of youth-related socio-economic research projects funded under Research Framework Programmes. This review of projects focused on youth and how to best ensure their transition into working life, on strategies for social inclusion of young people and on their full participation as citizens in society. Its main purpose is to distil some common themes which recur in the projects and which are of interest to policy-makers. On the basis of this evidence, concrete recommendations are made to policy-makers as well as to those working with young people.

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