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YOYO

FINAL REPORT

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Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Youth Policy and Participation', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'New perspectives for learning'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of YOYO and their policy implications. The research was carried out by eleven 11 over a period of 39 months, starting in July 2001.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Acknowledgements

This report aims at presenting the findings of the research project 'Youth Policy and Participation. Potentials of participation and informal learning for young people's transitions to the labour market. A comparative analysis in ten European regions.' (in short: YOYO). In order to disseminate the findings as widely as possible also among a non-academic public of practitioners and policy makers this report concentrates on the key findings of the study. Parallel to the report a book publication is being prepared in which theoretical discussions and empirical analysis are deepened while qualitative data are presented more extensively.

Before entering into the analysis and discussion we want to express our gratitude for having been involved in a research process which has been an enriching experience. First, this has to do with the network with whom we lived a research process which was everything else than linear but rather complex and difficult to oversee. Not only has a high level of intercultural and interdisciplinary understanding been achieved, but also the will to really understand each other – despite of long detours. We hope that the European Commission will continue to appreciate and fund projects which encorporate a deep European research identity although covering only a small space in the so-called European Research Area. We therefore want to thank all persons who at one stage or the other have been involved in the project:

Gry Gronenberg, Alkexandra Holmboe, Torben Bechmann Jensen (*Denmark*); René Bendit, Kerstin Hein, Lothar Böhnisch, Holger Kehler, Sarina Ahmed, Roberto Priore (*Germany*); Paul Burgess, Pat Leahy (*Ireland*); Morena Cuconato, Corina Laasch, Gabriele Lenzi, Luca Minguzzi (*Italy*); Manuela du Bois-Reymond, Wim Plug (*Netherlands*); Mafalda Margarido Santos, José Machado Pais (*Portugal*); Ana Maria Dalu, Loredana Iacob, Octav Marcovici (*Romania*); Andreu López Blasco, Germán Gil Rodrigues (*Spain*); Andy Biggart, Amanda Hayes (*Northern Ireland, UK*). From the advisory board we want to thank Eberhard Bolay (*Germany*), Lynne Chisholm (*Austria, Greece*), Christoph Reinprecht (*Austria*), Siyka Kovacheva (*Bulgaria*), Patricia Loncle (*France*), Katy Orr (*Scotland, UK*), and Susanne Zander (*Sweden*).

Second, this relates to the fact that the YOYO project was situated between research fields and policy sectors which normally are separated. It showed that we addressed issues which are held important by representatives of labour market, education and training as well as youth policy and research while being beyond their conventional boundaries. We hope that the research findings and outcomes are a relevant contribution to what in an earlier project we have named Integrated Transition Policies (Walther,

Stauber et al., 2002; López Blasco et al., 2003). The project allowed us to participate – and sometimes to dive rather deeply – into a broad range of biographical and project realities. We thank all the young people who have agreed to share their perspectives with us, the project workers who engage in and often enough fight for creating conditions allowing young people to really participate. This affluence of interpersonal experience probably is best expressed by the video films produced together with young people about what it means to 'be in transition' (see annex 3). While being grateful for meeting all these persons and to witness their attempts to empower young people, we are deeply concerned about a policy trend across Europe due to which a majority of these projects either have already been stopped or are at risk.

Before this background of experience we would like to invite to the reading of this report which is structured as follows: The first part includes an abstract and the executive summary (chapter I.). The second part (chapters II. – IV.) presents the scientific report starting by introducing the objectives and key concepts (II.). Chapter III. consists of the scientific description of the project: the research design, a model of different regimes of youth transitions as well as a typology of analysed case study projects (chapter III., section 1.3.) and continues with the perspective of structure and agency in young people's transitions to work (chapter III, section 2.). Exemplary case studies are discussed with regard to the possibilities of active participation in enhancing young people's motivation to engage in the construction of their biographies (chapter III, section 3.); and whether and how this can be used to support young people in developing reflexive learning biographies (chapter III, section 4.). Combining a policy and a practice perspective chapter IV draws conclusions under what conditions this leads to sustainable social inclusion and citizenship. The *third part* documents the dissemination activities of the YOYO-project (chapter V). The report is complemented by a series of annexes: a training module for practitioners, a report related to video films produced with young people as a step of participatory research, a detailed list of publications, conference papers and education or training events emerged from the project, a breakdown of the sample of interviewed young people and case study projects, and material related to the empirical research steps.

We thank especially our colleagues Amanda Hayes and Andy Biggart for helping in editing this final report with regard to acceptable English.

Andreas Walther, Axel Pohl, Barbara Stauber, Gebhard Stein, Tübingen, December 2004.

Abstract

The project was concerned with the *de-standardisation of young people's transitions to work* and the way in which this affects their *citizenship* status and their *motivation* to engage in lifelong learning. The relationship between structure and agency in youth transitions was analysed across a range of EU contexts: Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain and the UK. In analysing young people experiences of their transitions significant *de-motivation* was evident, in particular where resources and opportunities were restricted due to low attainment, gender, ethnicity or lack of job opportunities. Young people's motivation was seen as a dynamic process related to the fulfilment of needs, generation of interest and development of self-efficacy. De-motivation was rarely related to training and work per se, but rather linked to the conditions that are imposed on young people in the formal settings of training and labour market programmes.

The project aimed to investigate the conditions under which policies succeed in motivating young people to engage in their transitions. Analysed case study projects showed that *participation* can be an important way to enhance motivation if it means choice, flexibility, open outcomes, space for experimentation, trust, holistic support, rather than a focus on individual deficits; in short: *non-formal education* that allows for the development of reflexive *learning biographies*.

The analysis showed that such characteristics were largely restricted to the *'soft'* youth work sector while in the *'hard'* policy sector of education and training, welfare and the labour market, participation tended to be reduced to formal procedures and attendance or is absent altogether. A key finding was that only a combined approach of soft skills and hard resources, such as recognised qualifications or jobs, was likely to lead to sustainable social inclusion. Policy however appears to moving away from this direction and the few projects which successfully achieved this were suffering from ongoing funding difficulties. Current policy discourses promote participation as a key principle of civil society however if it is not linked to social rights – with the exception of the *universalistic transition regime* in Scandinavian countries – they increase self-responsibility and individualise social risks. In particular, activate labour market policies tend to undermine and restrict individual autonomy, however if active citizenship is the democratic formula for *self-determination* within flexibilised labour markets, individual motivation is a valuable key for both policy and research.

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How do and how can young people participate in society as citizens? With the increasing de-standardisation of young people's transitions between education and the labour market – young people's perspectives of life planning and social integration are increasingly blurred. They are caught in uncertain 'yo-yo'-transitions between youth and adulthood, a socio-political vacuum without clear social status. Several policies are to be found at national and European level concerning the participation of young people – however underlying these policies are different understandings of participation:

- Labour market policies aim at young people's *employability* to participate in employment.
- In education and training, the focus lies on participation in *lifelong learning*.
- In social policies, *activation* refers to participation in terms of rights and responsibilities.
- Youth policy is concerned with youth participation as civic and political *involvement*.

These policies are concerned with high rates of youth unemployment, 'status zer0' youth, early school leaving, dependency on social benefits, declining election rates, decreasing involvement in associations, and increasing racism and violence. Yet, the discussions are more concerned about the status of young people than about their motivation. However, there are differences:

- The 'hard' policy sectors – education, training, labour market and social policies – where individual motivation is seen as an expected contribution of young people while de-motivation is addressed as an individual deficit.
- The 'soft' sector of youth work in contrast aims to enhance young people's motivation by providing opportunities of active influence according to subjective need and interests. However, this is mainly restricted to the areas of leisure, culture and associational life.

The YOYO project starts from young people's de-motivation and disengagement from education, training and the labour market. The underlying assumption is that there is a lack of integration between 'hard' and 'soft' policies for young people which contributes to a fragmentation of their citizenship status and reduces motivation. The main research question is therefore whether motivation for employability, lifelong learning, responsibility and involvement is more likely to develop in participatory settings. The project aims to assess whether motivation is an appropriate key to the relation between structure and agency in de-standardised youth transitions. It relates to the prerequisites of citizenship and assumptions of motivation in current activation policies.

1. Research design

Nine countries have been involved in YOYO covering a wide range of different European contexts: Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, UK.

The analysis of young people's transitions and motivational careers in relation to participatory projects required a multi-dimensional approach. The research consequently combined aspects of biographical research, action research, policy analysis and comparative research. This has been addressed by a design consisting of four main research phases:

Phase 1: National reports on youth transitions, youth policy and participation on the relation between the socio-economic structures of young people's transitions to work, the institutional forms of (especially local) youth policies and discourses of participation.

Phase 2: Exploratory interviews with young people on their transition experiences and processes of motivation and demotivation. While the majority of the sample consisted of young people at risk of disengaging with the transition system, a contrast group of young people with choice biographies was interviewed ('trendsetters' such as young self-employed) to get insights into prerequisites of (intrinsic) motivation for transitions.

YOYO in figures:

365 young people interviewed

(ca. 70% twice)

141 experts interviewed

28 case studies carried out

10 video films produced

Phase 3: Case studies with projects addressing young people in their transitions to work in a participatory way (three per country). The case study process consisted of three sub-steps:

- document analysis and expert interviews;
- interviews with young people on experiences within projects;
- participatory research by video films with young people on 'being in transition'.

Phase 4: Joint analysis of the relation between participation and motivation and its impact on social inclusion across different types of projects and contexts.

2. Motivation and demotivation in de-standardised transitions

The YOYO project starts from the perspective on the changing nature of youth transitions, whereby they are seen as increasingly de-standardised, fragmented and reversible and the former biographical linearity is being replaced by 'yo-yo'-structures. Structural flexibilisation is reflected in individualisation: more and more decisions have to be taken alone; however on the basis of unequal access to resources and opportunities according to class, education, region, gender and ethnicity, with the persistence of structural inequalities.

In the context of de-standardisation inequality does not only mean differentiation according to social status but also different risks of social exclusion and rather than through collective patterns it is reproduced through individual decisions. Therefore, youth transitions need to be analysed as an interplay of structure and agency. The respondents in our study can be clustered according to six different transition patterns, i.e. constellations of structural trajectories and individual transition steps and how these correspond to the logic of institutionally defined trajectories.

Transition patterns of YOYO-respondents:

- *smooth*: in line with institutional logic, no major interruptions;
- *institutionally repaired*: interruptions overcome by remedial intervention;
- *alternative*: leaving institutional logic (at least partly) by choice;
- *stagnant*: progress blocked by interruptions and failure, constant risk of exclusion;
- *downward/damaged*: accumulation of risks of social exclusion;
- *unknown/other:* if no clear pattern was observable.

Among the 'trendsetters' the 'alternative' pattern predominated, whilst the transitions of the 'disengaged' young people were mostly either 'stagnant' or 'institutionally repaired'.

In general, these different transition patterns reflect different underlying levels of motivation, however, although assuming a close relation between structural disadvantage and motivation the YOYO project was interested in a biographical perspective on the dynamics of careers and *motivational change:* where and how young people lost motivation and/or were re-motivated. De-motivation in most cases results from a discrepancy between initial orientations and actual experiences. The latter in most cases are mediated by institutional actors of the transition systems functioning as 'gate-keepers' and contributing to the cooling-out of young people's aspirations.

The first of these institutions is *school*, where young people criticise school for its "standardised education". Many of them held the view that teachers "didn't care" about them. While young migrants felt their achievements went unacknowledged and were actually devalued due to language deficits, as result many leave without qualifications. This negative evaluation extends to *professional orientation*, where some reported that they were openly discouraged while the feeling that "once you have chosen, you can't turn back" caused considerable stress.

"[In school] nobody makes demands on you as a person, only on your abilities" (Denmark, female, 18).

"'You have no hope, son, you'll never be anything' he [career officer] said" (UK, male, 19).

"[The career officer] dropped a list with professions and we were to choose one. It wasn't more than that" (Germany (East), female, 26).

"It is an administration after all … Just staring into your file, going bah, bah, they treat you like a cow" (Germany (West), male, 21).

"We are alone! If you are lucky enough to have some friends, fine … otherwise …" (Italy, female, 19).

"I am invisible, a number that doesn't exist. Because I am not getting any benefit" (Spain, male, 25).

"I think I'll just be a fucking victim" (UK, male, 17).

While appearing more reflexive and able to maintain motivation young women on the other hand complain about structures of doing gender: "for the girls: only placement offers in hair-dressing and retail". Similarly, the *employment service* was criticised for a lack of efficiency, with limited time for counselling and addressing individual needs. In contrast to Northern European countries, in Southern and Eastern Europe where employment services are still in the process of being established young people complain about the absence or inefficiency of institutions. From the bureaucratic treatment, critique extends to the offers made by the employment service be it *jobs, training schemes or pre-vocational education*. Young men from Belfast reported that there options were to join the army or to go on a training course they did not want to be on. In Germany, young people who fail to enter regular training are channelled into pre-vocational education that does not provide additional qualifications while it is 'mere luck' if they lead to proper training or a job. In Southern Europe and especially Romania training is criticised for its mismatch with the labour market: "I wasn't trained properly".

Motivational change results from the generation of subjective interest combined with a perception of increased self-efficacy

These examples show that in particular those with bad starting positions are quite likely to have further de-motivating experiences. If they do not make any positive counter

experiences de-motivation is generalised and the risk of disengagement increases. It is also not surprising that only a few made a distinction between a positive notion of 'learning' and the de-motivating experiences of formal education. However, a closer look showed that in fact there were several cases where young people maintained their motivation despite a lack of opportunities, while others made motivating experiences within participatory projects. The YOYO-research is interested in a biographical perspective of motivational change that is based on a dynamic understanding of motivation. In psychological theory motivation is defined as resulting from two factors: *subjective needs and interests* on the one hand and the perception of *self-efficacy* on the other. Both aspects are open for experiences and potential change: motivational change can derive from discovering or losing interest or from increasing or decreasing experiences of self-efficacy; or a combination of both which may be subsumed under a growing (or declining) feeling of *self-determination*. Motivational change can be related to intrinsic aspects inherent within the experience of an activity and extrinsic aspects related to the instrumental quality of an action; while of course also intermediate constellations exist such as extrinsic motivation for actions related to self-chosen goals. In terms of transitions motivation is primarily seen as a prerequisite for learning. At the same time however motivational change can also be seen as biographical learning while de-standardised transitions increasingly demand reflexive *learning biographies* or 'biographicity'. The key question of the YOYO-project is to what extent can these processes be influenced by participatory projects?

3. Participation – motivation – learning

Why should participation allow for motivation, especially if participation itself depends on motivation? The basic assumption for formulating such a research question was that participation might allow for identification with self-chosen objectives and to develop self-efficacy beyond a selective and bureaucratic formal learning setting. This of course requires an understanding of participation as *active* influence (rather than formal involvement) and as an integral *principle* of policies (rather than a potential result of policy). One may also argue that participation is not learned unless 'by doing' and by experience – in all arenas of subjective relevance – which is a third key aspect: not to restrict participation to artificial ('soft') sectors but to allow for *biographical self-determination* within 'hard' transition policies.

Looking at the YOYO case study projects, only some of them addressed participation in this all-encompassing biographical sense. In most cases participation was referred to as voluntary access, involvement in project-related decision making or civic engagement. From a lifelong learning perspective, biographical self-determination relates to

participatory learning. This implies a broad perspective of *competence* in which recognised (professional) knowledge, life skills, and biographical reflexivity ('biographicity') are integrated to the same extent as formal and non-formal types of learning. One purpose of the case study analysis was to look for the relationships between different dimensions of participation and to identify aspects and forms of participation and non-formal learning which were applied by the project workers.

> **ArciRagazzi** in Palermo, *Italy*, is a youthassociation organising leisure and culturalactivities. In a context structured by 60% youthunemployment it aims at providing young peoplemeaningful life perspectives. Participatory culturalactivities based on young people's skills andwishes and encouraged to experiment andplayfully reinforce them. In fact, experimentationfor some men and women extends to careersfrom simple usership over voluntary engagementto semi-professional project leaders. *Pamela*, 21, relates her own motivational change to herprogressive involvement in the project. In themeantime she is leader of a child recreationcentre: *"You have to create your job yourself …nobody should tell you: 'do this and that'. Youhave to take decisions … We have mademistakes during this project but it was ok, it wasgrowing up – like self-training".*

A basic issue in this respect is one of *choice* and one that allows for identification with subjectively meaningful goals. Choice in one respect means to be free of coercion but it also implies that alternatives are available. This relates to an understanding of policies as an infrastructure which young people – addressed as 'citizens in transition' – are free to use and which are *accessible*. This means that support or learning opportunities are situated in young people's life worlds and that thresholds for access are low. Addressing young people's choice can mean that (extrinsic) attractors and user resources (e.g. money, internet facilities, housing etc.) may be needed in order to allow young people positive experiences with non-formal learning. However, it can also mean that the intrinsic quality of leisure activities (like dance) is used to instil a feeling of self-efficacy in extrinsic aspects of life like training or work.

> The **Open Youth Education**, *Denmark*, was acountrywide initiative launched in 1994 (andclosed in 2002). The goal was to offer all youngpeople who either were not able or interested inattending existing types of educationalternatives to pursue individual plans betweenformal and non-formal education. The purposewas stated as: "It is not up to us to decide whythe young person does not want to pursue atraditional

education … we cannot force her/himto do so, at least not in the kind of society wewish to have. But we can try to createincentives." *F., female, 19*, is not afraid to do things differently: *"It simply should not be like,that things can only be done in one way … It ismy education. It is me who takes the decisions."*F. wants to learn and stresses that everything ispossible as long as the individual works hardand is allowed to develop. Her *"fuel"* is the wishto develop her passions and her belief thatsocial contact between people and life ingeneral has to *"zigzag"*.

The aspect of choice also extends to the way young people make use of a project which requires that the outcomes of learning processes and directions of transitions are *open* rather than pre-structured. Within the context of de-standardised transitions young people increasingly are expected to take self-responsibility while the outcomes of destinations themselves are less predictable. Therefore policies and projects need to be *flexible* in terms of duration, activities, and intensity of support.

Another range of factors relates to providing young people with the *space* to experiment with their own ideas and capacities. This includes giving them *responsibility* for their own projects, in which they *learn 'by doing'* and by 'stealing with the eyes'. In particular the performing arts seem ideal in this respect. In the context of changed intergenerational relationships *peer learning* proves to be an effective form of learning. This however requires heterogeneous groups rather than projects focused solely on the so-called 'disadvantaged'. The dimension of space also includes existential aspects like housing and safety: spaces 'to be'.

Batoto Yetu in Lisbon, *Portugal*, is a danceproject for young people of African origin. Theproject aims at bringing young people "in contactwith their roots and develop self-esteem,perseverance and discipline" and give themvisibility. The group performs on internationaltours as well as on TV. However, a condition forparticipating in performances is effort in schoolachievement. In fact many of them enter highereducation. The project therefore is also meetingpoint for doing homework, leisure activities, andsupport in everyday life. *B, male, 19*, attends atraining course in computing and is involved inthe HipHop scene. Involvement in Batoto Yetuhas influenced his learning attitude: *"We don't learn in school. We learn on the streets! We learnfrom the people we meet during our lives. We seewho talks more, who says more trues thanothers, and we always keep those things in ourhead. Then (and*

talking in rime) 'It will come outand I'll come back …and I'm beginning to improvise'".

Participation is a form of *recognition* towards young people whereby who 'come as they are' do not have to adapt to formally set criteria or conditions. This means on the one hand not to reduce a person to deficits measured against the meritocratic competition for scarce careers. Focussing on strengths does not necessarily mean low level demands but may imply a focus on other activities – in which young people are more competent. It also means that it is important to address 'the whole person' and not to neglect aspects of life which may be subjectively more pressing than education or work. However, entitlement to benefits, allowances or wages are also powerful signs of recognition as a citizen.

A final and again basic factor of participation with respect to motivation and non-formal learning are experiences of *trust* with both project workers and peers.

The project **"We Want to Become Independent"** was carried out by theCommunity for Child Support Association (CCSA) in Bucharest, *Romania*. The keyobjective was to support young people frompublic care centres on their ways toindependence and to train practitioners in thisregard. First young people were prepared foreveryday life activities such as preparing meals while also applying role play; second they wereaccompanied during a time in which they livedon their own in shared 'transition flats'.*Alexandra, 16,* has spent her childhood in aplacement centre since the age of two. Althoughthe atmosphere in the transition flat is not verydifferent from the orphanage – *"We simply arenot listened to."* – she feels more independentand has developed *"other plans, but it's like adream … I want to have a family, my ownhome, to be no longer dependent upon others".*

Many young people only get in contact as long as they trust the project workers not to follow the interests of institutions such as the employment service, social security or the police. Likewise, unconditional support implies the individual fulfilment of needs such as belonging and recognition. Relationships with 'adults' who are 'different' and therefore represent 'significant others' are an important prerequisite for biographical learning. They serve as role models but also as 'sounding boards' to act out experienced injustice and subsequently to reflect on biographical perspectives. In many instances young people even accept pressure regarding training or job search if they perceive it as an act of care and friendship rather than control and repression.

The **Atelier LaSilhouette** from Munich, Germany, at the first glance offers normal certified vocational training in dressmaking for young women. At a closer look, it provides a holistic set of support and accompaniment as all participants have a migration background. to those who often are not even allowed to start a vocational training because of insecure residence permits. The project is highly attractive as the young women are also involved in the creation of an own collection which they present at fashion shows. And it is participatory inasmuch as they are involved in all project-related decisions. *Jelena, 21,* after school was desorientated, *"totally de-motivated"*with severe drug problems. Her project entry appears as the big counter experience from the very first moment: "*I sewed a bag ... and I did really well. I was so fascinated about this bag, about myself – about being creative. And had the impression this is a place where everybody is open, where you can manage."* She manages to stay in the project and go back to therapy – knowing what a fragile resource motivation is.

4. Sustainable inclusion – inclusive citizenship?

The finding that participation can have a positive impact on motivational careers and learning biographies emerges rather unanimously from the analysis, this is much less the case with regard to social inclusion and citizenship; especially if a perspective is applied which takes account of both systemic and subjective dimensions of social integration. In this respect, the key question is to what extent projects actually succeed in combining soft and hard outcomes, i.e. motivational change, biographicity, social skills and creativity as well as qualifications, income and/or sustainable jobs.

Lifting the Limits in Armagh, Northern Ireland,UK, supports the inclusion of young mothers byproviding training and employment in communityleadership. Apart from theoretical and practicallearning and the experience of outreach work inthe community the young women are employed,receive a wage and assistance in childcare. Theproject provides a recognised qualificationenabling for entry to higher education in youthand community work. Participation, which is self-evident as the young women are seen as adults,means "a kind of self-determination, freedom inchoices … And the courage and self-confidenceto stand up and say, 'This is the choices I want tomake'". *Colette, 25*, left school at 18, worked for awhile and got pregant. One year after the birth ofher

son she starts a youth group: *"I think it wasmy own drive just to go, look I can do this, Ineeded it – because I had to prove to myself thatI could do it."* Lifting the Limits, which she comesacross while volunteering at the local Women'sCentre, rather than changing her motivationalcareer is an opportunity to invest the high level ofmotivation she has maintained.

Five main types of case study projects can be distinguished, according to their priority objectives; their target groups; their original field of practice; their function in the transition system; their ways to apply participation and non-formal education; and the relation of 'hard' and 'soft' outcomes:

- **Priority of participation in youth work:** Youth work projects address 'all youth' according to a general prevention logic without having systematic links to the labour market. Participation is central and addresses at least the dimensions of voluntary access and project-related decisions or community development. Only in a few cases is biographical participation explicitly addressed through experience in voluntary work, the possibility of semi-professional careers or counselling. Non-formal education means learning-by-doing, cultural practice, peer education and relationships of trust. While most project workers see the need of a broader concept of competence, the structure and objectives of projects are primarily related to the provision of motivation, confidence, and social skills. It depends on the individuals to what extent they can successfully use this for their transitions (example *ArciRagazzi*).

- **Priority of integration of 'youth at risk':** These projects have the objective of selective prevention in relation to groups seen as particularly vulnerable. Cultural practice plays a central role in projects for ethnic minority youth to raise their self-esteem and provide them with experience of success. The transfer of such experiences is addressed more explicitly with regard to school than to the transition to work. In this sense, participation includes the biographical level while non-formal and peer learning are central (example *Batoto Yetu*). In projects for young people with multiple social disadvantage such as homelessness, drug use or growing up in public care transitions to work are one facet of a more holistic approach. At the same time the goals of integration and participation are more modest and pragmatic. Soft skills are the main aim while hard resources are restricted to the needs of everyday life. Thereby, sustainable biographic perspectives are limited (example *'We want to become independent'*).

- **Priority of preparation for training and work:** Pre-vocational measures that explicitly address the transition problems of young people with low education and/or a lack professional orientation in a remedial perspective. Methods and approaches are diverse such as individual education plans (example *Open Youth Education*), counselling, life planning, internships, and voluntary work. Not in all, but in some cases involvement is not voluntary but imposed by welfare and labour market policies. Therefore the degree of participation varies from low to high in the sense of being voluntary, biographical and project-related. In most cases, soft skills are the major outcome of these projects, however in the labour market oriented sense: career (re-)orientation, life plans, preparation for job interviews, adaptability to work environments. In terms of hard resources, participants in some projects are entitled to benefits or allowances while only one measure provided the possibility to improve qualifications.

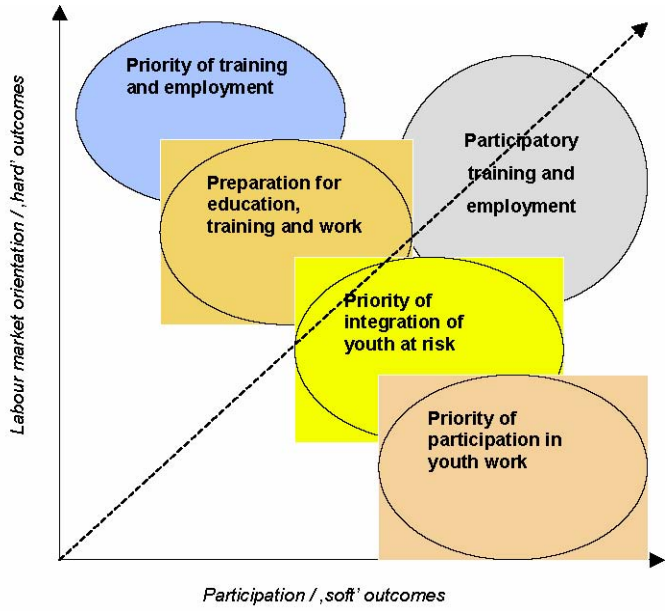
- **Priority of training and employment:** A series of measures primarily concerned with delivering hard resources like qualifications or jobs. This means either that the projects' prime objective is to close the gaps in the supply of training by flexible training programmes. However, the need to meet formal standards of training (also to ensure funding) implies that young people with severe problems in most cases do not enter the measures; or that these young people only profit in terms of pre-vocational training. In normal employment schemes access occurs through the bureaucratic principles of the employment service rather than by individual choice. Formal curricula, the function to 'clean' unemployment statistics and limited space, time and funding restrict potentials of participation but may allow for non-formal methods of training. However, soft skills tend to be secondary compared to hard outcomes.

- **Participatory training and employment projects:** There are some projects that consciously aim to empower young people by providing both 'hard' labour market relevant resources and 'soft' skills in a participatory setting. This can be support for young people in self-employment, alternatives project in which (long-term) unemployed young people continue to receive their benefits 'in exchange' for socially useful activity, cooperatives organising activities between voluntary work, occasional jobs and self-employment in a democratic way, projects providing regular training, but ones that are embedded in a holistic setting of support and participation and that relates to professions which are likely to attract the target group. Most of these projects focus on disadvantaged groups, like for example young mothers or young women from ethnic minorities (examples *Lifting the Limits* and *Atelier La Silhouette*). While starting from the objective to provide hard

resources these projects are aware that these can only lead to sustainable inclusion if they are embedded in soft skills – and backed by (extrinsic) – and often existentially important – financial incentives. These projects apply peer learning, respect of individual needs, scope for active participation and emphasise personal development as much as vocational training or employment.

Only where projects consciously extend from their original function and field of practice to the other pole of the continuum is it possible to reconcile 'soft' and 'hard' outcomes. It seems that this is easier for projects from the hard sector, especially if addressing particular disadvantaged groups, than for actors from the 'soft' sector lacking recognition within the transition system. In terms of the wider debate about *competence* we suggest to see this integration of 'hard' and 'soft' aspects, as well as of professional or technical, social and personal dimensions, as the key criterion of distinction between skills, abilities, knowledge or qualifications (see figure 1.).

Figure 1.



5. Contextualisation and transferability

Even more difficult to answer are questions about the transferability of such models of 'good practice'. A key factor in this respect are different 'transition regimes' whereby the interplay of socio-economic structures, institutions and cultural patterns structures is understood: the selectivity or permeability of education, the standardisation of training, regulation of labour market entrance, entitlements to social benefits, and dominant concepts of youth in general and of disadvantaged youth in particular. The analysis of the relationship between the case study projects and the respective regimes enables us to draw conclusions with regard to the perspectives of participatory support or the reconciliation between 'hard' and 'soft' policies in different contexts:

- In the *universalistic* transition regime (Denmark in the YOYO project) young people have choice even within the 'hard' policy sectors like education or active labour market policies. Combined with entitlements to allowances, wages or benefits as long as they remain active this reflects the centrality of motivation for personal development in citizenship. However, evidenced not only by the closure of one of the case study projects (example *Open Youth Education*), but also by the fact that a so-called 'residual' group of migrant youth are not reached, suggests that young people need to buy into a specific cultural model before being able to profit from a transition system which in principle allows for participation and choice biographies.

- In the *liberal* transition regime (UK and Ireland) policies are much more clearly geared towards the early labour market integration and economic independence of young people (also if single parents; for example *Lifting the Limits*). On the one hand, priority of individual responsibility is reflected in a flexible system of education and training while in measures for the most vulnerable participation plays a certain a role. On the other hand, workfare policies exert pressure to ensure young people do not remain unemployed and dependent on social benefits. In sum, flexible spaces are counteracted by individualised risks and pressure.

- In the *employment-centred* regime (Germany and Netherlands) where transitions are structured by a selective school system and standardised vocational training youth is mainly interpreted as allocation to occupational positions. Those in regular trajectories are secure while others face high risks of exclusion; in Germany even without automatically being entitled to social benefits. Disadvantage means that individual deficits need to be compensated before making 'real' choices. Hard and soft policy sectors are strictly separated so that participation in transitions to work is basically a question of high school qualifications. While Germany is a rigid

example (example *Atelier La Silhouette* as an exception), the Netherlands represent a more flexible version of this regime type.

- The main feature of the *sub-protective* transition regime in Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) is a structural deficit with regard to both soft and hard policies for young people. The lack of links between education and employment results in long waiting periods, high unemployment and increasing precariousness while the lack of welfare rights makes young people dependent on their families. Youth organisations of the third sector increasingly are the only bridges towards an active social life – often without systematic links with the labour market. The structural deficit however implies that social space is less institutionalised so that some voluntary initiative can eventually turn into careers; yet precarious ones (examples *ArciRagazzi* and *Batoto Yetu*).

- In the *post-socialist* transition regime (Romania) de-standardisation is especially dramatic. While in the communist period education and employment were tightly linked – with little individual choice but considerable security – toady education, training and the labour market fail to keep pace with transformation and the increasing risks of social exclusion. State institutions have lost credibility, in contrast to the few NGOs who manage to secure funding to close the gaps of training, youth work or social policies. Rather than finding spaces for experimentation and initiative young people have to accumulate any possible training and qualifications for potential opportunities. A minority of them succeed by opening up their own businesses. For the others participation mainly takes place in dreams of emigration.

If considering the transfer of selected good practice the complexity of contexts needs be taken into account. However, knowledge about factors of success allows for de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation by assessing whether functional equivalents exist in other contexts.

A factor of interest in this respect is also the potential impact of *EU-policies* concerned with young people's transitions to work applying the Open Method of Coordination to mainstream objectives in national policies. The picture here is again ambiguous:

- The European Employment Strategy relates to the 'hard' end of the scale – 'employability' – whilst conceding problems of labour market policies in attracting disadvantaged youth.

- The Lifelong Learning Strategy strongly promotes the validation of non-formal learning however it prioritises skills which may be directly applied in work contexts.

- The Social Inclusion Process follows a multi-dimensional approach of social inclusion that is related to complex needs; yet, participation is interpreted in terms of rights and responsibilities.

- The White Paper on Youth advocates a cross-sectoral youth policy based on the principle of participation although one that is largely reduced to procedural aspects.

Most important for the perspective of transferability however is that many case study projects experienced major funding problems during the period of the project (across all regimes) citizenship. In particular, the two participatory training projects addressing disadvantaged young women – which were closest to the YOYO objectives – have been or are at risk of closure through lack of funding.

The most successful approaches are at risk due to funding problems.

6. Amivalences and recommendations

Participation is a way to enhance young people's motivation and 'lived citizenship' as a status and a practice, but this does not apply for all concepts of participation and under all conditions. The above findings demonstrate that participation needs to be more than just a procedural pedagogical principle, but that it also is required to be a principle within 'hard' policies.

Participation implies that young people have rights, resources and spaces which secure their negotiation power in relation to institutions of the transition system and the labour market. In order to allow for *motivational change*, participation means to re-open spaces for *choice* and *self-determination* including those with restricted opportunities. Participation and motivation only lead to sustainable social inclusion if related to a broader concept of *competence* integrating hard resources and soft skills in reflexive *learning biographies*.

If we look at current discourses and policies we find the opposite. This also applies to a broad understanding of competence which includes both hard and soft aspects. The more explicitly agencies refer to participatory principles the less they are recognised by the 'hard' sector and the less possibilities young people have to capitalise on their experiences in their transitions to work. The increasing demand of soft skills from the economy does not imply that formal qualifications have become less important. In

contrast, it seems as if meritocracy expands by ascribing lacking qualifications to an assumed lack of soft skills (rather than the other way round).

It is noteworthy, that participation is promoted in times in which workers' participation in the economy is curtailed and individual autonomy undermined by activation policies. Or: the civil society is proclaimed while being disconnected from the welfare state; whereby participation risks becoming the mask of a 'new tyranny' of individualisation and self-responsibility.

> Participation is *ambivalent* if not secured by rights and resources. A key finding of the YOYO project is that social inclusion and citizenship of young people require both a welfare state approach of redistributing resources and opportunities and a civil society approach of participation. While welfare without participation can turn into alienating normalisation, participation without welfare carries the risk of individualised exclusion and precariousness.

Key recommendations

Assessment of young people's transition problems:

- Differentiate between the structural aspect of achieved transition progress – according to an institutional logic – and subjective motivational careers.
- Understand de-motivation as resulting from experiences of denied choice, neglected needs and interests, and damaged confidence in self-efficacy rather than as individual deficits.

Design, implementation and evaluation of policies:

- Allow for choice in terms of voluntary access and by providing alternative options.
- Keep learning outcomes open and transition directions open rather than evaluating projects through one-dimensional success rates; foresee a flexible use of measures.
- Provide spaces for experimentation and learning by doing.
- Give young people responsibility for their transition projects while offering flexible support.
- Recognise the whole person with his/her needs and interest, not only those related to transitions from school to work; evaluate projects in terms of soft *and* hard outcomes.
- Connect any activity which is either useful for personal development or for the wider community, or both, with social rights and entitlements to the existential minimum.
- Allow for continuity of projects due to reliable funding structures.
- Ask young people for subjective experiences when evaluating measures.

Delivery of practice:

- Restrict learning opportunities to a framework rather than pre-structuring the learning process while providing support if required.
- Do not restrict to fields of practice, official function and formal professionalism but extend to all areas relevant for the needs and interests of young people.

- Focus on strengths by selecting the activities in which young people are competent rather than concentrating on the compensation of deficits.
- Invest an advance of trust in young people and prove worthy of being trusted by young people by offering unconditional support.
- Develop local partnerships from the perspective of increasing young people's choices and allowing for individualised networks.

Research perspectives:

- Mainstream a biographical approach in transition research.
- Adopt an Interdisciplinary approach related to separate policy fields and research perspectives which intersect young people's transitions.
- Longitudinal research in biographical perspective to identify factors of sustainable inclusion.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Objectives

The social integration of young people has become one of the prime objectives of European and national policies as young people are more and more concerned with and vulnerable to risks of social exclusion. State institutions have developed policies addressing young people's transitions to the labour market and as such are regarded as the key to their social integration. However, many such programmes have failed in reaching their target group and consequently, are characterised by high drop-out rates. The YOYO research starts from this phenomenon and is interested in the dynamics of young people's motivation and demotivation, in the reasons for disengaging and in possibilities of remotivation. A general hypothesis is that young people experience difficulties in transitions to work in terms of restricted choice, while policies demand further adaptation and reduction of aspiration. Consequently, they do not feel they are taken seriously as individuals, while a meaningful life perspective based on career and citizenship appears to get out of reach. The project aims at verifying the assumption that policies built on the principle of active participation, in the sense of having real influence in the definition of goals for their transitions and of the ways how to reach them, have higher chances to enhance and/or to maintain young people's motivation. Thereby, the YOYO-research relates to different policy sectors concerned with young people's social integration reflected by specific EU-discourses:

- labour market discourses of *activation* and *employability*;
- education and training discourses of *lifelong learning*;
- social policy discourses of the *social inclusion of disadvantaged youth*;
- youth policy discourses of *active citizenship and participation.*

Contradiction between the rationales of these discourses not only weakens policies but affects young people's transitions as a whole. Therefore in order to address all these areas the research adopted a multi-dimensional qualitative approach:

1) national policy reports on youth transitions, youth policy and participation;
2) interviews with young people with risk biographies and with choice biographies ('trendsetters' similar to like young entrepreneurs) on their transition experiences;

3) case studies into projects supporting young people in their transitions to work in a participatory way (expert interviews, interviews with young people on their project experiences and video films portraying young people's views on 'being in transition').

2. Theoretical concepts

The flexibilisation which is inherent in to post-Fordist labour markets affects both male and female life courses and in particular, their *transitions to work*. These are being *de-standardised* which means on the one hand fragmentation into partial transitions in different life spheres and on the other, individualisation of transitions. The perspective of young people, their *motivation* to accept labour market demands and to engage in lifelong learning, become crucial for social integration (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002). However, *access* to resources and opportunities remains *unequal* and no longer is it the case only reproduces social inequality but makes certain groups vulnerable for *social exclusion* (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Castel, 2000; Mills & Blossfeld, 2003). The complexity of this constellation requires a holistic concept of social integration addressing the duality of social integration between social 'structure' and individual 'agency' (Giddens, 1984). This means on the one hand to address the relation between *segmentation and flexibilisation* of education, training and labour markets (Standing, 1999), on the other hand the *biographical perspective* of young men and women and the decisions they take to cope with uncertain transitions (Alheit, 1995; Böhnisch, 1997). Thereby, transitions are successful if they correspond to both systemic criteria of integration and subjective needs and interests (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002).

Policies aiming at the integration of the younger generation tend to neglect the complex interplay between systemic and subjective dimensions of integration. *'Soft' youth policies* allow for subjective perspectives and participation but remain weak and marginal. In contrast, *'hard' policies* – education and training, welfare and labour market policies – which are responsible for the distribution of resources for social integration and life chances increasingly make young people self-responsible for success or failure in their transitions to work and adulthood (Serrano Pascual, 2003). This creates the paradox that individual motivation and learning become of paramount importance while their prerequisites are not taken into account. As a result, transition policies often fail in reaching disadvantaged youth who prefer a 'status zer0' to being activated by force (Williamson, 1997).

The shift in the discourse of lifelong learning from (formal) education towards (informal and non-formal) *learning* may open new perspectives. However, implications and

prerequisites of learning remain unreflected. Difficulties in recognising informally acquired *competencies* tend to reproduce the inequality of formal education in allocating individuals to careers of different status (Coffield, 1999; Field, 2000). Therefore the question is how formal recognition of learning outcomes can be replaced or complemented in their integrative potential by individually reflected *learning biographies* (cf. Bloomer & Hodkinson, 2000).

Current policies aiming at activating individuals for training or work tend to neglect that *motivation* requires subjective interest and self-efficacy, that is *self-determination*; and they also underplay the profound difference between intrinsic motivation deriving from the identification with a certain activity and extrinsic motivation of purely instrumental action – in the worst case following external coercion (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Bandura, 1997).

In this regard, preventing disadvantaged youth from disengaging with their transitions to work requires both subjectively meaningful goals and increasing their control over their lives. A policy term for self-determination which does not restrict itself to individual competencies but expands to structures of power is *participation*, at least if understood as active influence and not reduced to formal procedures (cf. Cooke & Kothari, 2001). To sharpen our understanding of participation which goes beyond individualising trends of governance we relate to:

- Marshall's (1950) concept of citizenship as the combination of civil, political and social rights (the latter often being neglected by the discourse on youth citizenship);
- the perspective of 'lived citizenship' (Hall & Williamson, 1999) which includes both the status and individuals' practice of citizenship (cf. Lister, 2003);
- Nancy Fraser's reflection that social justice requires social policies that involve addressees in the interpretation of their needs rather than being based on mere expertocratic assessment and bureaucratic implementation (1989).

We refer to participation as a policy principle throughout and secured by individuals' negotiation rights rather than only being a policy objective postponed to later; if it is understood as possibility of *biographical self-determination.*

3. Research questions

It is possible to reformulate the research hypothesis in this way: we expect that young people who due to disadvantage have experienced demotivation and are at risk of disengaging, can be remotivated by policies that succeed in giving them a feeling of self-efficacy with regard to subjective needs and interests. In this regard it appears to be crucial that participation is not reduced to soft policies but is also an integral principle in education, training or labour market programmes. Such measures may be qualified by their objective to assist young people in the development of reflexive learning biographies. Recognition of informal and non-formal learning potentially is one key aspect of such participatory transition policies. In order to verify this hypothesis the YOYO-research has been dealing with the following questions:

- How can projects for disadvantaged youth in their transitions to work be differentiated along the continuum between *'soft'* and *'hard' policies*? How is this reflected in different notions and possibilities for active participation and non-formal learning?

- What aspects of destandardisation can be found in the transitions of young people, especially those addressed by transition policies such as the ones analysed in the YOYO research? How do structure and agency interact in different *transition patterns*?

- Our interest in the potential of young people to actively engage in their transitions requires to differentiate transition patterns with regard to experiences of *motivational change*. Is it possible to identify moments or processes in which they lost or gained control or in which subjective interests either generated or were covered?

- One key objective is to analyse the *relation between participation and motivation*. How do concepts of participation differ in policies for young people and are these experienced by young people? Can processes of motivational change be identified which can be ascribed to experiences of participation; and if so to what aspects of participation?

- To what extent is motivational change reflected by the learning careers of young people in the respective projects? How do pedagogical models in projects consider

and address the relation between informal and formal learning and to what extent are young people the protagonists of these learning processes? Where can learning outcomes of projects be located between soft skills and hard qualifications? To what extent do young people develop *learning biographies* in which they reflect their learning experiences?

- How can transition policies be integrated between 'soft' and 'hard' principles in order to facilitate a concept of *youth citizenship* in terms of both status and practice which is centred around participation and motivation? What are the prerequisites to connect the principle of participation to the structural level of resources, rights and access to meaningful career opportunities (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002; López Blasco et al., 2003)?

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

1. The research design

For this report we will restrict the project description to four key issues: the research steps and their key methodological aspects, the interpretative model applied to consider the international dimension of the project, and the method used to cluster a highly heterogeneous sample of both case study projects and interviewed young persons.

1.1. Work programme and methodology

The analysis of young people's transitions and motivational careers in relation to participatory projects required a multi-dimensional approach. First, instruments were needed to capture young people's subjective experiences and their change over time; second, it was necessary to analyse specific policy contexts in a way that related to both young people's biographies and local transition systems; third, a framework regarding the relation between the micro-contexts of projects and the macro-context of national transition systems needed to be developed The research consequently combined aspects of biographical research, action research, policy analysis and comparative research. This has been addressed by a design consisting of four main research phases (broken down into nine work packages, see table 1.).

Table 1. The YOYO-workprogramme broken down into workpackages

WP	Title	Duration	Outcome
Phase 1			
1	National reports: participation in youth transitions and youth policy	Months 1–3	State of the Art Report
Phase 2			
2	Exploratory interviews on young people's transition experiences	Months 4 – 8	Joint report
Phase 3			
3	Case studies, part I, document analysis and expert interviews	Months 9 – 12	28 project descriptions
4	Case studies, part II, video documentation	Months 13 – 18	10 Video films
5	Case studies, part III, second interviews with young people	Months 16 – 21	Internal documents
6	Case studies, part IV, case study evaluation	Months 22 – 24	10 case study reports
Phase 4			
7	Comparative analysis	Months 25 – 28	Project typology
8	Final Report	Months 29 – 39	Final Report, Book
9	Dissemination	Months 29 - 39	Training module Policy seminar

Phase 1, National reports on youth transitions, youth policy and participation:

In national reports the relation between the socio-economic structures of young people's transitions to work, the institutional forms of youth policies (particularly the local) and discourses of participation was analysed. First, this was to test the hypothesis that transition policies in principle do not allow for active participation applied across different European contexts which was analysed comparatively in a joint state of the art report (Walther et al., 2002). Second, this allowed to relate the sampling of case study projects with the overall network process of developing a mutual understanding of key concepts. According to common guidelines regarding target groups, fields of practice, concepts of particiption and informal learning, each partner team selected five projects out of which in a common process three per country (four in Germany with two in the East and West respectively) were selected.

Phase 2, Exploratory interviews with 'disengaged' young people and 'trendsetters':

The primary objective of this phase was to analyse reasons and dynamics of young people's disengagement in transitions to work. Due to the different start up dates of the various projects young people were recruited either immediately prior to entering the case study projects or, just as they had entered the case study projects (as it was assumed that the participatory nature of these projects was likely to attract young people who had experienced demotivation; N=193). Originally focus group interviews had been planned (to allow for a youth culturally embedded approach) but soon it became clear that individual interviews were required to obtain the information necessary. In order to get insights into prerequisites of (intrinsic) motivation in shaping the own transition biographical 'trendsetters' were also interviewed (N=79; recruited through snowballing), i.e. young people who had left formal trajectories to shape their transitions individually in terms of 'choice biographies' (du Bois-Reymond, 1998) such as for example young entrepreneurs. The interviews were based on thematic dimensions (work orientations and institutional experiences as main issues) developed in a joint process while at the same time leaving enough space for both biographical narration and idiosyncratic national features. The same applied for the process of coding and interpreting of data (cf. Wengraf, 2001; see annex 6).

Phase 3, Case studies: This may be seen as the empirical core of the YOYO-research because here different perspectives merge. The case study process consisted of three sub-steps:

1) document analysis and expert interviews (Bogner & Menz, 2001) (with project workers and responsibles but also funders and representatives of other key transition actors; N=141);

2) a second round of (largely individual) interviews with young people on their experiences within the projects but also on their personal development since the first interview (or on their previous experiences if not yet involved in phase 2; N=256);

3) video films with young people from one case study project per country (Ratcliff, 2003) on 'being in transition' as a means of both participatory research allowing young people to use own symbols and expressions and dissemination (see annex 3).

Each of these sub-steps was jointly prepared and evaluated but separately analysed and documented. The fourth step of the case studies consisted in communicative validation with the case study projects and the production of national case study reports.

Phase 4, Joint analysis and dissemination:

The last phase analysed the relation between participation and motivation across different types of projects and contexts. To this purpose a typology of projects (see below) served as a background for the analysis of individual motivational careers. To disseminate findings a training module was elaborated (see annex 1).

1.2. The international perspective: transition regimes as interpretative background

As regards the analysis of the international dimension of the research itself it needs to be made clear that of course the YOYO study is not a comparison of national constellations of participation or of young people's biographies. One obvious restriction is the complexity of individual's biographic construction, another one is the exceptional character of the projects analysed. Nevertheless, the analysis needed to take the different contexts into account. The contextualisation of biographic construction and participatory support, at least in our case, is a more modest but more effective approach than the additive assessment of apparently comparable data sets according to a 'neutral' measurement for commonalities and differences. In the YOYO project contextualisation meant to analyse case studies not only as isolated entities but also in their relationship with the national and local transition system in which they play a role. Projects – mainstream or exceptional – are reflections of local and national 'transition regimes' and their socio-economic and institutional structures.

In line with comparative social policy research (Esping-Andersen, 1990; 1999; Gallie & Paugam, 2000) we refer to 'regimes' as clusters of socio-economic structures, institutions and cultural patterns which are reproduced not only through policies but also through individual life plans and strategies. Apart from the welfare perspective regarding young people's access to social benefits, the modelling of transition regimes requires further dimensions:

- labour markets: high or low level of regulation; recruitment practice; concepts of work (Shavit & Müller, 1998; Walther, 2000);

- education and training: stratification versus standardisation (Allmendinger, 1989);

- focus of programmes for unemployed youth and concepts of 'disadvantaged youth': structure-related versus individualised (Walther, 2002; McNeish & Loncle, 2003);

- mechanisms of doing gender (Sainsbury, 1999);

- dominant concepts of youth (IARD, 2001; McNeish & Loncle, 2003).

While it should be kept in mind that the regime-approach rather relates to the general 'Gestalt' than to specificities of transition systems which are at the same dynamic rather than stable due to social change we refer to five broad regime types:

- The *universalistic* transition regime of the Scandinavian countries (such as Denmark) is characterised by a comprehensive system of education and training with 3 out 4 school leavers' obtaining qualifications that allow for access to higher education. The dominant concept of youth is that of personal development. Therefore, at all levels of the transition system options for choice are provided and secured by individual access to social benefits or education allowances; this applies also for activating labour market policies. Due to a broad public sector a variety of entrance options to the labour market do exist. The high rate of female employment is also facilitated by accessible public child care. While in principle this system provides opportunities to experiment with yo-yo-transitions it relies upon a specific cultural model. Migrant youth are therefore considered as a 'remainder' group who do not profit from this generous system.

- The *liberal* regime in the *UK* and the *Republic of Ireland* is based on a system of education and training which in recent decades has been considerably flexibilised. In a context which prioritises individual responsibility the concept of youth is marked by expectations of early economic independence. Workfare policies like the New Deal in the UK ascribe individuals' 'disadvantage' in transitions to work to dependency in benefits which are increasingly made conditional in terms of active job search and/or training. Due to extreme flexibilisation the labour market access has been diversified while the share of precarious jobs has increased. High rates of female employment need to be relativated in this regard and child care is mainly organised on a private market basis. In sum, yo-yo-transitions are structured by high flexibility and individualised risks.

- The *employment-centred* regimes in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands are characterised by a combination of selective school and standardised training. While in Germany this is related with a rigid employment system, the Dutch labour market has undergone considerable flexibilisation (e.g.

part-time and temporary work). Youth means primarily to be socialised for and allocated to occupational positions. Disadvantage is addressed in terms of individual socialisation deficits that young people have to compensate before entering regular training or work. While in the Netherlands universal access to benefits is restructured in terms of workfare policies, in Germany young people are only entitled to benefits if they have paid contributions to social insurance or if they are older than 27. In the Netherlands, yo-yo-transitions first of all mean flexible transitions, in Germany they have to be realised against the normalising institutions.

- In the *sub-protective* regime in Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) due to the structural deficit in training, labour market and welfare policies, transitions include long waiting periods during which young men and women remaining dependent on their families with high rates of unemployment, fixed-term contracts and informal work. While the comprehensive school system produces a high percentage of school leavers with post-compulsory qualifications these are not compatible with labour market demands. At the same time early school leaving remains a severe problem. Young women are even more disadvantaged regarding both labour market access and family control. Yo-yo-transitions therefore mean a status vacuum which is only compensated by the family.

- This is similar in the *postsocialist* transition regime of which Romania represents a de-institutionalised version (compared to re-institutionalised examples like Hungary; cf. Wallace, 2002). During the socialist period education and employment were rigidly linked allowing for stable careers; however with little room for individual choice. Transformation has destandardised and individualised transitions with a high degree of risk. Schools are still organised comprehensively while regular training fails in keeping pace with the changing demands of economy. Welfare provisions have been introduced to buffer the effects of youth unemployment but have been reduced again or abolished due to a lack of financial resources. Young people depend on their families while accumulating a diversity of qualifications in preparation for forthcoming opportunities – or for emigration which represents a highly desired strategy.

These regimes on the one hand serve as a backdrop when dealing with concrete case study examples. On the other hand, they allow to understand the scopes of action which both young people and case study projects have at their disposal. It will be one of the concluding questions to what extent different regimes allow for participation also in transitions to work.

1.3. The case study projects

Within the YOYO project 28 case studies have been carried out (3 per country, 2 in East and West Germany respectively). The organisational structure and practice approaches of the projects have been analysed through document analysis and interviews with internal (project workers and responsibles) and external experts (representatives of funding institutions and key actors of local transition systems). During the sampling it proved difficult to find projects corresponding to the ideal type in terms of the YOYO-objectives. The case study projects therefore spread on a continuum between priority of participation without labour market orientation and labour market orientation without participation. Clustering them according to:

- fields of practice;
- target groups: all youth or unemployed, early school leavers, migrants, young women;
- hard versus soft outcomes;
- concepts of participation and non-formal education.

We can distinguish five clusters of projects (table 2.):

1) **Priority of participation in youth work:** Genuine youth work projects in most cases address 'all youth' which in some cases may be restricted to the youth of a certain (disadvantaged) area. There are no close links to the labour market while participation is central in the sense of voluntariness and involvement in project-related decision-making. A few cases extend participation to community development or urban regeneration. Non-formal education is applied and reflected in terms of learning-by-doing, culture, peer education and trust between young people and project workers. The structure and objectives of their projects are primarily related to the provision of soft skills such as motivation and confidence, social and communication skills. However, except where young people are supported to make informal careers from usership to semi-professional careers, it depends on the individuals to what extent they can use this for their transitions.

2) **Priority of integration of 'youth at risk':** Integration projects address groups of young people who are seen as particularly vulnerable to risks of social exclusion. They combine leisure activities with group work and individual counselling. In some projects, especially those for ethnic minority youth, cultural

practice plays a central role in raising self-esteem. The transfer of these experiences to other aspects of life is addressed with a particular regard to school. In cases concerned with young people of multiple social disadvantage (homelessness, growing up in public care) transitions to work are only one facet of a more holistic approach while participation and integration are defined more pragmatically. Transitions to work are addressed in integration projects, yet not systematically. Soft skills are the main goal, hard resources are restricted to the needs of everyday life.

Table 2. Case study projects according to country, activity, target group and function

Country	Projects	Activity	Target group	Main Function	
Priority of participation in youth work					Soft
Italy	Youth Centre, Campagnola	Youth centre	All youth	General Prev.	
	Arciragazzi, Palermo	Cultural projects	Youth from area	General Prev.	
	Giovani e Periferie, Torino	Urban regeneration	Youth from area	General Prev.	
Romania	SZINFO, Odórhei	Youth information	All youth	General Prev.	
Ireland	Glen Foroige, Cork	Youth club	Youth from area	General Prev.	
Priority of integration of youth at risk					
Denmark	Girls & Boys House, Copenhagen	Youth club	Migrant youth	Selective Prev.	
Germany	Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart	Youth club; outreach work	Youth from area	General Prev.	
Ireland	Simon Project, Cork	Shelter and counselling	Homeless youth	Safety-net	
Portugal	Batoto Yetu, Lisbon	Dance project and school assistance	African youth	Selective prev.	
	Princes of Nothingness, Lisbon	Dance project and school assistance	Gypsy girls	Selective prev.	
Romania	CCSA / We want to be independent, Bucharest	Learning for independent life	Youth from public care	Selective prev.	
Priority of preparation for education or training					
Denmark	Open Youth Education	Individualised 2nd chance education	Early school leavers	Reorientation	
Ireland	Youghal Youthreach	Re-qualification, practical experience	Early school leavers	Reorientation	
UK	Opportunity Youth, Belfast	Non-formal education, life skills	Early school leavers	Reorientation	
Netherlands	Cityteam, Rotterdam/ Utrecht/Zoetermeer	Voluntary work, placements, counselling	Unemployed young people	Reorientation	
Germany	Kompass-Job-In-Club, Dresden	Drop-in, counselling, search for jobs or training	Unemployed young people	Reorientation	

Priority of training or employment					
Romania	Solaris, Pitesti	Voc. training courses (various)	All youth	Transitions	
Netherlands	Centerparcs/Helicon, Flevoland	Private/public dual voc. training (tourism, leisure)	All youth	Transitions	
Spain	Cooperative Pep-Pepes, Mallorca	(Pre-)Voc. training and education (various)	Young people without job	Transitions	
	Laura Vicuña, Torrent/Valencia	(Pre-)Voc. training and education (various)	Young people without job	Transitions	
Germany	Shalom, Freiberg	Subsidised work (documenting local history)	Long-term unemployed	Transitions	
Participatory training and employment					
Portugal	Aldeia de Santa Isabel, Lisbon	Residence for youth and elderly; vocational training	Early school leavers, weak family support	Transitions	
Germany	La Silhouette, Munich	Voc. training (dress-making)	Migrant young women	Transitions	
UK	Lifting the Limits	Voc. training (community work)	Single mothers	Transitions	
Spain	Cooperative 'Infinite Patience', Alfafar/Valencia	Voluntary work, occasional jobs, self employment	Long-term unemployed	Transitions	
Denmark	Ecological Starters	Environmental projects	All youth/young unemployed	Transitions	
Netherlands	Starters Service, Almere	Assistance in enterprise creation/self-employment	All (skilled) youth	Transitions	Hard

3) **Priority of preparation for training and work:** Pre-vocational education and training measures explicitly address young people's transition problems such as unemployment, early school leaving or a lack of professional orientation in a remedial perspective. Measures apply or combine a range of diverse methods and approaches. Not in all cases is involvement completely voluntary but imposed by welfare and labour market policies. Therefore the degree of participation is variable. Core objectives are to re-orientate young people into education or training through individual action plans of counselling, preparation for job interviews, work experience through placements in companies, and voluntary work. With regard to hard resources, participants in some projects receive allowances while only few measures provide opportunities to improve qualifications.

4) **Priority of training and employment:** A series of measures is primarily concerned with delivering training. Formal curricula restrict potentials of participation but in turn may allow for non-formal methods of training. The prime objective is to close the gaps in the regular supply of (state) training institutions by flexible training programmes. The need to meet formal standards of training (also to assure funding) implies that young people with severe problems in most cases do not enter the measures; or due to a lack of recognition from employers they serve only as a pre-vocational measure for young people with low qualifications. Other projects provide subsidised employment whereby access is regulated according to bureaucratic principles such as the period of time spent unemployed rather than by individual choice. Qualifications and jobs are the main outcome of these schemes while soft skills are secondary and scopes for participation are narrow.

5) **Participatory training and employment projects:** There are some projects that consciously aim at and succeed in empowering young people by providing both 'hard' labour market relevant resources and 'soft' skills in a participatory setting. This can be projects advising young people in the context of self-employment, alternative projects in which (long-term) unemployed young people receive their benefits 'in exchange' for socially useful activity, cooperatives organising activities between voluntary work, occasional jobs and self-employment, or training projects that combine a safe environment, training allowances or wages, holistic support and regular vocational training (and also child care). Project workers are aware that education and training only can be biographically sustainable if embedded in soft skills. Such projects adopt a youth

work approach including peer education, respect of individual needs, scope for active participation while at the same time emphasising personal development as much as vocational training.

In analysing the projects and young people's experiences within them with regard to the relation between participation and motivation this distinction of projects is important insofar it shows that they have different functions in the transition system and therefore institutionally are evaluated against different criteria to secure their funding.

1.4. Transition patterns of interviewed young people

Another important distinction to be made for the analysis was the differentiation of the young people in the sample with regard to the transitions they have pursued up to the moment when they were interviewed. As mentioned above, sampling in the initial phase referred to two groups: young people at risk of disengaging with the transition system, the main target group, and young people with choice biographies. These biographical 'trendsetters' were included as it was assumed that they shared a mistrust in institutions and in order to provide insight into necessary preconditions for transitions which are successful with regard to both systemic and subjective criteria. The group labelled as 'disengaged' represented around 78% of the total sample (286 respondents alltogether) while the 'trendsetter' group represented about 22% of the total sample (79 respondents) including those who were identified as trendsetters *within* projects (as participants) as well as those selected as trendsetters *independently*.

As outlined above biographical transitions are conceived as interplay between determining social structures and individual decisions and actions. One consequence of de-standardisation under post-Fordist conditions is the fragmentation and diversification of transitions. And so, the first step in the analysis process was to obtain information from the young people on the different steps and stages they had gone through since leaving school up until the time of interview. This process began with the first interviews undertaken with the young people. Based on this information a chart of transition steps was developed for each respondent (see table 3.). From these charts it was then possible to cluster the *transitions patterns* of the respondents according to whether they corresponded to the *logic of institutionally defined pathways*, according to the *complexity* of their transition patterns (the smoothness of transitions, switches between education and work, etc.) and the *length* and *direction* (towards inclusion or exclusion, implying biographic progress or stagnation). This was achieved by drawing on the categories found by Evans et al. (2000) in analysing the education and employment patterns of East German and English young people on their way to adulthood.

Table 3. Examples of transition patterns according to transition steps

Sex, age, country, social background	Completed education level	Transition steps								
Smooth transitions										
D., DK, male, 17, low SES	Lower secondary	Visits youth club from age of 7	Starts secondary business school	Side jobs and continues visiting youth club						
Institutionally repaired transition steps										
Colette, UK, female, 25, low SES	Upper secondary	Jobs in bars and cafes for a year, leaves home	Returns home and gets involved in youth work	Falls pregnant (at age 19)	Starts a local youth organisa-tion	Employed by a youth organisa-tion	Further education at local women's centre	Project entry at Lifting the Limits		
Hans, D (East), male, 22; low SES	Lower secondary	Occasional jobs; pre-vocational training: roofer	Further training (roofer); sacked (refuses exam)	Homeless and unem-ployed	Job scheme (via Kompass project); job W. Germany (construc-tion)	Training in inform-atics; drop out	EU-exchange to Britain (via Kompass project)	Unemploy ed; living on benefits	Training (software assistant); drop out after 9 months; unempl.	Joins Armed Forces; contract includes apprentice-ship

Alternative transition steps										
Serban, ROM, male, 22, low SES	Lower secondary	Training (auto-mobile painting)	side-jobs in Romania and Hungary	Contact with SZINFO	Training course in informa-tics in evening class	Unem-ployed for 6 months	Occasion-al jobs in Romania and Hungary	Starts own company (utilitarian mountain-eering)		
Sandra, NL, female, 20, low SES	Lower secondary	Pre-voca-tional education (hair-dressing)	Occa-sional jobs (animal asylum; catering; photo-graphy)	Applies for police academy, gets accepted	Prefers to set up Irish dance school, contacts SSCA	Starts Irish dance school, works alongside at call centre	Quits call centre job; fulltime involve-ment in dance school			
Stagnant transition steps										
Carmen, ES, female, 23, low SES	Lower secondary	Occasional jobs	vocational training in hair-dressing	One year of work but no contract renewal	Aims to start own business but lack of capital	Precarious, unskilled work	Stops working, living with partner; mother-hood			

Downward transition steps										
Denise, NL, female, 17, low SES	Primary	Drops outoflower secondary education	Runs away with boy-friend; live together for four months	Enters Cityteam through mediation of counsellor	Drops out of Cityteam; criminal offence(s)	Conviction; sent to jail				

* all names changed

Table 3. gives some examples of different transition patterns as well as the methodological procedure in dealing with the empirical data in this regard. Applying these categories – sometimes modifying and enlarging the original labels – to narratives of the respondents we came up with the following transition patterns:

- *smooth*: in line with institutional logic, no major interruptions;
- *institutionally repaired*: interruptions overcome by remedial intervention;
- *alternative*: leaving institutional logic (at least partly) by choice;
- *stagnant*: progress blocked by interruptions and failure, constant risk of exclusion;
- *downward/damaged*: accumulation of risks of social exclusion;
- *unknown/other:* if no clear pattern was observable.

Based on the empirical data of all the 'disengaged' and 'trendsetter' respondents (N=365) an overview of the established transition patterns in our sample is presented below:

Table 4. Distribution of transition patterns: disengaged respondents

Pattern types	Disengaged	Trendsetters
Smooth patterns	44	12
Alternative patterns	21	**47**
Institutionally repaired patterns	**76**	10
Stagnant patterns	**117**	8
Downward patterns	14	-
Unknown / other patterns	14	2
Total	286	79

While gender did not play a prominent role in the distribution of transition patterns, socio-economic aspects did so very much. Respondents with smooth and alternative transition patterns came from higher educated families with more economic and social capital.

We have highlighted above that the sample has been drawn from projects that were selected for their participatory approaches and for – potentially – addressing young people who had disengaged with the formal transition system. Nevertheless, the range of

case study projects is rather broad with different types of projects addressing either young people in general or particular target groups whereby it can be expected that certain patterns concentrate in certain measures (for example, young people with stagnant transitions in pre-vocational schemes). Apart from this, the experience of involvement in specific forms of non-formal education may contribute to a specific way of constructing the own biography in the interview situation (and thus influence the analysis process). The following table displays the distribution of transition patterns of the disengaged respondents according to type of project (see table 5.).

Table 5. Transition patterns according to types of projects (disengaged respondents)

	Participation in youth work	**Integration of youth at risk**	**Preparation for training & work**	**Training & employment**	**Participatory training & employment**	***Total***
Smooth	**26**	10		6	2	*44*
Alternative	4	4	1	2	10	*21*
Institutionally repaired	18	4	13	**23**	**18**	*76*
Stagnant	**26**	**13**	**40**	**24**	14	*117*
Downward	2	2	9	1	-	*14*
Unknown / other	2	**12**	-	-	-	*14*
Total	***78***	*45*	***63***	*56*	*44*	*286*

2. Motivation in transition

While the transition patterns introduced in the previous section represent how young people actually make their way through (institutional) trajectories from school to work, the biographic dimension asks how they experience their itineraries subjectively and how they construct their lives in form of life histories (Chamberlayne et al., 2002). In the context of the YOYO research our focus lies on processes of motivation with regard to an active engagement in the shaping of the own transition. Before analysing the impact of experiences of participation in this regard we will analyse transition-related orientations and experiences processes of motivation and demotivation of the interviewed young men and women in a more general perspective. This means to investigate more in depth what other research often refers to as optimistic or pessimistic future orientations (e.g. Evans & Heinz, 1994; Leccardi, 1999). This includes exploring young people's work orientations (as their initial motivation after leaving school) and the experiences they have had with institutional actors of the transition system, namely school and training, employment and

career services, social security but also in previous work places. The third part of this chapter deals with the dynamic nature of motivation by reflecting different constellations of motivational change that may have occurred already before or triggered through project entry, a perspective which in the following sections will be analysed in depth with regard to the case study projects.

2.1. Labour market orientations and meaning of work

Referring to recent research on young people's values and attitudes (cf. Vinken et al., 2003), the various labour market orientations that have been identified in young people's accounts are presented below:

- a *material* orientation implies the importance of making money whether it is for survival, financial autonomy or as an explicit goal ('getting rich');
- a *social / communicative* orientation implies the importance of good colleagues, a good working climate, working with people, absence of pressure, useful work etc.;
- an *expressive* orientation implies careering, personal development, fulfilment, interesting and challenging work, taking initiatives, creative work, promotion, but often also an explicit wish for a certain occupation or profession;
- an *open / uncertain* orientation refers to not having an orientation yet, not knowing what to do with regard to education or work, etc.;
- o*ther* orientations include for example the predominance of orientations towards parenthood or learning (if not directly linked to occupational aspirations).

When we relate the labour market orientations and transition patterns (see above), we obtain the following picture for the 'disengaged' respondents:

- o*pen / uncertain* are more or less common among *all the transition patterns* and more or less evenly spread;
- m*aterial* orientations are found especially among respondents with *institutionally repaired* and *stagnant* transition patterns;
- s*ocial / communicative* work orientations are relatively often found among respondents with *smooth* and *alternative* patterns;
- e*xpressive orientations* spread across all patterns although their low relevance as primary orientations needs to be taken into account;

- the *'other'* orientation is found predominantly among respondents with a *stagnant* transition pattern.

With regard to the trendsetter respondents the relation between work orientations and transition patterns is different in the following respects:

- m*aterial* and *open / uncertain* orientations are found more or less across all transition patterns in equal shares but are important for a minority;

- this accounts as well for *social / communicative* orientations going together with *smooth* or *alternative* transition patterns;

- *expressive* orientations which stand for the majority of 'trendsetter' respondents are especially related to respondents with *alternative* patterns.

Very roughly, one may say that intrinsic motivation (expressive work orientations) requires both a supportive background and a variety of opportunities to develop and experiment with own ideas and capabilities. Extrinsic motivation (material work orientations) prevails where social integration and subsistence are not self-evident but need to be secured by adapting to restricted career options. Social and communicative work orientations can include both intrinsic and extrinsic motivators. Demotivation (some cases of uncertain work orientations) is related to experiences that either intrinsic or extrinsic motives have been blocked and devaluated: 'cooled out' (Goffman, 1962). This tendency can be explained by the concept of motivation which combines the factor of incentive (needs, interests) with the factor of the individuals' perception to have control (self-efficacy) over the achievement of their goals.

2.2. Experiences with institutions

Work orientations are mediated and dependent on experiences young people make in their transition process – and accounts of motivation and demotivation in most cases are related to such experiences. In their transitions young people necessarily make contact with institutional actors structuring individual transitions in the sense of gate-keepers (Heinz, 1992). One of their main functions is to keep young people on track towards the standard life course which inevitably results on them directing them towards different (unequal) societal and labour market segments. Young people's experiences with these institutions have a strong influence on how they perceive their chances to get access to careers that are subjectively meaningful; that is their feeling of self-efficacy and the generation (or undermining) of interests.

The first of these institutions, which is relevant for all young people across different European contexts is *school*. The negative evaluation (all) young people make of their school experiences are far more qualified than public images of youth who just do not like school. While many young people refer positively to school in terms of a social space where they meet their peers and are safe from labour market pressure, they criticise "*standardised education" (*Paolo[1], I, male, 25) with *"a lot of theory and almost nothing about practice"* (Amalia, ROM, female, 21). They argue that effective learning requires *"having the choice, not the obligation." (Laurentiu, ROM, male, 22)*. They criticise the fact that demands are not made *"on you as a person, only on your abilities"* (Mathilde, DK, female, 18) while young migrants made the experience that school success in their home countries was not acknowledged and actually devaluated due to language deficits. While many gained the impression that teachers "*didn't care, they weren't wasting their time on us"* which they ascribed to themselves: *"that's right in a way"* (Jim, UK, male, 17); thereby accepting a meritocratic logic. Consequently, many evaluate their school time as a *"waste of time"* (P., UK, male, 19) and leave without qualifications to earn their own money (frequent in Spain, Portugal, Ireland and the UK).

This negative evaluation does not only relate to the contents and forms of teaching but also to *professional orientation* by career officers who *"dropped a list with professions and we were to choose one. It wasn't more than that"* (Katarina, D (East), female, 26). Some reported of being openly discouraged: *"'You have no hope, son, you'll never be anything' he said"* (P., UK, male, 19). After school most respondents *"really didn't know what to do."* (T5, I, male, 24). The impression that *"once you have chosen, you can't turn back"* (G., NL, female, 17) caused stress: *"At home, I have cried my heart out because … I really didn't know what I wanted to be."* (W., NL, male, 23). Considering the increased need to reflect uncertain and fragmented transitions it is obvious that this undermines motivation for active engagement. In addition to this young women complained about structures of doing gender: *"for the girls: only placement offers in hair-dressing, retail and child-care"* (Mona, D (West), female, 17).

Similarly, the employment service is often criticised for a lack of efficiency: *"To find jobs it is total crap."* (Manne, D (East), male, 22). *"You fill in forms and then you hear nothing"* (Ta, IE, female, 18). Critique extends to the limited time allowed for counselling and the feeling of being addressed as 'cases' rather than individuals: *"It is an adminstration after all … Just staring into your file, going bah, bah, they treat you like a cow."* (Orkan, D, Mobile, male, 21) Only in Denmark, the (un)employment system was seen as something that can be dealt with, as long as one is active to find one's own way

1 All names changed.

in benefiting from the rules which however get tighter. In contrast to Northern European countries, young people from in Southern and Eastern Europe where these structures are still in the process of being established or restructured, just do not mention them or complain about their absence – *"We are alone!"* (C1, I, female, 19). *"Antonio doesn't exist. He is invisible, he is a number that doesn't exist. Because I am not getting any benefit"* (Antonio, ES, male, 25).

Critique extends from their bureaucratic approach to the offers made by the employment service be it jobs, training schemes or pre-vocational education. Young men from Belfast reported they were offered two options: either to join the army or go on a training course they did not wanted to be on. In Germany, young people who fail to enter regular training are channelled into pre-vocational education, that neither provides additional qualifications nor evidence of any significant success in leading to training or jobs: *"Some from this course were lucky and made it into an apprenticeship ... I simply wasn't, but some of us were."* (??, D, male). While critique in Northern European countries relates primarily to particular measures for the so-called 'disadvantaged youth', training in Southern Europe and especially Romania is criticised for a mismatch with the labour market: *"Unfortunately, … in school … I wasn't trained properly."* (Laurentiu, ROM, male, 22).

While such experiences are shared by most of our respondents including those displaying different transition patterns, there are three main issues that account for *differentiation*: The *first* one relates to those young people who due to sufficient cultural and economic capital are not totally dependent on these institutions (especially trendsetters). As a result of counter-experiences and a certain level of control over their lives they manage to protect themselves from institutional assumptions and ascriptions. The *second* differentiation regards the exceptions that most young people made in their critique of the institutional system. Many accounts included 'exceptions' referring to individuals experienced as helpful and different. These 'significant others' (Mead, 1934) were individual teachers, counsellors or youth and social workers: *"I trust the social worker I have 'cos I know her a year or two, she's all right."* (De, IE, male, 16). The *third* dimension of differentiation regards different contexts in terms of transition regimes inasmuch young people in their biographies and narratives relate to concrete institutions which make part of a wider system. Danish young people reflected the high value of personal development in both institutional approaches of the *universalistic regime* and biographical orientations and the availability of alternative careers provided within the system itself. Criticism of individual counsellors was informed by a positive picture of what one can expect from the system. Young people from the liberal and employment-centred regimes (UK, Ireland, Germany, less so Netherlands) were hostile and even

aggressive when reporting their experiences with the employment service, as they found this service to be repressive and controlling rather than supportive. The *sub-protective* regime is best characterised by the complaint of an Italian young woman: *"We are alone! If you are lucky enough to have some friends, fine … otherwise ..."* (C1, I, female, 19). The (de-institutionalised) *post-socialist regime* represented by the Romanian cases is characterised by a lack of trust of state institutions and an even higher degree of uncertainty as regards future possibilities. In contrast, NGOs experience a bonus of credibility while many young people's life perspectives centre on emigration.

2.3. Motivational change

As outlined above our research is based on a dynamic understanding of motivation resulting from motives, that is subjective *needs and interests (*Vygotskij 1978; Schiefele, 1991; Krapp, 1999), and from the perceived *probability to achieve* these goals (Bandura, 1987*)*. Both aspects are open for experiences and potential change: needs change with the degree of their fulfilment while interests generate from interaction with the social world; the perception of the ability to achieve goals is related to experiences of self-efficacy which in turn depend on the possibilities to make such experiences. Motivational change can derive from discovering or losing interest or from increasing or decreasing experiences of self-efficacy; or a combination of both. This ideal combination of comprehensive motivational change may be subsumed under a growing feeling of *self-determination* (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Motivational change can be related to intrinsic aspects such as the experience of a specific activity and extrinsic aspects which are related to the instrumental quality or consequences of an activity while in most cases are not clear cut but are dynamically interlinked.

It is obvious, that a majority of the young men and women in our sample have experienced a subjective discrepancy between their initial work orientations and life perspectives on the one hand and experiences with (transitional) reality on the other, especially those with restricted resources. They refer to institutional actors and processes in which they have felt pushed away from their original ideas and became convinced that they lacked necessary abilities. However, we have also met numerous young people who succeeded in maintaining ambition and self-confidence despite of mechanisms of cooling out to which they have been exposed. Take the case of Colette, a young mother from Northern Ireland who developed a local youth project by herself and through this, finally, came across the project *Lifting the Limits*:

> "I think it was my own drive just to go, look I can do this, I needed it – because I had to prove to myself that I could do it." (Colette, UK, female, 25).

Such dynamics of motivational careers – implying both de-motivation and re-motivation – are at the centre of our interest. In many cases motivational change in the interviews appeared to be more or less explicitly related to entering the case study projects. In these cases the experience of motivational change can be explained by both previous de-motivation and new perspectives in terms meaningful goals and access to means to reach them.

> "The first time I came here, I was so excited. For the first time I seriously applied for a place and I for the first time really wanted it. Yes … And they integrated me so well. I was on a one-week placement, and I sewed a bag. And I did that so well, I was so fascinated about this bag, and about myself … this being creative. And the whole place, which gave me the impression; this is not so hard, this is a place where you can talk and be open." (Jelena, D (West), female, 21).

In other cases motivational change is not reported so explicitly but can be reconstructed by analysing the relation between interview sequences, for example, reported experiences and decisions or actions which are not explicitly linked in the narration but are obviously related; especially if confirmed by other sources of information (for example expert interviews).

Through analysis of this more biographical view, the transitional patterns which represent the actual steps individuals have taken through different trajectories can be differentiated, and the internal dynamics occurring beyond the surface of accountable decisions or actions can be made visible. This is not about contrasting transition patterns with motivational careers. Both have been reconstructed from biographical interviews about complex transitions and motivational change may appear to be related with a specific issue in the interview – resulting from the constraints of narration – while being more complex in reality (Schütze, 1997). It is the contrast between actual transition progress and manifest or latent biographic potential, between what young people find noteworthy when interviewed and what external observers may identify as important moments of personal development. In many cases in fact there have been inconsistencies between transition patterns and motivational careers and one may assume that *all* young people's biographies show such variations when analysed more closely:

With regard to the *alternative pattern*, it has become obvious that this pattern is not restricted to trendsetters but may emerge under rather difficult circumstances. The *subjective relevance* of a goal appears to be the main factor in this regard, A young woman in the Portuguese dance project Batoto Yetu highlights this point:

> "I found out I live for dance …I've learned that to dance is not only to move your body. It is also a psychological posture, as much as physical. To be a dancer, a person must love it, because it's something that comes from inside." (Celia, PT, female, 21).

This means that a subjective goal represents a very high incentive because corresponding to internal motives and interests, especially if dynamics in different strands of life reinforce each other (for example, career and partnership). What unites these cases is that they depend on favourable conditions (like the case study projects) that compensate for a lack of resources and support and provide experiences of encouragement that strengthen the confidence needed to manoeuvre through the zigzags of unemployment and drawbacks. Support in terms of space and opportunities of experimentation may even be needed to rediscover or to detect subjective interests:

> "I learnt so much, especially working with children and that's what I want to do in the future, continue working with them." (Paolo, I, male, 19).

Institutionally repaired transitions suggest a principally positive picture of motivational change – both as a prerequisite and as an effect of reintegration. In fact however, they reveal a broad heterogeneity of motivational careers: in some cases only little support is needed, such as for example, one crucial experience of trust from a *significant other* (e.g. project worker):

> "But in secondary school thanks to my Italian teacher, I was helped in getting to know myself better. I developed many interests and started to write. Indeed, I would like to be a writer." (Tomaso, I, male, 24).

Others need considerable support but nevertheless can not be prevented from considerable downs in their motivational careers which shows the importance of getting a feeling of coherence. Motivation which is the basis of successful coping with interrupted transitions results from *"finally having found something different"* (Jelena, D (West), female, 21), especially the possibility of reconciling safety nets with new exiting experiences (like a dance career) without being forced to take an exclusive decision. Orkan (D, male, 22) had already been in jail for some months for a criminal offence when

his local youth workers manage to get him free until the trial at court. They encourage him to start an apprenticeship which he does not want but accepts to improve his chances at court although being determined to drop out as soon as possible. The strategy works out but he continues the training to profit from a bonus wage at the end of the year. By setting himself pragmatic but subjectively meaningful goals – and being encouraged to do so – he manages to build up his motivation step by step, *"the longer I was there, the more my interest increased, to achieve a good certificate, to be really involved"* and to complete the three year training with success.

The *smooth transition pattern* may relate to a very low level of motivation needed to succeed due to favourable starting conditions. This may even include de-motivation which has not (yet) resulted in dropping out. At the same time smooth transitions may also hide enormous developments in terms of slowly but ever increasing personal strength and conviction about their own competencies. In these cases smooth transitions are much more spectacular than apparent as they depend on favourable conditions of support to compensate for social disadvantage; for example, the case of Leslie Anne (UK, female, 18) who sticks to her dream to be trained in child care – despite the career service advicing her not to as her weak English skills would become apparent in the training she would need to undertake.

Also behind the pattern of *stagnant transitions* a variety of different cases of personal development can be identified. On the one hand, we find transitions in which discontinuous education and employment careers go along with motivational ups and downs, between being *"tied up in myself"*, *"working on a lot of points"* and also *"looking forward to it"* and *"after a few months, I didn't care to get up anymore to go there"* as Liv tells (NL, 21, female). On the other hand, there are cases in which motivation (and even active engagement) fails in resulting in actual transition progress due to structural reasons. And some young people explicitly renounce a normal biography like Tobal (Spain, 25, male) working in the Cooperative Infinite Patience who justifies his *"strange career"* with different priorities:

> "I want to decide for myself, about my time, my people and my space … If you manage it well, if you are brave, and have things clear, you don't need much for a decent living."

Among stagnant transitions probably the discrepancy between developmental dynamics and apparent transition status may be biggest. Individuals experience this as a lack of coherence inasmuch initial motivation due to inappropriate support and/or lack of

opportunities cannot be transferred into meaningful and successful strategies. Thus, motivation processes resemble a state of limbo and break down if this lasts for too long.

As with regard to stagnant transitions in the *downward pattern* personal efforts can be detected which have been de-valuated by structural limitations. However, these experiences are singulary and they are counter-acted by a series of negative experiences. In most cases this starts early in school *"I hated it [school], I was always trying to get kicked out. I always got kicked out and sent to another school"* (Derek, IE, male, 16) while constant individual ascription of failure – from outside as well as by the young persons themselves – contribute to a downward spiral of motivation and transition prospects: *"You take drugs, your life goes down the drain … I can't do nothing"* (Tracy, IE, female, 19). In the interviews this emerges in terms of self-fulfilling prophecies: *"I'll just be a fucking victim"* (John, UK, male, 17). Sub-cultural structures and strategies at the margins of society on the one hand can help to maintain some (collective) self-esteem, however, on the other hand they can also reinforce spirals of drug-addiction, poverty and complete marginalisation.

We have tried to show that motivational changes do not necessarily follow the direction of transition patterns but represent a variety of movements beyond the surface which relate to events and experiences in the whole range of transitional strands. The perspective of motivational careers helps to differentiate the perspective towards success and failure in young people's transitions to work and towards the reasons behind these. Individual and structural aspects of social disadvantage become discernible. Failure in terms of increasing risks of social exclusion may go along with a high level of motivation for change while success cannot necessarily be ascribed to or lead to high motivation. Demotivation can also be traced back to structurally blocked routes in terms of a reaction of withdrawal or protection of identity. Motivational careers stand for the potential of individuals to maintain or to change their transition status (or direction) – either towards integration and success or towards exclusion and failure. Relating the perspectives of transition patterns and motivational careers/changes appears to be the appropriate way for an evaluation of case study projects' influences. It shows whether individuals need incentives – goals that are worth any effort – or means and resources to develop confidence to be able to achieve goals which appear to be out of reach; and how this is reflected by the projects. This perspective is structured enough to allow for comparison (between different types of projects, different transitional regimes), and precise enough to acknowledge the individuality of transitional pathways.

3. Participation and motivation

The starting point of our research has been young men's and women's de-standardised transitions from school to work and as such individual motivation therefore becomes a more and more important prerequisite which itself depends on experiences that are structured by social background and education, gender and ethnicity. In contrast to those young people (the so-called trendsetters) who manage to develop alternative careers for which they are motivated due to personal competencies (backed by qualifications and family resources) young people with restricted options display stagnant patterns or even downward drift with increasing risks of social exclusion. Thus, they become targets of specialised institutional actors and programmes aimed at their integration or reintegration – at 'repairing' ruptured transitions. Clearly, however, these programmes represent an additional motivational demand as often they fail in reaching their addressees. Introducing the perspective of motivational careers and motivational change allows to analyse whether such demotivation is general but related to specific institutional arrangements. In this regard, the key question of the YOYO-project is: How can *motivational change* be facilitated and are possibilities of *participation* a promising way in this regard? What are the necessary prerequisites, settings, and opportunity structures required to afford motivating experiences of young people? How are they provided differently by different projects for different target groups in different contexts, in which different transition patterns are predominant? Can these motivational effects in the transition biographies of young participants be related to the influence of case study projects?

Why participation? Because participation raises associations of identification and activity. However, there is a broad range of interpretations of participation – including the formal procedure of political elections, the mere attendance of education and training, or participating in the labour market. Therefore, our understanding of participation needs to be sharpened to justify for a perspective that asks for generation of interest or experiences of self-efficacy – or both. In this regard, two central lines of distinction need to be considered:

- participation as active influence versus passive (or formalised) involvement;
- participation as a principle by which policies are governed versus participation to be achieved later as a goal of policies (Stevens et al., 1999; Walther et al., 2002).

We assume that young people's disengagement results from a lack of participation in the sense of actively shaping their transitional biographies and a lack of participation as an integral principle of the policies addressing them. This lack is especially accentuated in

the hard policy sector (education, training and labour market policies) with its powerful gate-keepers channelling young people into trajectories in which participation is postponed to an ill-defined 'later'. We assume that motivational change in contrast requires possibilities for active participation as an integral principle of policies from design to practice.

It has been mentioned above that the case study projects analysed in the YOYO project cover a broad range of different types whereby a variety of meanings and forms of participation are implied. In this regard, different *dimensions of participation* may be distinguished such as participation in terms of:

- voluntary (and thereby chosen) attendance of the project;
- involvement in project-related decision making;
- a community approach such as social and civic engagement; and
- biographical self-determination which is most relevant for the objectives of this research.

At the same time, analysis needs to ask how case study projects realise participation – or what elements of their work project workers refer to as participation. In the analysis such *modes of participation* can be related with young people's accounts of motivation leading to a set of empirically saturated participatory constellations of motivational change.

3.1. Young people's experiences of participation and their motivational impact

In the following, we will present some exemplary case studies and consider how they understand and realise participation in order to enhance motivation. The selected cases relate to the five types of projects and relate to three transition regimes without of course being representative as they stand for good practice and are exceptions to the mainstream. In the case studies we have analysed structures, goals, target groups and contextual conditions of the projects and the specific participatory strengths but also limitations of the projects in relation to individual motivational experiences of young people. By this, meanings and forms of participation become transparent as well as their motivational effects.

3.1.1. ArciRagazzi,Palermo, Italy: priority of participation in youth work

ArciRagazzi in Palermo, the capital of Sicily, is a youth association organising leisure and cultural activities. It is a local branch of a national association, partly financed through membership fees, partly by public and private funding. A prime objective is to provide young people, especially those who are living in deprived neighbourhoods or are coming from detention centres, with life perspectives beyond unemployment and/or involvement with the mafia. This is even more important as youth unemployment reaches 60% due to long waiting periods before entering a regular job. Typically, for Southern Italy this affects young people from all educational levels. Therefore, groups of participants at ArciRagazzi are heterogeneous in terms of class and education. The project workers are highly aware that only through participatory cultural activities with a specific community approach they get access to these children and young people. Activities are a series of participatory planning initiatives in which children, adolescents, and families collaborate to develop and improve public buildings and spaces. All initiatives are based on young people's skills and wishes experimented and 'reinforced' through play, such as handicrafts workshops, fairs, concerts, debates, information points for young people, meetings and assemblies with the youth to decide on project management guidelines, initiatives in career orientation and transitions to work. The project also aims at the enhancement of entrepreneurship. In fact several young men and women have made careers from simple usership over voluntary engagement to semi-professional careers as freelance project leaders. A series of cooperatives – 'animation and training factories' – have been created and, whilst independent from Arciragazzi, they would work in close cooperation with them.

Most important in the participatory work of Arciragazzi is the acquisition of *active citizenship* tools, which serves simultaneously the local surroundings and the individual young people. By the project's activities the local atmosphere for children and young people has become much more 'their own space'; on the subjective level, this goes along with experiences of *self-efficacy*: to note to have the appropriate means to actively engage at one's disposal, and to recognize the own influence on the local environment. The latter is the core means of enhancing young people's motivation. This is where responsibles see the project's potential effects for young people's transitions to work, however, if these are not addressed systematically only a few young people directly engage as semi-professional youth workers:

> "We wouldn't be accepted so well from the beginning if we were perceived as vocational guidance operators." (Project responsible) – "I believe experimenting is important in the transition from school to work,

to have time and opportunities to realise what you like, what not ... This also involves the possibility of making mistakes, and discovering your potential." (Project worker)

The second strong point of Arciragazzi is to be seen in the *responsibility* given to the young people, e.g. by highly participatory *project-related decision-making processes.* The issue of career orientation is dealt with by the association only when explicitly raised by young members who show a strong professional inclination for a given activity. This is the case of *Pamela*, who, in the meantime, has decided to study social work:

> **Pamela, female, 21,** describes the general situation of young people – including herself – in her area as depression, due to the predominance of the Mafia and due to a certain fatalism concerning future, because of the structural lack of paid work in Sicily. She relates her own motivational changes to the progressive involvement in the project, assuming always more responsibilities and discovering new fields of action and intervention - first animation with children, then organisation tasks in the association. This brought her towards a much more active attitude: *"Oh sure, it is well known that in Palermo there's no work, but to keep on saying 'there are no opportunities' and still day-dreaming about the so called 'permanent job' seems to me a waste of time. I have personally understood being inside Arciragazzi that you have to create your job by yourself, inventing new professions, considering your own wishes… But to keep on complaining and then doing nothing, never takes you anywhere."* She underlines the opportunity of experimenting, which includes the concept of "learning in practice" but also the desire of having the chance of doing things and making mistakes: *"The first thing is, nobody should tell you: "do that and that" but it's you in the first place who have to take decisions ... a sort of self-experimentation. We also realise we have made some mistakes during this year-long project but it was nice, even making mistakes, growing up, it was like self-training."*

Pamela stresses the experiences of self-efficacy, once being involved in work as animator of children. It is predominantly this rewarding experience, which provides her with self-esteem for the future – knowing that this future may depend on her own engagement. One may interpret this attitude as perfectly fitting individualisation but in the context of the Sicilian labour market it reveals to be realistic inasmuch one cannot rely on pre-defined structures. As third sector youth organisations are often the only actors to close

the structural deficit of the Italian transition system there are several young people like Pamela in the case study projects whose transitions show alternative patterns although being highly precarious.

Arciraggazzi definitively transgresses the scope of action of a youth work project; this concerns not only its engagement on the level of the community, but also its (indirect) activities for preparing young people for a pro-active attitude towards training and work entrepreneurship in the area of cultural youth work.

3.1.2. Simon Youth Project, Cork, Republic of Ireland: priority of integrating homeless youth

The Simon Youth Project, Cork, Ireland, is an international voluntary agency that provides succour to homeless women and men, usually through homeless shelters; each hostel or area is a completely independent unit. Apart from covering existential needs, it offers counselling and support for further integration if requested. Due to a significant increase in homelessness amongst young people (18 - 26 years) the Cork Simon Community in1998 with state funding through the Young People's Services and Facilities Fund initiated a service dedicated to supporting young homeless persons. Substance use was identified as a major factor amongst the homeless; therefore, prevention, support and help/risk-reduction in this area is a prime goal. The service-using group tends to suffer from multiple deprivations, i.e.; 'broken homes', problematic and risk-laden substance use, criminality, early school leaving and mental health issues, which underlines the multi-dimensional context of homelessness. Homeless youth is economically, institutionally and culturally excluded and socially isolated. Subjective needs and project goals can in this regard be summed up under the heading of 're-integration' encompassing all life-contexts. Nevertheless, the Simon project can be regarded as a mainstream project within policies for youth at risk. The project has experienced significant changes since the research process commenced: Changes of personnel – the original (female) worker left the project – as well as re-structuration, with the youth and drug project and outreach project moving out from the shelter and physically relocated into a day centre as the shelter had implied some de-motivating factors for young people. Apart from this, a substantial turnover in service users is reported. The mis-use of psychoactive substances appears to have risen over the last two years and the potential for violence on the part of the service users represents a big issue for both staff and residents.

The project works on the basis that it is entirely up to the users how they use it. The prime motives to join the project are extrinsically related to covering existential needs –

'a bed for the night'. The project workers are fully aware of the labelling cycle in which the young people are caught and therefore aim to avoid reproducing any negative ascriptions. The core mode of participation in this project is *trust* – building up trustful relationships with project workers in a warm, friendly and supportive environment. They make the experience *"that not everyone hates you"* (19, female). This also includes the condition that there is no obligation on these young people to make use of the project – and this is the reason why it is difficult to measure the project's influence on young people's motivation. Its function is more about stabilising young people 'in the background', simply by being there whenever they need it. One example is Gavin, whose transitions can be associated to the stagnant pattern:

> **Gavin, male, 20,** comes from a town in North County Cork and has been on and off the street since he was 17. He did not have a good relationship with his parents, when questioned about parental support after leaving school his parents told him to *"get off your hole you lazy bastard, get out and do something for yourself".* Gavin left school officially at the minimum leaving age (15). He was however completely disengaged from the school system before leaving; "*what I liked in school was pulling the piss and having a laugh, I done nothing, I didn't get on with teachers".* Subsequent to leaving school, Gavin moved out of the family home and drifted into homelessness. He also became involved in drug use and criminal activity. Gavin believed that he was being singled out for attention by the local police and therefore moved to Cork when he was 19; *"once you have a name for something you get blamed for everything and you come from a small town. Things spread out about you, you won't be able to get a job anywhere. You get hassle off the law, you get in trouble with the law, you be getting pulled up against the wall, hands in shoved in pockets".* Gavin spent six months in prison between the two interviews. Eventually, through steady contact with the project his situation stabilises a bit; and: Gavin has been in a steady relationship with his girlfriend (who was also homeless) for more than two years. During the course of the research project they managed to access rented accommodation.

Although the effects of the project on Gavin's transition cannot clearly be identified, he obviously did benefit from the fact of being personally acknowledged in the Simon project, which meant for him: stepping out of the cycle of being labelled as criminal. One also could assume that the project has allowed him for some encouraging experiences which helped him to get a rented flat together with his girlfriend. The latter then could be

called a combination of motivating factors: detecting a personal goal, which then could be pursued, and the experience to achieve it. The project more often acts in the background but facilitates the process – by trust, by daily support, by simply being there.

In its limited possibilities resulting from the extreme marginalisation of its target group and the integration obstacles of the regular transition system the *Simon* Project stands for a redical low-threshold approach of participation. This means to act upon young people's wishes and needs and to guarantee a reliable relationship, personal respect and acknowledgement; and from there to provide bridges to other arenas of social integration.

3.1.3. Cityteam, Rotterdam / Utrecht / Zoetermeer (Netherlands): preparation for training and work

Cityteam is based in three cities in the Netherlands: Utrecht, Zoetermeer and Rotterdam – the latter however has closed down due to local funding problems which arose during the timeframe of the research. Cityteam provides professional orientation through a flexible combination of workshops, voluntary work and internships in private companies, accompanied by career counselling and coaching, in order to open up individual pathways for its participants. The target group of Cityteam consists of a mix of young people with different ethnic and transition backgrounds: most of them experienced riskful transitions (school dropouts, low qualified, unemployed, etc.), a smaller number of participants are less at risk but felt they needed a time out for orientation. The participants are mostly younger than 20 and have at most a secondary qualification. The share of the first group of young people has increased lately, due to the fact that Cityteam has become more involved in providing programmes for publicly funded re-integration trajectories. Cityteam operates at the crossroads of youth work (combating social exclusion), career counselling and the re-integration in education or work, and may be regarded as an example of independent transition institutions and public / private partnership, the latter occurring more and more often in the Netherlands; but it seems to get more and more dependent form scarce public fundings. This endangers its approach because of the predominance of youth at risk in up to now rather balanced groups and the focus on re-integration into education. With its focus on temporal work it also reflects the trend in labour market policies towards more flexibility. However, it still has a different approach of biographical participation: *"In existing arrangements, if a young person comes in, it is already clear that he will become a painter. I think that is nonsense. A young person should decide for him- or herself what he or she would like to become."* (Director).

Cityteams most relevant mode of participation is *leaving outcomes of the intervention open*. It is the young person him or herself to identify and explore personal goals and to plan the next transition steps. This is true with the restriction, that more and more participants do not enter the project as a matter of own *choice*, and should achieve an institutional set of goals – whilst originally choice is the core mode of participation in this project. Under the second precondition that it is possible to organise phases of voluntary work and internships in flexible way, targeted to the needs and timing of young people, it assists in developing a choice biography, backed with a series of practical work experiences. The step-by-step procedures, embedded and accompanied by personal counselling and coaching get crucial relevance First because they promote self-responsibility and offer social hold at the same time, and second, because they assist in motivation management: coping with drawbacks by increasing biographicity allowing the individual to look forward to the next more promising experience.

> **Fouad, male, 23,** from Moroccan descent after leaving primary school has committed criminal offences that put him in jail for approximately four and a half years. The two years after this he had a number of small part-time jobs via temporary employment agencies and had to follow a rehabilitation trajectory. During this period he decided that he wanted to become a social worker and he tried to enter a professional school to learn for this occupation. However, due to his past and his lack of educational and social capital, schools in his living area rejected him repeatedly. Getting tired of the petty jobs and the frustration of getting turned down each time, he was mediated to enter Cityteam Utrecht, *"because I didn't know how to do certain things, to cope with disappointments. I really wanted to throw the towel"*. At Cityteam he followed workshops and organised events, such as an international exchange between youth projects in the Netherlands, Latvia and Slovenia. He did not follow an internship *"as I knew already what I wanted to do"*: at the time of the interview he was planning to start a study in social and cultural work, in order to do a better kind of social work as the one he himself has experienced. *"I have seen a lot of community centres and I think they are doing it wrong, how youth workers dealt with young people there … I know what they go through, I've been in that shit as well … and I like the line of work and can do it for a longer period of time"*. He used Cityteam also to get enrolled into the respective professional school. He has learned to look at his history as a potential: *"What could I do to turn my personal history into an*

asset … Through the project I got a totally different perspective on things."

Fouad underwent considerable motivational change, from de-motivation to regaining motivation, already in the period before entering the project. He used Cityteam to sharpen his interest of becoming a social worker, also by looking at role-models he could find there, and to start putting his plan into practice by entering an education for social and cultural work. He made crucial experiences of self-efficacy and learned the social skills necessary to get enrolled. It is a mixture of a critical view towards youth work in general (but also towards Cityteam) and empowering experiences in the project which give him an extra push forward, because he can look at himself as the director of his decisions.

Cityteam clearly enlarges the scope of participation compared to most other pre-vocational schemes by insisting on open outcomes of young people's (re)orientation processes. This is true with the restriction, that more and more participants do not enter the project as a matter of own choice but are supposed to achieve institutionally set goals.

3.1.4. Shalom, Freiberg, Germany (East): priority of (subsidised) employment

The Shalom project, run by a large Christian association in the rural region of Freiberg, Eastern Germany, offers long-term unemployed young people aged 18 to 28 subsidised employment combined with re-training. The project is partly funded by a Federal programme to combat right-wing extremism with measures of labour market integration while the wages for the 10 participants are covered by the Employment Service. It aims at building up labour market orientation, work experiences and competences. In researching and presenting Jewish life and work in Saxony and Northern Bohemia the project contributes to a sensitisation against anti-Semitism and racism, a phenomenon widespread in the region and also amongst some projects participants. It combines socio-cultural work, research and training with the possibility of offering the participants a full wage for three years and thus medium term financial security. The structural context is the East German process of economic re-structuring after unification, with high unemployment also for those who have completed apprenticeship training (yet often non-company-based training which accounts for a third of all training places in Eastern Germany). The project is part of the compensatory measures to which young unemployed people are transferred by the employment service. Modular training has been developed corresponding to the standards for professional training in 'media,

archiving and information' however, these are not acknowledged by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce. The main problem however is that after the scheme – no matter if pure employment or training – the participants would not get work. Shalom together with all other employment and training schemes cannot solve this structural dilemma, but has to work within it – to close a gap in service provision for young people on the verge of total disengagement and help them to find and make their way back to some kind of trajectory.

The Shalom project shows very clear that *choice* concerning the attendance of a project may become decisive: participatory experiences offered by a project only can influence their motivation positively as long as they "fit" in a biographical sense and this is true only for one part of the group; those young people can open themselves for respective learning processes, experiences of self-efficacy; their activities enfold motivating effects:

> **Katarina, female, 26,** trained as 'wholesale and retail assistant' in a non-company based training although she would have preferred training in a real company as she describes herself as ambitious. Afterwards she does not find a job and is unemployed for two years, which she mostly spends home alone. The employment office offers her a training course in the telecommunication sector, during which she becomes pregnant. She has to quit the course and takes parental leave. After this she is unemployed again. She loses motivation and states. *"I really felt shut in. I let myself go at home. I hated myself, it was awful."* Working in the Shalom project has changed her outlook on live: *"I have finally found my vocational profile (graphic design) … I want to go that way. My original training got me nowhere but this is something I am interested in … I also think that I have become more open … I would probably have just lived along. You start to think further. I am different now, more positive … The work has changed me. Maybe not the project as such. I earn my own money. This is probably what got things going."*

Whether or not her newly discovered field of interest will give her a better chance on the labour market remains open,because of the poor opportunities in the region, especially for those coming from employment schemes. But she has detected new professional interests (and she has also changed her private life by separating from her partner), while rewarding experiences on the social, as well as on the monetary level, have contributed to increase her feeling of self-efficacy. The financial incentive as a motivating factor to contribute to the practical success of the project work must not be underestimated.

> "It's the wage people receive, which in most cases makes them participate at all. Nevertheless, receiving a wage gives the participants time to 'breathe' and may open up resources for re-orientation and self-development." *(Shalom, Germany).*

Here *the interrelation of extrinsic and intrinsic motivational aspects* becomes visible. However, for those participants whose interests are not met by the project activities this incentive hardly can compensate for being sent by the employment service to a job which is not a real one as is the case with Robert:

> **Robert, male, 28,** looks back over a frustrating career: he had to quit his first apprenticeship (machine builder) due to health reasons. After 8 months of unemployment he successfully finishes a three year apprenticeship as a brewer, but without sufficient practical experience he can not find a job. Then he worked on temporary basis for a while after which he starts a certified re-training scheme as a technical draughtsman. Again, he successfully finished the course and again he can not find a job, only occasional jobs, mainly with computers. After another year of unemployment the Employment Service places him on the Shalom project. *"I didn't expect much … I was unemployed and had nothing to do."* In the course of the project he acquires a very critical perspective. He claims that the educative components of the project, especially with regard to computer/ software knowledge do not suffice to *"really learn new things"*. He insists that it is a job, good enough to fill the cv. He has no doubt that the project's content won't help him to get a job. *"Doing web-design it doesn't matter a damn whether you know Hebrew or not."* Apart from the singular tasks he is asked to fulfil, he claims he has no idea about the vision of the project itself. He expresses his disappointment, believing to be the target of a anti-racist education programme, which he doesn't wish to be identified with. In view of the limited duration of the project he fears, that he will not be able to cope with another period of unemployment.

Robert cannot attribute anything positive – neither to the activity nor to the way to deal with it nor with the scopes for own decision-making in the project – because he considers his attendance primarily as a job leading to nowhere.

The possibilities of participation within the *Shalom* project are limited and characterised by its struggle with its pre-defined function as an employment scheme for which

participation is not an objective. While attempts to be acknowledged as a training provider have failed, participants are recruited through the employment service on a quasi coercive basis as they do not have any alternatives. At the same time, due to the situation of the Eastern German labour market, it is unlikely for most participants to stabilise their careers after the project.

3.1.5. Cooperative 'Infinite Patience', Alfafar, Spain: participatory training and employment

The Cooperative 'Infinite Patience' is located in Alfafar, in the surroundings of Valencia, Spain. This neighbourhood is located in the countryside, without any services and poor housing conditions The project provides young people with a range of activities, be it the organisation of cultural activities and voluntary initiatives, providing contacts for occasional jobs, acting as employer itself according to contracts with the municipality or assisting in self-employment. Work activities are mostly directed towards services in the area of social and cultural infrastructure, repairing houses in the run-down neighbourhood. Apart from employment the project to a minor degree also offers training courses (job search, management, basic computer skills), for which young people receive a certificate and which partially helps to get jobs. Most of the young people are long-term unemployed, come from immigrated families where drug problems are frequent. On the one hand, they come to the project because they have no alternative than to get some work. On the other hand, they look for acceptance of their mostly alternative lifestyles for which the project serves as a kind of cristallisation point and open milieu. Being organised as a cooperative, means equal opportunity to all to participate in all project-related decisions. This principle in a way is extraordinary for a project which has the function of an employment measure, and it indeed has enabled political activities, such as strikes and marches. On the political agenda youth unemployment has been replaced as prime topic by precariousness of jobs – in fact, the increase of fixed-term jobs mostly affects young people while only slightly reducing youth unemployment.

The cooperative Infinite Patience is a good place for young people who do not have any alternatives regarding training or work and who search for ways of integration without having to adapt too much to formal training principles or employers' demands. It offers possibilities to do something, to make an own contribution. In fact, *intrinsic motivation* in terms of happiness and self-realisation – because of doing a specific activity or because of doing it in a meaningful setting is seen as more important as a regular career. As a cooperative, the prominent modes of participation are *shared responsibility of all participants for their project*, and *trust through lived solidarity;* thereby young people gain experiences of self-efficacy – which in this project from the start are a collective

issue. It underlines *strengths* instead of deficiencies, and it sets on the time-factor in learning trust in oneself and in the community by staying with the cooperative for a while. Participants learn a change of value and together with this a change of perspectives, attitudes, and also motivations.

> **Toni, male, 30,** after a chequered past marked by delinquency, marginalisation and drugs consumption, has become involved in the Cooperative where he has been able to leave behind his past; he stops consuming drugs and works in the project with intermittent periods of unemployment and employment; a situation allowing him to receive unemployment benefits. The project is not only a means of subsistence for him; thanks to his participation in the radical, alternative philosophy of the project, he has learned to be socially acceptable without giving up his critical spirit. He is in close contact and collaboration with similar projects in other Spanish regions. He has achieved some affective stability, thinking at the moment about living together with his girl-friend somewhere else. He gives special value to the climate of solidarity, affective bonds and companionship in the project. He has found a peer-group that understands and accepts him and which enabled him to do the big step to live on his own and even develop plans to change residence. He feels much better equipped for work, as his self-esteem has increased. Currently he is working as a coach to guide new participants of the Cooperative. This recovered autonomy lets him continue in the project, not as a beneficiary, but as a 'worker', i.e. as an active partner. According to him, this change is not only due to the support he has got from the Cooperative, or to the employment and the subsequent benefits, but also because he has been taught about how to be valued as an individual. He has found his place in the world.

By trustful relationships, by taking over a responsible role in the project with its rewarding side-effects but also by not being forced to give up a critical attitude but to invest it into a joint endeavour, Toni slowly but surely has built up self-esteem and a positive way to look at his transitional biography. He is one of the participants who profited from becoming aware of a broader horizon, learning to look at himself in the context of his social environment, learning to take over responsibility; this provides him with a feeling of purposeful engagement, with personal mattering which is socially recognised and acknowledged.

The cooperative Infinite Patience is more than a conventional employment scheme although in a situation of lacking opportunities there are not many alternatives. However, participants are not put under pressure to adapt to predefined goals. Step-by-step they are enabled to gain ownership of the collective process which becomes a meaningful goal in itself justifying any kind of jobs. Individual orientation towards accepting available work or to maintain individual aspirations is embedded in a safe environment, a good atmosphere, an alternative culture, a feeling of belonging and of strong solidarity. Self-efficacy is deeply linked with common efficacy – the feeling of being part of a strong community.

3.2. Perspectives of motivational change through participation

Referring to these case studies it is possible to analyse the effects of participatory approaches on young people's motivational careers in a more systematic way by relating different modes and dimensions of participation to subjective experiences and biographical change. The section is structured around modes of participation which have been brought up by project workers and enlarged by case study analysis. The way in which different modes are combined and related to different dimensions of participation creates diverse participatory constellations. An important aspect in this regard is to be aware of the fact that some of these modes correspond to the original function and objectives of the projects while others imply to transcend institutionally set boundaries.

One may say that *choice* represents a meta-principle of self-determination and participation. This is reflected by two key integration mechanisms of modern and late modern societies: the democratic appraisal of individual citizens and the economic reliance on individual consumers. With regard to the projects, choice matters first of all regarding the individual decision to attend a project or not, but also how to 'use' a project for individual needs and interests has been identified as a basic mode and dimension of participation. Access to the projects is free and voluntary in the cases of *ArciRagazzi*, *Simon* and *Infinite Patience* (and for the majority of the other case study projects). By providing free access and voluntary attendance projects can build on (intrinsic) interests of young people which lead them to join the projects. This is especially the case in youth work and in the more preventive integration projects. In the case of the Simon project the low threshold approach and the freedom to use the project 'only' to cover material needs is due to the degree of disengagement of the young people who otherwise probably would not get into contact at all. Projects like *Infinite Patience* obviously reflect the failure of institutional systems, inasmuch as they try to avoid structures which may be experienced as pressure, being forced or as stigmatising and consequently de-motivate young people. Although working on the hard issue of paid

work they consciously decide to keep thresholds low in order to allow young people to develop individually appropriate and subjectively meaningful relations with the project.

Self-chosen action always is closer related to subjective needs and interests – whether directly (intrinsically) or indirectly (extrinsically). This may include financial or material incentives or wages which meet financial needs to build a bridge to more intrinsic experiences. The relevance of choice becomes especially visible where it is limited or denied, where project entry is coerced more or less directly by gate-keeper institutions as is the cases of *Cityteam* and *Shalom* or other projects laying priority on pre-vocational preparation or on training and employment. However, choice does not only play a role with regard to the basic issue of joining a project or not. It also occurs within the projects; either in terms of choice between different activities or with regard to the way and degree of involvement.

Where projects address the issue of young people's biographical orientation and life planning, choice and participation require *open outcomes* instead of channelling individuals towards specific directions right from the beginning. This applies for the *Simon Youth Project* allowing for mere pragmatic use and while normally not for pre-vocational schemes that are clearly labour market oriented; not necessarily by providing hard qualifications or jobs but by making them employable by orientating towards accepting any job. It is one of the key principles of the Dutch *Cityteam* project that it is the young person him or herself who is expected and supported to find out what personal goals to follow and what transition steps to take within the project and afterwards. With regard to the pre-vocational sector open versus re-defined outcomes may be seen as the key factor for distinguishing participatory from non-participatory approaches in terms of biographical self-determination. And this is often linked with voluntary or forced access. This becomes obvious in the Cityteam project with regard to those sent by the employment service on a compulsory basis.

One mode of participation which is even more basic is giving young people the feeling of being personally accepted: *'come as you are'* refers to individual needs, peculiarities, obligations and constraints across different transitional strands. This counter-strategy to negative labelling and stigmatisation responds to young people's need for *recognition* as individuals with normal aspirations. As long as this need is ignored, young people cannot start to look at the next steps as their own – they feel alienated from the start. This was also experienced during the interviews: as soon as interviewees felt encouraged to present themselves as experts for their own life situation a more participatory climate developed and the communication situation became more symmetric. In this regard this principle corresponds strongly with the mode of open outcomes (see above). This is most

obvious in the case of the unconditional support provided by *Simon Youth Project* to the group of homeless young people. But is also reflected where projects refuse to ascribe stagnation and disadvantage in young people's transitions to individual deficits but *focus on strengths* instead. Again this is a key issue in projects addressing youth at risk either in a more general preventive perspective or in pre-vocational like *Cityteam* or in training and employment measures like *Infinite Patience*. The approach allows for experiences of success, with regard to learning can be interpreted either by lowering the education and training level which however means reproducing rather than overcoming the deficit-perspective; or it can be interpreted by changing the 'subject'; by shifting attention from areas in which persons fail in meeting formal standards to activities in which they are strong – because they are related to their subjective interests. This means not to isolate the issue of increased self-efficacy from the subjective relevance of goals. Of course focussing on strengths is closely related with allowing for project-related decision-making and a more general climate for holistic approaches, in which young people can feel acknowledged in their (special) strengths as well as in their (special) problems. In the main, most of these young people have made the experience that their needs are sorted and addressed according to a hierarchical institutional logic which valuates some of them as primary and others as secondary and which does not correspond to their way of looking at them.

We found various constellations which interpret participation by providing *places and spaces* to be appropriated and shaped by young people according to their own needs and interests. Projects which focus on community-related participation enlarge these spaces to the local level. They aim at the mutual relationship between subjective motivation and active (youth) citizenship: the possibility of influencing, shaping and changing one's social environment as a way of both constructing the own biography and active participation in the community. In the cases of the projects *Infinite Patience* and *ArciRagazzi* the connection between space as part of the wider community and space as to be jointly shaped and decided upon are incorporated by democratic procedures internally and acting into the external community. Participation practically means that project workers limitate their power and thereby is also closely related to project-related decision-making. And it is closely related with focussing on young people's strengths and requires confidence in young people's competencies and in their interest to invest them in a cooperative context:

> "If you would just let them do, far better things would come about than you and I would even consider." (Project worker, Kompass-Job-in-Club, East Germany)

While keeping spaces free for young people's activities means to allow for experiences of self-efficacy in self-determined activities, the issue of space extends to the issue of accessability (choice) and individuality (recognition). This relates to external qualities of spaces to represent *cool places* (Skelton/Valentine 1998), laden with youth cultural value as in the case of the East German *Kompass-Job-in-Club* with its café-like atmosphere which is an attractive place for young people to meet. Such projects can be used by young people for *self-presentation* which is an important aspect of identity work and thereby closely related to subjective need and interest (Stauber, 2004). Here, the motivating processes relate both to a (youth-cultural) interest as well as to experiences of self-efficacy. But equally as important seems to be that these locations also represent *warm places*, which stand for reliable bonds, a warm atmosphere, which in some cases even could replace missing families and become homes for young people during a certain phase of their transitions. The second meaning points to a deeper need of young people and represents the holding component to cool places. This gets visible in the way projects offer opportunities for self-presentation: in projects like *Batoto Yetu* and *ArciRagazzi* – but also *Princes of Nothingness (Portugal)* – performance is a key incentive force. It is important that young people can decide themselves in how far they want to become visible and step into the spotlight, but also that they are empowered by their project-mates and -workers, and that they can draw back into the secure backstage of the project. The fashion-shows related to the dressmaking training provided by the German *La Silhouette* project represent a perfect symbol for this balance, with individual young women stepping into the foreground but cushioned by the bigger group. Supporting structures do not minimise experiences of self-efficacy. In contrast, they allow for the creation of 'communities of practice' in which meaning, belonging and identity are interwoven (Wenger, 1998).

Providing spaces means to give young people responsibility. This is of course related to sharing *responsibility* through involvement in project-related decision-taking (as a dimension of participation) for the group, a common task or goal. This also implies taking young people seriously, addressing them as adults. Responsibility enhances a feeling of being important and being seen as socially capable to make an own contribution, which increases self-esteem and self-efficacy. This is most obvious in the case of *ArciRagazzi* where young people at an early age get responsibilities as project leaders, for example, to run a child recreation centre. In this case the project workers succeed in keeping the balance between giving responsibility and maintaining an encouraging atmosphere in which mistakes are accepted as experiences and learning. Such experiences with the time evoke also own interests to take over responsibility. Getting in contact with meaningfulness in a biographical sense dose not necessarily have to be in an individual

project, but rather often happens in interaction between individuals and their social surroundings. Some projects use this link consciously by providing opportunities of social engagement: work with children, with elderly, social engagement in communities not only for pedagogical reasons. The example of *ArciRagazzi* refers to the wider issue of citizenship. It means that young people, if not having achieved an adult status must have the right to take over responsibility, to have possibilities be active in their own rights as well as for the sake of the community (similar *Infinite Patience*, but also *Shalom*). It is important to see the difference between the right to take responsibility and the rights and responsibility approach on which repressive workfare policies rely.

In one way or the other, all constellations of participation are based on *trustful relationships*. Trust is both a basic need in itself which grows with the experience of social marginalisation and a basic prerequisite for increased self-efficacy. First of all, this regards the relationships between young people and project workers. Trust implies to be valued and recognised as an individual. This has been demonstrated with regard to the *Simon Youth Project* in a double sense. On the one hand, they only get in contact as long as they trust the project workers not to follow the interests of institutions such as the employment service, social security or the police. On the other hand, unconditional support reflects that individuality implies fulfilment of needs of emotional hold, reliable bonds, and personal acknowledgement. Especially, projects like *Simon* but also other youth work and integration projects rely on the empowering effect of counter-experiences to a life which up to date has been shaped by negative labelling and mistrust. Counter-experiences imply small steps in which young people learn that they are worth to be liked and appreciated, and small steps of self-reliance. This implies to serve as a sounding board for young people in their processes of (re)orientation:

> "Where in society do our kids have the opportunity to reflect upon the demands they have to face when they have left school? To reflect together with somebody else. Young people need a place to act out this clash, why do you need an upper secondary certificate to work in a bakery? They need a concrete person to talk about this injustice, and maybe later on they see, ok, this is unjust, but it is like that and I have to look for another opportunity. But, if they only have to face this anonymous demand, they have no chance to cope with it productively. All that comes out is that he or she takes this as a personal offense by society." (Leader of German outreach project).

In many cases it seems to be necessary that young people feel that the project workers do not see them as clients but as friends, as an individual As the relationship is the only

level youth workers dispose of they often seem to be willing to meet this expectation and give the young people a feeling of friendship rather relating to them in a merely professional way. Interestingly, this relational 'surplus' does not get devaluated or damaged if invested by the project workers with regard to influencing young people to engage in job search or training:

> "Sometimes she (project worker) really was a pain in the ass, hassling about writing applications for apprenticeships … But she took her time ... If nobody really cares, you get the impression that nobody gives a shit whether you get something or not." (D, female, 20)

These example shows that reference to trustful relationships does not correspond with a picture of participation as harmonious. In the context of de-standardised transitions and a diversification of perspectives it is rather unlikely that young people's and project worker's – or even institution's – values, views and interests converge. Providing spaces and developing a culture of conflict is a necessary prerequisite of participation in its project-, community- and biography-related dimensions (cf. Stevens et al., 1999).

Trust of course is also involved in giving responsibility or in projects concerned with serious production or services in the sense of showing confidence not only in young people's capacities and strengths but also in their 'good intentions'. The dimension of space has to do with trust inasmuch projects not only may be 'cool' places but 'warm' places as well standing for reliable personal bonds, a safe environment and a feeling of belonging which in some cases could replace missing families and become homes for young people during a certain phase of their transitions (in the context of the *Simon* project the metaphor of 'warmth' in fact has material as well as social connotations). In fact, many young people referred to projects as a 'family'. This may enlarge to the community dimension like in the case of *Infinite Patience* where the experience of solidarity is linked with self-determined activities.

Project workers represent an alternative type of adult compared to teachers, employment officers and parents. This 'otherness' is not related to a specific type or character, but represents a experiential reality often stressed by young people. It is based not only on professional habitus, e.g. as youth worker, but also a 'different' socio-cultural orientation towards liberal, alternative milieus relying more on personal authority than on power. Learning to know these project workers very often was for the young people a new inter-generational experience. This points on the one hand to the general notion of 'significant others' (Mead 1934) offering social interaction in which the 'self' is created and strengthened by recognition, mirrored, feedbacked, and brought to self-reflection.

Finally, trust is also related with the aspect of choice and this reveals to be the most important mixture regarding sustainable motivating processes: *freedom* in the sense of increasing ownership over one life through own decisions represents a kind of advance given to young participants, which contrasts to the way they often have been treated by transition institutions before entering the projects; but self-determination is not realised in an individualised way, but is combined with accompaniment, support, and reliable relationships. It is the link of freedom *and* belonging, of choice *and* hold, of self-determination *and* reliable support which makes the difference to general demand of individualisation. It should be reminded that participation is a response to the individualisation of citizenship and social integration and the challenge of growing insecurity and uncertainty. In this general perspective, it seems consequent to build participatory policies on trustful relationships.

3.3. Conclusions

In this chapter we have analysed the relationship between participation and motivation by relating modes and dimensions of participation with the perspective of motivational change in the sense of increased self-efficacy and/or the generation of interest. We interpret the analysis that possibilities of participation in fact are a precondition of motivational change. The exemplary analysis of five case studies however has shown that not participation as such facilitates motivation per se. We have shown that this applies in a different way for participation in terms of voluntary attendance, involvement in decision-making, community engagement and biographical self-determination. At the same time projects apply different modes of participation such as the possibility of choice, the commitment not to preclude young people's trajectories but to keep future options open, recognition of young people as persons with individual strengths, the provisions of spaces for own activity and self-presentation, and trustful relationships. In this regard, all projects aim at providing (and using) the biographic chance of a 'fresh start' by initiating such a process (without ignoring the hindering/demotivating factors of the transitional process up to date). This new process starts with *personal recognition*, giving young people a feeling for their personal expertise (acknowledging their biography up to date, and showing confidence in their biographical progress in future). Magnusson (1993) in his 5 P's of planning to raise youth initiative sets 'pride' at the beginning of a re-motivation process (followed by passion, purpose, performance and poise (see also chapter Nine). Similar Amundson (1998) regards personal 'mattering' as a crucial basis for any re-motivation process (cf. Schlossberg et al., 1989).

This also can get the meaning of *motivational management*, above all, if it includes the reflection on personal limits and structural boarders and points to a kind of realism

regarding the scope of own efforts. We have referred to this as the biographical reflexivity or 'biographicity' which means: to consciously construct one's biography. By this it becomes obvious that motivation is a prerequisite of (biographical) learning while motivational change itself has to be seen as a learning process.

4. Contexts and dimensions of learning biographies

The uncertainty of present and future economic and social developments has strongly affected education and the institutionalised forms of learning. Education and training institutions can no longer "promise" their students stable social and professional integration; the (gendered) normal biography that was set into motion through mass education, no longer provides a compass for young people. As a consequence, learning takes on new meanings; learning to learn – lifelong – is what the knowledge-based society demands.

We have identified a reflexive competence to deal with these contradictions – biographicity (Alheit & Dausien, 2000) – as a key aspect of the development of an individual's learning biography, one that combines these different experiences of learning in a biographically meaningful career. Non-formal and informal ways of acquiring knowledge therefore become increasingly relevant for society as a whole. But while there is a growing consensus among researchers, policy makers and educational practitioners about the necessity to modernize formal education and training, our findings show that experiments with successful combinations of formal and non-formal learning are rare. Therefore our first interest in investigating the case study projects is how different elements of non-formal learning are conceptualised within the projects; in fact we have to speak about non-formal learning which is arranged to facilitate specific informal learning processes while we have little information on informal learning. The aim of the analysis is to ascertain how the projects manage to integrate the different aspects of learning; the social and the identity aspects of learning; how they deal with the motivational and personal prerequisites of successful learning. In essence, what kind of learning is happening within the projects? What kind of competencies do the young people acquire within the projects? How are the project's pedagogical frameworks influencing these processes? In order to establish this, the pedagogical models on which the projects are built upon will be contrasted with the learning experiences as represented by the young people themselves. As a starting point, we will utilise some examples drawn from the experiences of a contrast group of young people with choice biographies to show how they make use of different forms and contexts in shaping their transitions by meaningful learning.

4.1. Perspectives on learning

As we have pointed out earlier, a contrast group of young people with choice biographies (biographical 'trendsetters') were interviewed for whom it is difficult to find a common denominator. They did not have similar school careers, nor did they originate from comparable social economic backgrounds, although they were often, but by no means always, from families with considerable cultural capital and this had been transferred to their offspring. Instead, what appears to unite them is their attitude towards learning and working. This is especially impressive in those cases where young people started among our disadvantaged group and through the empowering experiences within case study projects they were encouraged and nurtured and regained new motivational potential. Work is an extremely significant part of their lives and identities. They describe it in terms of 'fun', 'self-realisation', 'passion' and 'curiosity'. Most of them have chosen self-employment or set up enterprises, often taking on high levels of responsibility, considerable obligations and risks.

In the following examples, we will single out some significant learning experiences contained within our interview respondents accounts. These are considered according to three thematic fields of analysis. The first perspective is how trendsetters cope with the division between formal and non-formal learning contexts. The second perspective deals with the social dimension of learning. In the third perspective, we will consider how the learning experiences of young people are interrelated with the other aspects of their lives, their life plans and identities and the extent to which they develop into reflexive learning biographies.

The young 'trendsetters' had an astute awareness of the tension between *formal and non-formal learning*. All our interviewees told us about their frustrations and accomplishments with learning, and on which conditions and circumstances each were based. The formal system was generally deemed to be unsatisfactory whilst non-formal and informal learning environments were the preferred mode of learning according to their perspective.

Formal education was criticised because of its irrelevance for practical life settings and problems, whether at secondary school or university level. Formal settings are perceived as anti-sensual, anti-cultural and directed against intrinsic motivation and the development of personal projects. These young people prefer to opt out of the educational system, although all of them demonstrate an awareness of the currency and value of qualifications and diplomas. While most of them do not in principle object to continuing in post compulsory education some of them "dropped out" of university

because they found the learning experience irrelevant and removed from reality. However on the whole these young people succeed in one way or another in finding a balance between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation and push themselves in a search for new fields of learning and exploration. Explorative learning is closely (and reciprocally) related to communicative skills and competences. As one young Dutch man who had successfully set up a catering business stated: "I'm a talker". Peer learning is part of their youth-cultural capital, and much of their learning and working takes place within peer group contexts, although communicating with other kinds of people in different positions and professions is also deemed as important (cf. Keupp et al., 1999; du Bois-Reymond, 2000; Stauber, 2004).

Biographical 'trendsetters' often develop learning strategies at an early stage and engage in elaborate hobbies and informal peer contexts in compensation for an unchallenging school experience. In the margins of the uninspiring (but safe) world of school they create their own worlds of activities. Not all however were high school achievers, some only developed successful learning careers later when they have a more accomplished command over them, whilst others dropped out of school and continued their study outside the formal system.

> **Carlo, male, 27 (Italy)**, at secondary school was deeply in love with his philosophy teacher who also motivated him to study philosophy. Concerning his learning at the university, Carlo says: *"I've always been successful in my studies but I didn't like to attend university… everything was so academic and so different from my own approach which is more anarchistic / artistic, although I could apply my approach to the analytical philosophy…"* After dropping out from university he worked for one year at McDonald's and at the same time at an alternative radio station. *"Working in a fast food restaurant was awful, but paradoxically seen as a positive experience, since that awful job gave me the picture of what I don't want, which is a hierarchically and stupidly organised job."* Originating from a "bourgeois" family as he says, engaged with a gay centre in Bologna, organizing festivals, working as a barman and eventually becoming responsible for the documentation centre and the library there. Proudly he states: *"I'm the only one in the country who manages an entire library without even holding a university degree".* And he adds: *"I don't think I got any education from the traditional educational institutions I attended. The only institutional person was my philosophy teacher at the grammar school, but he also felt a victim of that educational system."*

Keupp et al. (1999) identified the biographical relevance of *social networks* as optional spaces in the sense of repertoires of life plans and role models, social relevancies in the sense of belonging and participation in communities of practice (cf. Wenger, 1998). Such networks are resources for coping and reciprocal support. Our analysis shows how the constitution and subjective relevance of informal networks of young women and men affect their learning biographies. We also found the subjective dimensions of peer networks – such as reflexivity of networks in the context of the personal biography, subjective functions of networks in terms of belonging, safety, encouragement, orientation, practical and financial support, individual networking strategies, biographical effects of networks in terms of subjectively meaningful learning experiences, access to systemically and subjectively necessary resources.

In their heterogeneity, network relationships became relevant for Carlo in manifold ways, providing a diversity of resources, experiences and qualities: the youth cultural network primarily provides information and exchange in the form of practical support; circles of friends (be it wider circles or a personal relationship) are important for feelings of belonging, trust, and encouragement. The biographical relevance of network relationships cannot be evaluated only by the extent to which the persons in question reflect upon them as in many cases, reflection and consciousness only developed in biographical retrospective. However, these young people demonstrate self-concepts as individuals who move within and depend upon social contexts, they lay stress on both individual and collective agency. In reciprocity they have created a social network that they rely upon, and a framework through which they jointly progress. It is noteworthy that they all very conscious of just how much they depend on such contacts. There exists a possible paradox at the heart of this type of networking and collaboration. There are pre-requisites for strong self-presentation skills and high self-esteem, yet, there is a humility seen as the dependency on the development of viable network relationships. Although the business areas these young self-employed work within are highly competitive, the youth cultural scenes which nurture them with ideas and meaning, can be described as 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998), where peer learning is embedded in a social context of mutual support (cf. Walther et al., 2005).

Risk-taking needs self-awareness and trust in one's own capacities, as well as the skills to use available resources and the ability to discover new ones, in applying the principle of trial and error – like most contemporary young people they do not plan far in advance (Leccardi & Rusmini, 2004). Instead, they develop multiple option strategies (e.g., combining casual work with self-employment), which require perseverance and organising capacities, and at the same time the flexibility and confidence to switch jobs or dismiss a project if it proves invalid.

What all trendsetters want, is synergy between life and learning, life and working, learning and working; in other words they want to enjoy a holistic life whilst making work a life project. A life project may have developed over many years (and be aspirational) but need not necessarily involve long-term planning or be neatly circumscribed. It may also consist of the simple desire to achieve a situation in which different life activities: – educational, professional, private, fit together in a complimentary way.

As we have seen above (chapter III., sections 2. and 3.), motivation is a crucial resource in the learning careers of young people. However, meaning and personal interest depend on open settings.

Arnold, male, 28, East Germany, is a passionate bike rider. He bought his first BMX bike with his first unemployment money and with the support of some sponsors. He and his friend visited the U.S. for three months where Arnold took part in shows that boosted his career as BMX biker. Returning to Germany, he was again unemployed for several years. In between he helped a friend in a bike store. He deliberately lived off benefits and also partly off sponsors in order to fully concentrate on biking and bike shows. Jobs that have nothing to do with biking do not interest him. He attended a business-training course for young entrepreneurs, which was not of much use to him, *"the people there have never been self-employed in their lives, they can't really tell anything about it. And you can't learn everything from a textbook, that doesn't work. It is life you learn from most"*. He had great difficulties in acquiring the necessary funds to start his own business. But, *"I wanted to have my store and I didn't let them get me down, with every refusal from the bank I got more and more motivated."* The bike store, which Arnold runs with a partner, finally opened as a franchise enterprise for trend bikes, *"In the end the most important thing in business is that you know all about your stuff. When I sell BMX bikes, people buy it. When I opened the store I had all the people interested in BMX bikes on my side after two days."* Meanwhile he has several employees, among them his own father. What motivates him is the fact that he can accomplish own ideas and be really good at it. In retrospect he says: *"For me it was all about riding bike."* However, his ambitions for the future remain open. His bike store is doing well at the moment but he can imagine giving it up in five years and starting in a totally new field, *"maybe I'll start doing TV or work as an actor"…*

While Arnold's story fits neatly with the concept of motivational change that we developed earlier, his learning career was not that straightforward, it took him several attempts to find the setting for learning that matched his interests. While he already had acquired the technical skills informally by "being a biker" these were not acknowledged by the bank or by the training system something that is partly a reflection of the highly

standardised nature of the German training and employment system. Unconventional ways of acquiring competencies demands a lot of personal perseverance; more so than within the less rigidly standardised systems where this way of constructing a (learning) biography seems more common.

Our sample shows that trendsetters have an open attitude towards their future: what they do now may continue or not, it is open to an ongoing review. Such an attitude is based on a mixture of trust and scepticism and is, we would argue, perhaps the most appropriate response one can have when faced with a contemporary 'risk' society. As many of them are self-employed, there is a particular demand in all of their learning biographies. They constantly have to reflect on the possibility of adaptation of their informally acquired competencies to the formal labour market. Their bad experiences with formal education and training also contribute to an increased awareness of what they actually want to learn. This biographical balance of what they have learned and the evaluation of what competencies they require for their job makes reflexivity a central competence in their learning biographies.

4.2. Learning Arrangements in five case studies

'Disadvantaged' young people enter the transition to work system with a lack of competitiveness in terms of cultural capital. Similar to the young people who have developed positive choice biographies, they also strongly criticise school for its lack of relevance to real life, however in contrast to the trendsetters, these young people experienced school in the context of educational failure. In the following section, we will analyse the learning concepts in five selected case studies. These cases come from five different transition regimes and represent three different typologies of case study projects.

4.2.1. Batoto Yetu, Lisbon, Portugal: Integration of youth at risk

At Batoto Yetu, on the outskirts of Lisbon, Portugal, young people of African descent learn African songs and dances and then rehearse to perform live in many local, national, and even international artistic and cultural events. The immigrants from the former colonies live in precarious social conditions, in degraded neighbourhoods and still experience social and professional integration problems. Second generation African children often experience difficulties in adapting to the formal school system, leading to school failure and early school leaving. These young people lack places and activities that can be considered an alternative to formal education. Many begin to work early in life in the same unqualified jobs their parents have. Others engage in risk trajectories connected to drugs and delinquency. The municipality of Oeiras (where this project is

located) has one of the largest African communities who is slowly being re-allocated to houses sponsored by the city council. Batoto Yetu, by aiming specifically at this community, tries to promote a closer contact with their African origins and culture and, at the same time, promote a better integration of these young people, by increasing self-esteem and stimulating learning careers. The work developed by Batoto Yetu, allows them to integrate their cultural roots into daily life, encouraging young people to study and to "achieve a positive evolution in their academic work". Even though rehearsals take place every Saturday afternoon, the association's premises are used not only to rehearse, but also as a meeting point where young people find room for studying, doing homework, leisure activities, and support in their everyday successes and difficulties.

Batoto Yetu can be seen as a unique combination of intrinsic motivation (for dance and performance) and extrinsic goals (ensuring young people pursue their educational career).

Young participants must have a good record of achievement at school if they want to be part of the project and dance in live performances. Surprisingly, many young people from Batoto Yetu, have successful academic careers and enter university; others choose a career in dance or music. In fact, their passion for dance and music triggers their motivation to study and to overcome their difficulties and if to succeed in school is a necessary condition of being part of Batoto Yetu, they try to get around their limitations and become motivated to study.

Behind this methodological approach we can recognise the major guidelines of the 'pedagogy of desire'. The pedagogy of desire draws from Jean Piaget's work on the capacity of the student to collaborate in pedagogic redefinition; from Emília Ferrero's stressing of learning modalities as opposed to the educating modalities; from Paulo Freire's pedagogy of autonomy and emancipation of the student (see Garcia Castro et al., 1998). In Brasil there are several projects guided by this pedagogy of desire that recognise that the strength or the energy that allows all things in the world to have a "purpose" results from the passion of desire.

> **B. a 22 year old male** comes from a family with a migration history from the Cabo Verde islands. His school career seems to go the way many of his peers have experienced. Their self-concept is marked by the negative ascriptions of the Portuguese society towards young men from an African background. Batoto Yetu provides him with the value framework to re-frame this experience and be proud of the music and cultural tradition: *"A guy feels good on a stage, with the people clapping*

their hands. Yeah! A guy feels good. Very cool! It is self-esteem!" He evaluates this experience against the background of his school experiences: *"We are here not because of those in the board of directors, but we are here for ourselves ... It's about us having that will, to be here with each other."* His long experience as a dancer makes him adopt a role in the project as tutor of younger kids while parallel he is enrolled in a professional course in computing. In his account of how Batoto Yetu has impacted on his learning career, he states: *"I'm no longer in school, you know? I might even be one of the oldest here, I'm 20 years old ... I'm still a kid, but I know a lot, you know? I have a different perspective on things, I can have a different reading of facts, I can think like an adult, you know?"*

At Batoto Yetu informal knowledge and peer learning is always present and appreciated, where creative imagination and improvisation are constant happening within every rehearsal. In the pedagogy of desire, young people must take on two different roles (subject and actor) (Freire, 2000): the feeling that they are desired will allow them to desire for themselves (Carvalho, 2000; Vilanova, 2000). They are invested in as subjects (dancers) and then become actors (teachers). The older ones in the project become responsible for socialising the new members into the group's dynamics, they teach dance steps, songs, and music.

> "You seldom see the small ones getting there, in the middle of all that noise (...) Usually boys with a macho attitude, go there to be near the musicians and they stay around beating drums. Some musicians are born this way" (Batoto Yetu, director, female, 77-82).

Batoto Yetu succeeds in providing a different cognitive and emotional framework that makes active coping with societal prejudices possible. At the same time, music and dance offer the opportunity to widen their perspectives in particular among the boys appropriate gender roles.

4.2.2. "We want to Become Independent", Bucharest, Romania: Integration of youth at risk

The project "We Want to Become Independent" was carried out by the Community for Child Support Association (CCSA), a non-profit, non-governmental and non-political organisation in public childcare institutions in Bucharest City (so-called "placement centres"). As there is a comparably high share of children and young people in public care in Romania, the transition between public care and an independent life is a very

important topic. The transitions of project participants have been severely hampered by their living in a very formalised institutional system, with little room for participation in decision-making concerning their pathways. Even their educational careers have often been decided upon in a rather administrative manner. In this case the project was concerned with providing young people with the basic life skills for independent living such as preparing meals as well as training for job interviews. In a successor project the young people were provided shared apartments to get used to living on their own while they were also helped to find their first job. Although this might not be enough to enable them to decide on their own trajectories, considerable progress has been made by designing this project by bringing the young people closer to those peers who are living in 'normal' social contexts. This part of the work goes along with formative activities for parents, educators, and teachers to improve education methods as well as the relationships between educators/trainers and children. One of the main aims of the project is to display to formal educators, a view of a different and more effective way of education (with due consideration to the specific social and psychological profile of the institutionalised youth). The project is a typical non-formal learning project, carried out within a very standardised formal system.

During the eight months of work with teenagers from six orphanages, the CCSA trainers found out that these young people mainly suffered from a lack of motivation and confidence rather than a lack of knowledge and information. For the young people, having a job was seen as the main prerequisite for independent living, so that one of their main expectations was to learn how to find suitable jobs. They also discovered in the course of the project a certain deficit of socialisation that made them feel different from peers living in "normal" social contexts – with parents, relatives, friends, neighbours, etc. Therefore, the project workers used a very flexible style of working with these teenagers, eliminating formal didactics and refraining from official rhetoric in order to get closer to their clients and their problems.

The activities of the project were complementary to the activities of the formal education system, intended to provide the participants with opportunities for learning what they were missing because of their broken families and the rigid school system. This refers not only to training and equipping them with the skills for independent life, but also to a different educational environment, based on free initiative and the interactive participation of the participants, with the aim of changing their whole life model, that is deeply rooted in the orphanage and based around dependency and passivity.

> **Alexandra , female, 16,** comes from a disorganised family and was abandoned in a crèche when she was 2 years old. She has spent her

childhood in a placement centre up until the moment of her first interview, when she was in the 8th grade, having benefited thereafter of a social dwelling under the next phase of the project. *"I don't like school at all, but I have to attend school and to learn."* The atmosphere here isn't very different from that in the orphanage, she is facing here the same problems she had to face there, only here she is more independent. as well as the lack of concern of the personnel for the problems of institutionalised children, *"we simply are not listened to."* She doesn't have a very good relationship with the educators. She is continuing her studies, she is in the 10th grade in a vocational high-school, her interest in school is the same as it was at the time of first interview, but she has noticed an improvement regarding her relationship with classmates and teachers. She thinks she has matured and has become more sociable: *"If you succeed to have a good environment, you can ask a friend for help. If you have such heart-felt friends to whom you know you can go and say 'look man I am in need; could you help me, at least for a while'… you anyway resolve something in your life."*

Learning by doing and peer-learning were the main methods used within the project, and this was done through a range of activities that offered opportunities to all participants for performing roles according to their aptitudes and preferences. Some of the project activities were carried out within the premises of the placement centres, e.g. dancing classes, writing CVs or preparing interviews with potential employers, preparation for holiday camp and so on and often under the eyes of the centres' personnel. The participants felt they were in a safe space, where they could act independently. Moreover, when they were out of the institutional space they had the opportunity to combine learning experiences with activities of their own liking, such as dancing, shopping, or cooking something they liked to eat, which also provided space for trying out and practice particular talents and skills.

4.2.3. Open Youth Education, Egaa, Denmark: Preparation for education or training

Open Youth Education in Denmark was a countrywide initiative launched by the Social-democratic government in 1994, and closed down by the Liberal government in 2002. Its goal was to (re-)present an alternative to traditional youth education, as a reaction to and action towards the residual group of young people who each year either could or would not start at or complete a traditional secondary youth education. The target group

of the Open Youth Education was described as all young people ("weak" and "strong") who either were not able to or interested in attending the existing types of youth education. The purpose of the Open Youth Education was stated as: *"The purpose is to give young people the opportunity to complete an individually arranged educational course which will yield comprehensive qualifications and develop the young person's personal competencies".*

The goal of Open Youth Education was to facilitate an entrance to either further studies (either as "building a bridge" back to traditional forms of education or leading towards further education in creative, but not formally recognised educational areas), or directly into employment. Students were assisted in the construction of their own educational plan with parts from formal, informal and non-formally arranged forms of learning. In this way, transfer of informal competencies to formal qualifications (e.g. selected courses from upper secondary schools) was possible. The rationale behind this combination of self-chosen formal/informal elements was to create incentives and re-motivate young people to continue with their education. The informal elements were thought to strengthen independence and orientation, and to enhance their motivation and self-confidence by making the restrictions and demands of educational opportunities more transparent. The participants seemed to be very much aware of the importance and transferability of informal learning to their future educational or labour market trajectories.

> "I have learned to express myself much better. I used to be too shy and afraid of other peoples' opinions. So that is what the education has taught me: that you can actually speak your mind… and I have learned a lot of discipline, because I had to be so independent. You yourself are the master of the course"(M.,18, female).

This participant goes on to describe informal learning as learning through living and learning at a junior high school together with other young people, by having to find out about different educational and job-possibilities by herself, and by having to contact those schools and jobs on her own initiative. It is learning by doing, mediated by peer learning: getting inspired by what other young people dare and do, getting tips and information from peers, and experiencing through practice, what one can actually do oneself. For this participant, the informal elements of learning were experienced as having contributed to her now wish to start at upper secondary, as she now feels ready and more self-confident. This cannot be learned theoretically and also seems hard to organise formally (besides the "loose" formalisation of the informal that characterises the Open Youth Education).

F. , female, 19, had to leave her biographic family early and was brought up in different foster homes and institutions. With 16 years she settled on her own and started Open Youth Education. Later on she stopped because of personal problems. 1½ year ago starting at Open Youth Education for the second time, she said: *"Maybe it sounds as if I do not know exactly what I want to do, but I am getting more creative up here (at the folk high school). I get more ideas…. Maybe I am just enjoying myself and life instead of constantly thinking about what to do or to become".* F. does not accept the idea of doing things in a prescribed way. She is not afraid to do things differently, but at the same time, she knows, that she has to acquire an educational degree in order to move further on at some point. *"It simply should not be like, that things can only be done in one way, it has to be based on the wish to experience a lot of things, at least that is the way I want it to be".* F. does not rely on either foster parents or social counsellors. She connects to peers or people whom she meets at school. She strongly believes in herself and plans of further education and future jobs she is heading for while at the same time she tries to keep her options as open as possible. *"It is all about going in one direction now, but I do not want to become some small robot, it is my life and it is my education. I ought to decide what I want and feel, without getting forced into some pattern – I am totally convinced, that I can do a lot of good things for other people without having an official stamp as a qualified health – or social worker"*. F. does not have a specific plan for her future. She wants to learn and stresses that everything is possible as long as the individual works hard, shows the necessary discipline, and is allowed to develop. Her "fuel" is the wish to develop her passions and her social contacts between people and life in general has to "zigzag", i.e. that a linear development is neither possible nor desirable.

Two factors are important here: On the one hand, the *content* and *goal* of the education was laid in the hands of the young people themselves: Young people were given the opportunity to construct their own educational course, based on their own *interests* and goals. The only requirements were that they chose three different courses and schools to attend for the 2-3 years duration of the education. For many young people this turned out to be a chance for learning and developing in more creative/artistic direction; a direction not represented in the traditional forms of youth education. On the other hand, the purpose statement of the Open Youth Education explicitly recognises the importance

of developing personal competencies through informal learning experiences: responsibility, independence, developing an ability to plan, to express oneself, to co-operate with others, and developing a spectrum of abilities in the musical-creative area, through peer learning, learning by doing were all recognised as an important an inseparable part of formal and theoretical learning.

4.2.4. Lifting the Limits, Armagh, Northern Ireland, UK: participatory training and employment

Lifting the Limits, is a one and half year long programme for young mothers, aged 16-25, from Armagh, and surrounding rural areas developed by Youth Action Northern Ireland. Teenage pregnancy is one of the main reasons for girls leaving school without qualifications and the Community Leadership Programme for Young Mothers is one measure aimed at addressing some of these difficulties and enabling young mothers to overcome barriers to education, training and employment. The programme aims to support the inclusion of young mothers into future employment by providing them with the opportunity to undertake a training and employment programme in community development which is geared to their needs. It combines theoretical models and practical skills with on going work experience. It also seeks to stimulate and contribute to community development in areas of social exclusion and disadvantage. In this programme participants did this by outreach activities to other young mothers. Two peer support workers (former participants) were employed on the programme to support participants in their learning. The Community Leadership Programme is a recognised qualification (NVQ III level) and successful completion enables participants to seek entry to Higher Education in Community Youth Work. The integrated ICT training component of the programme includes the European Computer Driving Licence, internet and web design. Criteria for being considered for the programme were: basic literacy, interpersonal skills, and knowledge of the basic aims of the programme and issues facing young mothers, enthusiasm, commitment and a belief in the ability to develop oneself and communities. In order to facilitate their entry onto the programme and to ensure a high completion rate, the specific needs of young mothers were taken into account: reduced working hours of 25 per week, a proper wage and employment contract to allow young mothers to move out of benefit dependency and contribution towards childcare and travel.

Once the conditions for participation have been set in place the motivational levels of participants are typically high. This is due to the high levels of support that are built into the programme at every level, support that was not one-dimensional and solely tied to programme issues, but multi-dimensional, extended to all other aspects of their lives.

The children of the young mothers also provided a source of motivation as the young mothers wished to be able to provide for them and to be free of the benefit system.

The notions of peer support and peer education have been crucial to the Community Leadership Programme whereby the young mothers acted as peer educators for other young mothers, as well as receiving support and training from two peer support workers. Peer educators previous participation in the programme meant they were role models for what can be achieved thereby increasing the current participants' desire to succeed. This 'cascading model' of peer education has been very effective within the programme as it provides the context for a great deal of learning to take place as well as acting as a strong motivator.

This holistic approach means that on leaving the programme they will be more equipped to cope with the challenges that face them in their personal and working lives. Throughout the programme the young mothers were encouraged to reflect on and access their own learning. In doing so they were able to identify biographical turning points, which in turn reinforced their motivational levels: *"I have been able to identify hidden skills and gain a sense of self worth and self-esteem."* One young mother spoke of how she had witnessed the development of young mothers on her course and of how this empowering experience increased her expectations, motivation and commitment to the programme.

> **Colette, female, 25**, comes from a large working class family in a rural community. Her attendance at school was erratic, as she frequently had to take time off to care for her invalid mother. Despite this she gained seven GCSE's, however, her mother reinforced /constantly told her that 'girls' had no real need of 'education' as they would marry anyway and that 'a wee job in a shop will do you'. As a result of this negative influence further education was viewed as something of no value to her (although her brothers were encouraged to go further). After Colette left school at the age of eighteen she had various casual jobs before she had her baby. For the next couple of years she was totally dependent on benefits and realised she was beginning to lose sight of her own personal goals. In order to address this, and to give herself some challenges, she and a friend started a youth club in a local housing estate and it was through this that she got the opportunity to do a range of small courses, e.g. counselling. When her son was two she registered as a volunteer and later she attended a Women's Centre to study for an 'A' level. When asked why she did do all this work; start a youth club,

undertake courses, work as a youth worker and put herself under such pressure, while at the same time bringing up a child, she explains that she wanted people to take her seriously, she wanted to be a positive role model for her child and that she needed to prove to herself that she could do it and states *"when I look back now I can see, they were all stepping stones"* and by joining Lifting the Limits she hoped her path to educational and personal success would become more stable and not so haphazard as it was before.

The example of Colette shows how the project manages to provide learning opportunities that increase the young mothers' confidence to challenge the stereotypes and inequalities they may face in their everyday lives. However, it also shows how motivated so-called disadvantaged young people can in fact be – waiting for a meaningful opportunity. When young women/mothers feel valued and supported they are more willing to share their own thoughts and ideas and show increased desire to become more involved within their own community. But the empowering aspect of the project is only one aspect. The second crucial factor for being able to provide young women with a new hook in their learning biographies, is the enhanced career progress made possible by the recognition of the project as a qualification (NVQ III level) providing access to higher education. The down side of this project – as in many of our case study projects – is the precariousness of the funding of the project leading to the postponement of plans to run a further Community Leadership Programme.

4.2.5. Atelier LaSilhouette, Munich, Germany: participatory training and employment

The project Atelier LaSilhouette from Munich offers standard vocational training in dressmaking for young women mainly with a migration background. But, it also provides a holistic set of support measures to those who often are not even allowed to start a vocational training because of insecure residence permits. This includes care for a good start in the labour market, facilitated by a network of former trainees, which compensates the respective deficits of young female migrants in regard to their professional life. An additional half-year is foreseen to accompany each participant – and in principle as long as she needs it: job search in well-reputated firms, application portfolio, interview preparation etc. It is not only with these elements that the project differs from other regular training schemes, which in Germany often lack the insertion in the labour market. Apart from vocational training, where it fulfils regular standards, the project provides support in almost any life issues – counselling as regards housing, accompaniment to institutions (the Foreigner's Office, the social security), language

courses and assistance with regard to professional school. Another speciality which is highly attractive for the young women is that they are involved in creating and producin g an onw collection which they also present at public fashion shows. Some of the former participants engage voluntarily in the ongoing work of the project, e.g. as tutors in several subjects for professional school, by supporting the preparations of fashion shows, by counselling in various questions concerning labour market insertion.

To work in the area of fashion appears to be an excellent catalyst of motivation for young women, because it relates to their interests and to the informal styling competences they most often have, independent of their formal skills or educational levels. From the very start they produce own pieces as well as those for clients which provides the potential for intrinsic motivation linked with fashion and therefore leads young women into processes where they can experience their skills becoming increasingly professional. Such experiences are extremely important for those young women whose learning biographies are marked by negative school experiences and other discouraging life events, who without the project would probably never have reached this extent of productivity and creativity:

> "And then I sewed a bag (...) yes, and I managed really well, and I was so fascinated about this bag and about myself and – yes, about being creative" (Jelena, 21, female, Germany).

Learning objectives within the project are closely related to the transition problems of the participants. On the one hand it is a formally acknowledged training course providing a route to qualified work, without which these young women would have been unlikely to achieve. This includes support for vocational school, language courses and in one case even a course of literacy. While fulfilling these formal demands, the project organises training by tackling the needs of the participants to (finally) make successful experiences (again):

> "And what I really like is that from the beginning ... we work for the client. And not like that: oh, you get the easier things, because you have just begun! But here, you get the piece. You are thrown into cold water. But this is positive, because you learn much faster and much more than in other firms ... And this is something you notice yourself" (Dani, 20, female, Germany).

The project uses the potentials of informal learning through creating non-formal spaces for learning – e.g. 'learning weekends' to prepare for exams in the premises of the project, where a learning space is created, with peer support, breaks, common meals

etc., in doing so it 'informalises' formal learning by providing a comfortable time-space environment. These new ways of coping with formal demands are particularly relevant for young women with negative school experiences and 'in-and-out-trajectories', who have to re-gain motivation for learning, but also to those who would simply not find a quiet place to concentrate at home. And they are extremely important for those young women who due to severe life events easily drop out, are hindered, cannot concentrate etc. The project creates a buffer for such life events and enables the young women to develop some continuity in their learning. The project leaves space for peer learning and uses the relevance of peers as learning motivators.

Obviously, the fact that the project leads to a 'hard' qualification that can be directly applied to a professional pathway enhances the sustainability of such biographical learning.

> "I plan to be a journeywoman for three years. The first I will work in the industry. Then I will go to a gentlemen's tailor if I am allowed to do that as a dressmaker; and in the third year I will make wedding and evening dresses. After these three years I will go to the master school and the to fashion design school. And then I will open my own business. That's my plans!" (Reyhan, 18, female, Germany).

In sum, the basic learning concept at LaSilhouette is biographical learning: to achieve competences to cope with the past (severe life events) and overcome de-motivation and disengagement, and to acquire competencies which are important to proceed in the German transition system – 'hard skills' such as professional skills as well as the whole range of 'soft skills', which get increasingly important: skills to present oneself, social skills, and also skills to successfully search for institutional help. It helps young women to develop biographicity – as a basic competence to integrate new demands and experiences into the repertoire of personal coping (Alheit & Dausien, 2000). Such biographical learning at La Silhouette takes place as a balanced combination of formal and informal learning.

4.3. Discussion: learning biographies in different contexts

In psychological and pedagogical theorising about learning, learning and teaching have for some time been conceptualised as „two sides of the same medal". However, this view has been challenged and scholars now stress the difference between the perspective of the learning individual and teaching. As we have argued throughout this report, this gap is becoming even wider with the changing nature of transitions to adulthood in late modern society. Teaching institutions can no longer rely on the reservoir of meaning and motivation that stems from the promise of a better future that can be reached by individual educational effort. This promise no longer holds true and learners are well aware of this. As we have argued in the previous section, the concept of participation is an appropriate way to analyse the gap between the learners' and the education and training institutions and to look for possible ways to narrow this. One shift in theoretical reflection about learning was the turn to look at learners not only as being able or not to cope with learning demands intellectually and motivationally, but to perceive their own meaning making as an important part of the learning process. Equally, a social constructivist perspective on learning processes inspired theories about learning to sketch learning processes in their relation to social contexts. Our findings show how learning institutions can implement this view on learning and what elements of the learning processes can be institutionally provided. We began by outlining three different perspectives on the learning process and how they can be stimulated by projects. In the following, we will draw together the main points of this analysis.

4.3.1. Informal and non-formal

The distinction of formal, non-formal and informal learning is most useful in differentiating between the different institutional spheres of learning. In recent debates, this is often blurred by a vision of completely different approaches to learning which often results in abstract dichotomies about the one being more valuable than the other (Colley et al., 2002). What we apply here is the view that it is more useful to distinguish between dimensions of informality and formality to evaluate the special qualities of the learning contexts created by projects.

Informalising formal education: This is probably the narrowest meaning of non-formal education simply referring to learning taking place 'outside of the education system': NGOs offer young people what public institutions in education do not offer through non formal education (CCSA, Romania), yet without evidence of a systematic approach. A broader approach of 'informalising formal education' is represented by the Danish Open Youth where education aims to 'reconcile formal components with less formal ones' and

with 'formal acknowledgement'. However the goal is to achieve that through non-formal learning.

Holistic learning objectives: Most experts agreed that one characteristic of non-formal education is to address the 'whole individual', i.e. a much broader range of competencies than that covered by school curricula in the form of life skills or personal development.

Holistic objectives require *open pedagogical approaches*. The basic principle is well formulated by a Danish youth worker from the Girls and Boys House: 'The public system makes plans of action, while we are creating spaces for action.' This means a more indirect approach in the sense that certain spaces may inspire a certain kind of activity which in turn – as by-products – imply certain learning processes and outcomes. This includes the consideration of imitation as one of the most basic ways of learning the Danish youth workers refer to this as to 'steal with the eyes' (Girls and Boys House) which however is increasingly less possible in public life. What our case study projects achieve is to narrow the gap between "real life" and the learning contents. Both groups of young people – the ones with choice biographies and the ones we have called 'disengaged' complain about the abstract challenges they have been exposed to in formal education. In contrast to this, our case study projects take everyday life as the starting point for learning (CCSA, Bucharest) or provide real life challenges with a high intrinsic value for their participants for example in the case of Lifting the Limits. This results in learning contents and competencies that can be achieved step-by-step in participating in these activities, which can be loaded with personal meaning. These informal learning processes start from the interests and the life contexts of the participants that permit them to integrate their desires for self-realisation, passion and curiosity. In particular activities related to culture and youth culture are apt to evoke the principles of the already mentioned "pedagogy of desire". Dance (Batoto Yetu), fashion (LaSilhouette) or leadership in youth and community centres (Lifting the Limits) seem to create learning opportunities that are very close to the life worlds of their target groups. The main effects of cultural activity are referred to as

> "… promoting self-esteem, and that will help form their personality, their character and it will make them more confident, more brave on their encounters with society" (Batoto Yetu, Portugal)

while at the same time it serves to open doors for further reflection in terms of school achievement, risk behaviour or family problems without losing their accessibility.

Learning by doing is often referred to as a central feature of non-formal education. In order to create the space for learning by doing young people are given responsibility for

their own projects or tasks along which they can grow. It is therefore closely related with the spatial dimension of participation (see chapter III., section 3.).

4.3.2. The social dimension: communities of practice

The *relational dimension* of non-formal education in one respect refers to the project workers who serve as 'sounding boards'. The young people from *Open Youth Education* provide a significant example calling their instructors "friends". It was clear from the interviews that trust plays a key-role in healing the damages caused by the lack of dialectic and direct relation between the young participants and the institutions in charge of their social and labour market integration. This extends to the even more basic needs of emotional care. Another aspect of the relational dimension concerns peers and a majority of case projects relied on forms of *peer learning* (to be intended even in the wider sense of contextual learning; Mørch, 1999):

> "And kids create the habit to beat the drums and to be there in the middle. Usually boys with a macho attitude, go there to be near the musicians and they stay around beating drums. Some musicians are born this way." (Batoto Yetu, Portugal)

In the vocational projects, peer learning plays an important role as a positive side-effect of training in small groups, participants learn to overcome the separation between cultural and professional pathways and emotional/affective ones. Through peer learning young people also acquire transversal competencies, relational and procedural, which are essential to professional insertion. The experts seem to be convinced that the non-intentional side of peer learning plays an important role in supporting the intentional one. This is what has been referred to earlier with regard to the relation between informal learning and non-formal education. In some cases (e.g. *Lifting the Limits*, UK) courses are run with the help of peer tutors. Others like *La Silhouette* (Germany) consciously aim to keep groups heterogeneous in order to use this potential of diversity through complementary strengths and the availability of role models. But some project workers highlighted that such resources and experiences are not neutral, but often have a positive or negative connotation.

In the case of *La Silhouette*, we find a lot of evidence in the accounts participants of their first positive experiences in and with the group, the loss of shyness and mistrust and increasing confidence. The feeling of being part of a group is perceived as a learning process regardless of the difficulties and repercussions. The young women recognise the fact that negative experiences can be integrated in this process as a sign for the quality of the trustful relationships they have built. Gender homogeneity in this case seems to be

helpful in terms of safety and trust. At the same time, it seems to be crucial that the group finds a balance between neither locking itself in nor locking somebody out in order to remain able to build bridges both for newcomers and into the labour market. This is facilitated by the limited size of the group with twelve trainees forming the 'project family' as it is often referred to, but extended by the former trainees towards a possible and achievable future, that serve as role models of self-confidence and success and also provide contacts to real jobs.

Feelings of belonging, balanced towards the inside and outside, can hardly be achieved in projects, which by their explicit reference to 'disadvantaged youth' or similar paradigms, are prone to stigmatising effects. Such deficit-oriented approaches still predominate as a legitimation of the majority of schemes (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002; López Blasco et al., 2003). Yet, support can only become meaningful for the identity of young people if it is attractive and presentable in a youth cultural respect, and if it corresponds to their own aspirations and presentation within a peer-group context. For the projects, this does not mean refurbishing their entire approach according to some youth culture, but rather, to keep their structures open for ways – symbolic among others – of active appropriation. By this, learning areas are created: in Etienne Wenger's theory of the sociality of learning (1998), the affiliation to 'communities of practice,' where experiences can be shared and meaning can be negotiated, is an indispensable requirement for learning. Learning and the acquisition of membership, in this theoretical approach are regarded as interdependent. Findings from earlier studies show that discouraged young people in particular can profit from performing arts as an effective group builder (Miles et al., 2002).

Community-centred approaches to youth issues in particular aim to enlarge social spaces by creating new social relationships, and have positive impacts in this respect (Bradford, 1997).

In terms of the informal learning young people experience outside of non-formal projects some experts mentioned negative aspects. These related to the imitative character of (informal) learning, especially in the context of sub-cultural behaviour. A project worker from the *Simon Project* (Ireland) highlighted how young people can learn dysfunctional behavioural patterns (such as shop lifting, street drinking and aggressiveness) – they learn to be homeless. A project worker of the Romanian project *CCSA/We want to be independent* was concerned with young people's learning through their involvement in the informal market economy, which might undermine their work ethics. In general, project workers were very much in favour of and criticised the lack of ways to acknowledge informal learning and peer education. There was a broad unanimity that

formal education is not sufficient for educating 'the whole individual'. In contrast, it was argued that the whole range learning opportunities that arise in everyday life settings need to be taken into account while a general prerequisite for this was the will and ability to value individuals' experiences and feelings.

4.3.3. Competence gain and learning biographies

As we have stated in the theory chapter a conceptual link between learning processes, learning outcomes and learning arrangements is the idea of competencies. Therefore we will analyse the project's learning potentials along the analysis of what competencies the participants gain through their participation in the projects and how this is related to the learning arrangements provided by the projects. Nevertheless, there are noticeable differences in the accounts of project workers of non-formal education, which is related to the dimension of outcomes the different projects are able to provide. Broadly speaking, representatives of projects providing formal training and qualifications display less consciousness towards a broader concept of competence (partly this applies as well for representatives of pre-vocational and employment measures). This includes processes of biographical reflection and assessment of previous experiences and individual strengths. Therefore, one of the most important skills of the educators who work with young people is to raise their awareness about their (sometimes hidden) skills and capabilities by providing them with opportunities to experience themselves in various contexts.

> "They end up understanding many things that they don't even do; they listen here and they listen there, and afterwards, when they get to the labour market, these things may be important." (Batoto Yetu, Portugal)

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In this final section, we will draw together the main insights from our study (1.), and outline the ambivalences and perspectives in terms of participation as well as making recommendations in relation to the effectiveness and legitimacy of transition policies (2.).

1. Potentials of participation for citizenship and social inclusion

The basic idea of the YOYO research was to find out whether projects which try to support young men and women in their transitions to work in a participatory way succeed in enhancing motivation among young people in a way that they actively engage in the construction of their own biographies. The relationship between participation and motivation is the first step in our research question, the second relates to learning as the means of developing ones own life plan by acquiring new competencies. Competencies that reflect ones own biography – increasingly insecure and uncertain – and competencies that can be converted into other resources that aid social integration such as a job or access to further qualifications. We have argued that a participatory approach to re-motivating disengaged young people for the development of learning biographies involves the recognition of informal learning and/or the use of non-formal learning methods.

1.1. Perspectives on success

We made an initial distinction between the systemic and subjective aspects of social integration and the status and practice of citizenship that can offer a new reference point to assess the success of transition policies. In fact, the increasing gap between the perspective of institutions on social integration and that of individuals is a key aspect of the de-standardisation of young people's transitions to work (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002). In the following we will try to highlight the main factors and perspectives by which transition policies can bridge this gap through the incorporation of participatory and non-formal elements as a "reflexive loop". We need to bear in mind that different actors within the case study projects have different views on what they themselves see as success. Young people stressed the personal gains they had made from their participation, which could often consist of specific benefits such as having a space of ones own. Of course, expectations varied according to the type of project. In training and employment related projects the expectation was often to improve competitiveness on the labour market. It is important to note however that this clear definition of success is bound to certain conditions like being treated with respect, personal acknowledgement,

and having an element of choice. Funding institutions and policy-makers take a different perspective, although there is an acceptance of 'soft' factors of success like personal growth and involvement in local communities within youth work, this was rarely the case in the field of training and employment policy. Interestingly, we have found what we have called 'participatory training and employment projects' where representatives of funding bodies measure success on both scales. This combination of soft skills, highly participatory and youthful approaches with 'hard' outcomes (qualifications) seems to be more likely to be invested in if the usual ways of supporting certain target groups fail. Professionals often take on an intermediary position between what funders and policy-makers expect from their work and what young people think successful projects should offer. In youth work projects, they stress learning aspects like personal growth and the life skills they develop in youth work. In evaluating success professionals often judge this in terms of the degree of active involvement of the participants, whilst at the same time they try to legitimate the open, informal and voluntary character of the work. Professionals judge success on the extent to which they contribute to the construction and re-construction of learning biographies. Although the contribution of their projects is seen as a requirement for young people's labour market integration in terms of confidence and orientation, professionals see a holistic perspective as an essential prerequisite.

The YOYO-perspective of success, defined in terms of *self-determination,* is best described by what the young men and women with choice biographies (du Bois-Reymond, 1998) perceive as success. In so far as these young people successfully manage to bridge the gap between systemic and subjective integration we can use their idea of and ways towards success as a set of criteria to inspire our evaluation of the case study projects. Building their careers around their personal interests, even if they have to take detours, is the main feature within their accounts. But shaping their career paths is not always a conscious activity with a long-term plan, it is rather insight into the contingencies of post-modern life conditions and the desire to enjoy the present (Pais, 2003); learning being a part of that present. These young men and women have a flexible working attitude that does not so much arise out of necessity but rather from their own initiative: changing jobs suits their needs. It comes as no surprise that they attach intrinsic meaning to work and the types of learning that matter to them; both are an extremely significant part of their lives and identities: *fun, self-realisation, passion* and *curiosity*. All feel personally responsible for what they do, yet many realise that they depend not only on their own energy and initiative but also on strong networks (Walther et al., 2005).

1.2. Factors of participation, motivation and biographical learning

By linking the analysis of individual processes of motivational change to the investigation of case study projects in the context of local transition systems we were able to reflect upon success at the level of pedagogical practice as well as of policies in general. In the case study analysis we have identified 'modes' of participation, which can be seen as factors under which participation is possible and have the potential to lead to motivational change. Correspondingly, we found a range of approaches to non-formal education through which projects assisted young people in developing learning biographies; not only are motivational change and biographical learning closely related, the concepts of participation and non-formal learning also overlap. In the following, we analyse the preconditions of such factors in terms of the successful implementation of policy and practice (McNeish & Loncle, 2003).

We have identified the possibility of *choice*, to decide as an individual whether to join a project or not and under what conditions – as the most fundamental aspect of participation. Choice is a key prerequisite of identification, to see oneself as a subject that takes conscious decisions rather than merely reacting to external stimulus. The aspect of *accessibility* of learning opportunities in young people's life worlds in a similar way refers to young people as actors who themselves connect the potential content of an opportunity structure with their own knowledge, skills and interest. A practice based on choice implies not only individual decisions but also the structural availability of alternatives to choose from while the principle of accessibility corresponds to a policy concept of youth as citizens who have a right to an infrastructure related to their potential needs. This opens the possibility that the intrinsic quality of leisure activities (like dance) is used to instil feelings of self-efficacy as well as the more extrinsic aspects of life; such as training or work.

This is closely related with the prerequisite of *flexible* measures and *open outcomes.* Young people have to a large extent internalised the necessity of not fixing their life plans but keeping their options open. In many cases however education and training or counselling blame the young people themselves for their disorientation and a lack of commitment. In this respect, a key factor for participation and non-formal education is to accept young people's reluctance or difficulty in making specific plans as a reaction to the de-standardisation of careers, and therefore making allowances for step-by-step approaches with legitimate options of entrance, exit or shift to other directions. Project workers refer to this as serving as a 'sounding board' for the young people, as a reflector for subjective orientation that is dependent on the ability to distinguish between ones own assumptions and young people's choices; and not to make support or learning

conditional upon normative expectations. From a policy perspective this means to shift the focus from an outcome-orientated approach towards process-orientation – or: it is more important that individuals engage in learning process (and thereby learn to learn) rather than learn specific skills or knowledge codified by specific qualifications; and to provide this with an acknowledged social status. If policy and practice have identified certain goals as desirable it is important that young people actively identify with them and choose them as meaningful options. At *Open Youth Education* (Denmark) young people had the possibility to develop individual education plans including (expensive) travelling – without any guarantee that this will have an inclusive effect.

A second range factors that connects participation, motivation and non-formal learning processes is to offer young people *space* which is not pre-defined in terms of power, role and purpose. There are several projects that provide an attractive mixture of 'cool' and 'warm' places; of self-presentation and self-assurance. Such projects are primarily places 'to be' – where one feels good. In these spaces young people are given the *responsibility* to develop and carry out their own projects in a self-determined way and ones that are not always formally prepared. This corresponds to *learning by doing* among *peers* with open outcomes and such an approach contradicts a pre-defined system of norms, values, desirable goals and respective skills and knowledge codified according to a standardised curricula. This requires a concept of project workers as mediators and facilitators rather than as teachers or problem solvers; reducing pedagogical intervention to the provision of a framework rather than giving directions or taking decisions on behalf of learners. While in youth work it is an accepted principle to leave space for self-determined leisure activities, other projects embedded targeted offers like counselling in attractive spaces like Internet cafés. Allowing individual education plans, as well as collective work projects to extend to the wider community and the local labour market, was another means of providing space for individual agency. *Participatory training projects* such as *Lifting the Limits* (UK) and *La Silhouette* (West Germany) stand for an ideal combination of providing safe spaces and empowering young women to act in the public sphere.

The above reflections mainly centre on providing young people with the freedom in their biographical orientation and learning processes in order to allow for the maximum identification with their personal goals. Not only through our material but other studies have also highlighted how uncertainty and openness tend to overburden young people's orientation capacities (Kieselbach et al., 2001). The relation between 'openness' and 'hold' is one of the basics in youth work (Böhnisch, 1999; Banks 1998). Project workers therefore need to be prepared to provide *trust* and *confidence* in advance – in terms of a professional 'leap of faith' rather than waiting for evidence of trustworthiness to arise from the young people; especially, in terms of those who have experienced pressure and

cooling out from institutional actors. Experiencing themselves as 'related' is also a key prerequisite for biographical and social skills; as much as the perception of being 'of interest' to a significant other allows one to generate interest in ones own biography. The offer and development of trust in transitions to work requires *intergenerational relationships* that differ from the traditional hierarchy between adults and young people and it requires adults who live their adult lives differently – emphasising the aspect of responsibility rather than conventional status symbols (see Leccardi & Rusmini, 2004). Changed intergenerational relationships are also reflected in the increased importance of *peers* in so far as shared experiences and life styles increase credibility (Mørch, 1999; Stauber, 2004). Practice in this respect requires both a realistic assessment of the authority one can expect as an adult and the space for peer-structured activities and peer learning (see above). Trust and belonging however only grow in the absence of pressure, for example from funding institutions expectations of a certain rate of participants placed within training or employment; or where project workers effectively manage to resist such pressure and thereby signal advocacy and trustworthiness. This however is more and more difficult under the premises of activation policies and economic efficiency. Especially *participatory projects* as *La Silhouette* (Germany) and *Lifting the Limits* (UK) are examples for the productivity of trustful relationships.

A final cluster of factors of participation that facilitates motivational change can be subsumed under the notion of intersubjective *recognition*, a key prerequisite of self-identity (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). In the context of a meritocratic education system and a labour market that reduces individuals to their employability the motto 'come as you are' implies that no adaptation is expected and there will be recognition as an individual person and subject. Choice and open outcomes of individual transitions (see above) are therefore logical consequences. A first way to operationalise recognition is to apply a *holistic* perspective that encompasses all systemic and subjective aspects relevant for social integration (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002). This means to aim for success and satisfaction at the same time and to address not only the transition to work but also issues related to family or partnership, health or housing, parenthood or status of residence which may subjectively be more pressing for the individual concerned. In terms of learning it has been clear throughout this report that 'contextual competence' (Mørch, 2003; Mørch & Stalder, 2003) is conceptualised as being much broader than merely skills for work but one that includes biographicity and basic life skills. In projects for disadvantaged youth it is an acknowledged standard that existential and psychosocial stabilisation need to precede labour market integration (Kieselbach et al., 2002). In a recognition perspective this may be extended to every individual and every biographical situation whereby different 'transitional strands' have to be reconciled (Thomson et al.,

2002). Another pedagogical consequence of recognition is the apriori decision to *focus on strengths* rather than on deficits, however, in recent years this notion has experienced inflationary use. For example, pre-vocational measures interpret it by reducing the level of demands – in order to provide successful experiences – to such a low level that young people's aspirations are 'cooled out' and become orientated towards low status careers. In contrast to such an approach, focussing on strengths involves changing the point of reference towards those activities and issues where individual strengths actually lie; to turn from a scale related to qualification or employability towards other dimensions like personal development, social utility or cultural practice.

One of the central political prerequisites is to accept that preparing young people for lifelong learning in post-Fordist knowledge-based societies implies detours of experience. From the perspective of standardised Fordist education – still present in many institutions – travelling, performing arts, enterprise creation as a way of self-experimentation etc. appear as a luxury that is difficult to legitimise in a meritocratic context although there is empirical evidence that these activities could be the clue for new learning (Miles et al., 2002).

In principle two ways of recognition can be distinguished: the first is more procedural and pragmatic by addressing young people as autonomous and self-responsible users (like youth information centres, e.g. *SZINFO*, Romania) or reducing young people to their qualifications and labour as in the case of the projects where priority is on training and employment. The second approach is more emphatic, targeted and offensive and applies strategies to ensure that all the young people concerned get to know about the project and to adapt it to their potential needs – by making projects accessible in deprived neighbourhoods (*ArciRagazzi*, Italy); by diversifying offers according to different needs. Recognition is especially important with regard to *gender* and *ethnicity*; here both perspectives in recent debates have been addressed in terms of the relation between difference and inequality, and the necessity of policies that do not play off re-distribution against recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). The YOYO sample includes striking examples of the motivating effects of *participatory approaches* that provide status, material rewards, personal trust, responsibility and – very important – visibility.

1.3. Inclusion through participation – or: reconciling soft skills and hard resources

In the previous section we have tried to identify and analyse the factors through which projects effectively facilitate motivational change and the development of reflexive learning biographies using participatory approaches. With very different extents of focus this relationship has been found in most case study projects. In this section we will ask and try to respond to the key question under what conditions does this leads to *sustainable social inclusion*. This is clearly dependent on the labour market opportunities both in terms of the economic situation and the regulation of access; the extent to which low formal attainment can be compensated by soft skills. However, institutional factors are not only more relevant but also more likely to be changed: projects need to be allowed, expected and enabled to combine soft and hard approaches. This requires the recognition of in-formal and non-formal skills and knowledge – or a concept of competence that embraces soft and hard aspects – and the absence of pressure in terms of success rates (in terms of labour market integration). We have argued above that participatory support in most cases means that projects actively have to extend their objectives from their original function and field of practice either towards the 'hard' or the 'soft' of policies for young people. While an approach exclusively oriented towards 'hard' outcomes may facilitate access to recognised career opportunities it risks the neglect of subjective dimensions and the need of biographicity to cope with flexibilised trajectories. On the other hand, a merely 'soft' approach entails the risk that self-esteem and reflexivity deflagrate if they are not sustained by recognised qualifications or jobs.

On the soft end of our continuum *youth work* projects primarily aim at skills such as cooperation and responsibility in groups, creativity and personal expression or taking initiative in the community. While this is often justified with the transversality of the skills acquired by participatory approaches in most cases this is not sustained by explicit action in everyday practice. Exceptions are those cases in which youth workers personally engage in this respect and create a climate whereby young people accept the thematisation of transition problems in their leisure time; where relations are built on trust; where youth work means youth information while allowing also for targeted counselling; or where both a low standardisation of professional skills and the support from youth workers allow for careers from simple usership over voluntary engagement to semi-professional careers as freelance project leaders like in the example of *ArciRagazzi* (Italy). In all these cases however links to the labour market are not developed in a systematic way due to the different priorities of the projects, due to a lack of recognition within the transition system and a lack of resources.

This is similar in the case of *integration projects* although the vulnerability of the target groups in almost all cases implies a more comprehensive and holistic approach integrating different transitional strands. Self-esteem is a key issue in many of these approaches thereby individualising the objective of integration in a segmented society (e.g. *Batoto Yetu*, Portugal). This however does not include sustained support with regard to the transition to work; except for support in relation to school and activities towards professional orientation. Where target groups are characterised by multiple disadvantage soft skills mean basic life skills (*Simon Youth Project*, Ireland and *"We want to be independent"*, Romania), these are indispensable in so far as they refer to young people's ability to act in an existential sense.

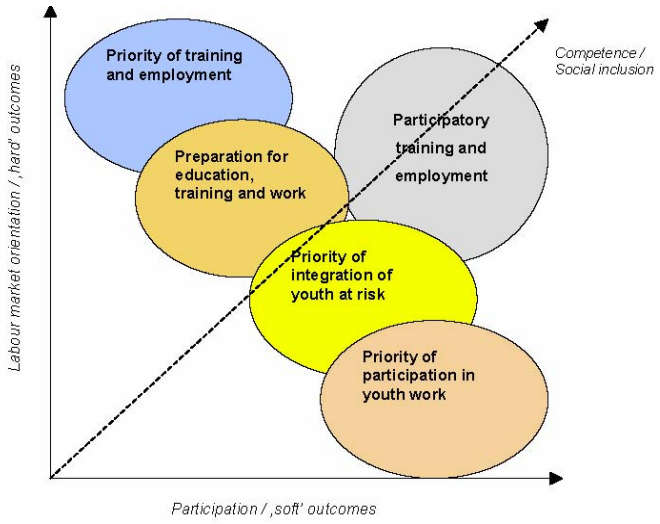
Preparatory measures are much more explicitly oriented towards labour market integration however without necessarily providing hard outcomes such as education or training certificates or direct labour market integration. In principle, they also concentrate on soft skills although these are interpreted in a much narrower way than in the case of youth work; key competencies in particular in the case of disadvantaged youth are interpreted in the 'old' way: adaptation, punctuality, obedience, holding through, and 'learning what work means'. While some of the case study projects also offer the possibility to improve or retake missed school qualifications, most of them struggle with the narrow concept of competence inbuilt into the project design that follows from their function of adapting young people – also by cooling their aspiration out. *Cityteam* (Netherlands) is an example for this struggle, which has become more and more difficult with the mainstreaming of coercive activation approaches.

This dilemma is even more visible with regard to projects laying *priority on training and employment*. In most cases the only space and flexibility is to apply non-formal methods to reach formal qualifications while employment schemes do not stand under the pressure of full competitiveness on the market. The development of soft skills in these contexts is clearly subordinate and restricted to their function of achieving the primary goals.

This of course is different with *participatory training and employment projects*. Here, the combination of qualifications, income, status and access to jobs is not only an explicit aim but it is also achieved in most cases. For project workers there is no hierarchy between the two perspectives and outcomes, they see soft skills and hard resources in a reciprocal functional relationship: no achievement of hard qualifications and jobs without motivation and biographical reflexivity, no development of soft skills without a clear career perspective (in fact most young people initially enter the projects not for the soft skills but for the potential career opportunities they offer). This is not the case for the

funders for whom the concentration on soft skills is simply a necessity due to the disadvantage of the target groups (or the ambitious aims of enterprise creation in the case of *SSCA, Self Starters*). The fact that these projects start from the practice fields of employment and training suggests that it is easier for hard sector projects to extend towards the soft sector than vice versa from the soft sector to get access to hard resources. The most obvious exceptions to this are the cases of *ArciRagazzi* and *Ecological Starters*, a Danish grassroot voluntary project to increase ecological awareness that has developed structures of both training and employment.

Figure 2. Clusters of case study projects



In figure 2. we have illustrated the relation between 'hard' and 'soft' in its potential to support young people in coping with their transitions to work and social inclusion in a heuristic way.

The horizontal axis stands for the level of participation and the types of soft skills provided, while the vertical axis stands for extent of labour market orientation and hard resources. The achievement of projects on either axis depends not only on the level of qualifications or motivation but also from the degree of disadvantage and disengagement of the target group (vocational certificates to social inclusion being valued higher in the case of early school leavers compared to young people with average school qualifications). The diagonal between the axis stands for the ideal type that integrates hard and soft resources, and the systemic and subjective aspects of social integration.

1.4. Key factors: money and persons

Apart from their different objectives and possibilities to address competence in a comprehensive and holistic way, we have to ask in a more basic way under what conditions can participatory projects effectively work in such a direction. Arguably, funding is an issue in which several of the factors mentioned in the previous section culminate: for example funding for space, funding for sufficient staff to provide holistic support on various levels, funding despite of open outcomes. Most of the case study projects were part of the so-called third sector between market and state, i.e. they operate with largely public funding according to public guidelines but have to (re-)organise their funding themselves on an ongoing basis. This means that either they have to adapt their strategies according to any fluctuation in policy priorities or to invest a large part of their time and energies into gaining funding from different sources, thereby achieving a certain degree of autonomy. We have also shown that youth work projects often typically depend on local funding which can be invested more flexibly according to local needs while being more vulnerable for political change; education and training or employment schemes are more often funded through national programmes with more centralised and standardised guidelines (for cross-national differences see below).

However, when we look at the funding situation we see a majority of the case study projects across all types – but especially those successfully combining hard and soft resources – during the period of our research encountered major structural problems. In some cases, projects have been closed due to changed policy priorities (e.g. *Open Youth Education*, Denmark; *La Silhouette*, West Germany; *Cityteam*, Netherlands); in some cases, they had been developed as pilot projects and – although widely acknowledged for their work – had to restructure after the end of the pilot funding period (e.g. *Lifting the Limits*, UK; *"We want to be independent"*, Romania); some have been refocused or closed as part of general cuts in public spending; while others have been affected by funding structures which always have been fragile. We find our initial hypothesis confirmed: that participation is not a prime objective in transitions to work policies and there is little indication of an improved situation in sight (see table 6.).

Table 6. Funding status of YOYO case study projects at the end of the project

Name of project	Country	Funding situation (compared to start of research	Operating status
Youth work			
SZINFO	Romania	Stable	Ongoing
Centro Giovani – Campagnola	Italy	Stable	Expanded
Arciragazzi - Palermo	Italy	---	Stopped
Giovani/Periferie	Italy	Stable	Ongoing
Glen Foroige	Ireland	Stable	Ongoing
Integration projects			
We Want to Become Independent*	Romania	---	Stopped
Boys/Girls House	Denmark	Worse	Restricted
Mobile Youth Work	Germany (West)	Worse	Ongoing
Batoto Yetu	Portugal	Worse	Restricted
Príncipes do Nada	Portugal	Stable	Ongoing
Preparation for education and training			
Open youth education	Denmark	---	Stopped
Opportunity Youth	UK	Stable	Expanded
Kompass-Job in Club	Germany (East)	---	Stopped
Youthreach	Ireland	Stable	Ongoing
Cityteam	Netherlands	Worse	Restricted
Training and employment			

SOLARIS	Romania	Stable	Ongoing
Helicon / Centerparcs	Netherlands	Worse	Restricted
Asociación Laura Vicuña	Spain	Stable	Ongoing
Youth Cooperative (Mallorca)	Spain	Stable	Ongoing
"Shalom" Freiberg	Germany (East)	---	Stopped
Participatory training and employment			
Ecological starters	Denmark	Worse	Restricted
SSCA Starters Service Almere	Netherlands	Stable	Ongoing
Cooperativa "Parque Alcosa", Alfafar	Spain	Stable	Ongoing
Aldeia de Santa Isabel	Portugal	Stable	Ongoing
Lifting the Limits	UK	---	Stopped
LaSilhouette	Germany (West)	Worse	Restricted

In this situation, one key structural characteristic becomes even more visible: the dependency of participatory projects on the *persons* working within the project. Professional profiles include a variety of experiences with regard to counselling, non-formal education and training, of work arrangements and planning projects that can be characterised as subject-oriented, practice-based and participatory. Based on these insights a training module for practitioners – youth workers, social workers, trainers, teachers, and policy makers – has been developed in order to spread participatory professionalism (see annex 1). Apart from professional background, the individual characteristics of key persons played a major role: first, personal investment in terms of unpaid voluntary work or overtime in order to provide additional support – either the more soft aspects in the case of training projects or bridging from soft to hard by making contacts with employers etc.; second, personal charisma and inventiveness both to secure funding on the level of local policy and to inspire project staff with regard to a holistic approach; third, the willingness and capacity to live the relationships with the young people as a *"mother figure"* (*Simon Youth Project*, Ireland) or a "*real friend"* (*Mobile Youth Work*, Stuttgart). Often it was the persons who had initiated or founded a

project who played such a key role and one that was hard to replace by external staff, especially under the conditions of restricted funding. One may argue that the relevance of individual persons represents a limitation of the validity of participatory approaches in supporting young people in their transitions to work, however we want to argue that personal effort in most cases resulted from a considerable lack of funding and continuity which without personal compensation would have resulted in the collapse of many projects (or in fact has done so). Finally, participation and motivation can be sustained by including them into the criteria of success and assessed through qualitative evaluation methods.

1.5. Scope for participation across different European transition regimes

In so far as the YOYO project is an international study the question arises whether the factors for participation, motivational change, learning biographies and competence combining hard and soft aspects – as well as the necessary funding – are more likely to be found in some European contexts compared to others. This brings us back to the framework of transition regimes that allows us to relate the specific – and often exceptional – case study projects to the wider context of socio-economic, institutional and cultural factors. Even the more difficult question to answer in terms of the transferability of such models of 'good practice', involves the different socio-economic, institutional and cultural structures of transition regimes. From the analysis of the relationship between the case study projects and the structures of the respective transition regimes we feel it is possible to draw some conclusions in terms of the perspectives on participatory support or the reconciliation between 'hard' and 'soft' policies in different transition regimes.

In the *universalistic* transition regime (Denmark in the YOYO project) young people have choice even within the 'hard' policy sectors like education or active labour market policies. Combined with entitlements to allowances, wages or benefits as long as they remain active this reflects the centrality of motivation for personal development in citizenship. However, evidenced not only by the closure of one of the case study projects (example *Open Youth Education*), but also by the fact that a so-called 'residual' group of migrant youth are not reached, suggests that young people need to buy into a specific cultural model before being able to profit from a transition system which in principle allows for participation and choice biographies.

In the *liberal* transition regime (UK and Ireland) policies are much more clearly geared towards the early labour market integration and economic independence of young people (also if single parents; for example *Lifting the Limits*). On the one hand, priority of

individual responsibility is reflected in a flexible system of education and training while in measures for the most vulnerable participation plays a certain a role. On the other hand, workfare policies exert pressure to ensure young people do not remain unemployed and dependent on social benefits. In sum, flexible spaces are counteracted by individualised risks and pressure.

In the *employment-centred* regime (Germany and Netherlands) where transitions are structured by a selective school system and standardised vocational training youth is mainly interpreted as allocation to occupational positions. Those in regular trajectories are secure while others face high risks of exclusion; in Germany even without automatically being entitled to social benefits. Disadvantage means that individual deficits need to be compensated before making 'real' choices. Hard and soft policy sectors are strictly separated so that participation in transitions to work is basically a question of high school qualifications. While Germany is a rigid example (example *Atelier La Silhouette* as an exception), the Netherlands represent a more flexible version of this regime type.

The main feature of the *sub-protective* transition regime in Southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain) is a structural deficit with regard to both soft and hard policies for young people. The lack of links between education and employment results in long waiting periods, high unemployment and increasing precariousness while the lack of welfare rights makes young people dependent on their families. Youth organisations of the third sector increasingly are the only bridges towards an active social life – often without systematic links with the labour market. The structural deficit however implies that social space is less institutionalised so that some voluntary initiative can eventually turn into careers; yet precarious ones (examples *ArciRagazzi* and *Batoto Yetu*).

In the *post-socialist* transition regime (Romania) de-standardisation is especially dramatic. While in the communist period education and employment were tightly linked – with little individual choice but considerable security – toady education, training and the labour market fail to keep pace with transformation and the increasing risks of social exclusion. State institutions have lost credibility, in contrast to the few NGOs who manage to secure funding to close the gaps of training, youth work or social policies. Rather than finding spaces for experimentation and initiative young people have to accumulate any possible training and qualifications for potential opportunities. A minority of them succeed by opening up their own businesses. For the others participation mainly takes place in dreams of emigration.

If considering the transfer of selected good practice the complexity of contexts needs to be taken into account. However, knowledge about factors of success allows for de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation by assessing whether functional equivalents exist in other contexts. However, in terms of transferability it is also important to highlight that many of the case study projects experienced major problems during the period of the project due to discontinuous funding (across all regimes). It is very clear that this undermines any notion of participation, sustainable inclusion and citizenship. In particular, the two participatory training projects addressing disadvantaged young women are at risk of closure. In terms of transferability and mainstreaming of participatory transition policies the contribution of EU-policies can be considered, especially where it influences national policies either directly or indirectly through the Open Method of Coordination. In the introduction to this report we mentioned four policy streams that were related to young people's transitions to work: the European Employment Strategy, the Social Inclusion Process, the European Area of Lifelong Learning, and the process and follow-up regarding the White Paper on Youth. In certain respects, the respective programmes and discourses mirror the divided picture of participation in the transition to work reflected within the case study projects.

- We find, first, the *European Employment Strategy* with its main goal of full employment and employability. With the formalisation of quantitative benchmarks in terms of activation measures provided to all young people following six months of unemployment where the scope for a balance between hard and soft aspects of inclusion appears to be narrow. While unemployment is increasingly dealt with by workfare policies, the aim of reducing early school leaving is likely to be addressed in a preventative way due to the younger age of the target group. In the 2004 guidelines one of the objectives was to increase the coverage and attractiveness of active labour market policies for young people, which may be an implicit acceptance that up until now these policies have not been attractive and that therefore improvements in this respect need to be made (EC, 2004a).

- Second, the discourse around a *European Area of Lifelong Learning* explicitly acknowledges the recognition and validation of informal and non-formal learning and to provide support, evaluation and validation of youth organisations and their contribution to non-formal learning (EC, 2001a). In the indicators for education and training (EC, 2004b) 'learning to learn' is the main key competence; this largely overlaps with 'biographicity' and a reflexive learning biography. The problem with the lifelong learning strategy is its strong instrumental perspective on learning and competence prioritising the validation of informal work experience (CEDEFOP, 2004). Models where hard and soft, professional and biographical, formal and

in/non-formal learning are fully integrated and which contribute to both subjective and systemic dimensions of social integration seem distant.

- A third strand is the *Social Inclusion Process*, launched in the aftermath of the Lisbon Summit to coordinate policies for social cohesion. The aims complement the Employment Strategy in the creation of the necessary prerequisites for inclusion of the most disadvantaged into the labour market. Social inclusion is explicitly addressed by a multi-dimensional strategy aimed at creating access not only to employment but also to all aspects of social life and services relevant for social integration. At the same time however reference to social protection schemes mainly focuses on the objective of 'making work pay' in terms of either reducing benefit levels or making benefits conditional which contradicts the participatory rethoric of the programme (EC, 2000).

- Finally, the *White Paper on Youth* appears to be a key reference for the findings of the YOYO project in so far as participation is the one of the key concepts – it also underlines the challenge to make those disadvantaged youth who are not organised in youth associations etc participate. It highlights that a participatory youth policy approach needs to be mainstreamed through all policy sectors that affect young people's lives. The weakness of the White paper is that the secondary status of youth policy is reproduced by a concept of participation that remains largely procedural. Substantial objectives such as young people's economic and social autonomy are not raised – except by quoting the results of the consultation of young people without however validating them as policy objectives (EC, 2001b). Aside from the EU the *Council of Europe* also needs to be considered as a European actor committed to a holistic and participatory understanding of youth policy that is highlighted in a document of youth policy indicators (Council, 2003) and applied in a process of reviewing national youth polciies (cf. Williamson, 2002).

In sum, European policies offer the potential to reinforce participatory approaches in respect of their discourses however these often remain vague, open for contradictory interpretation and – most importantly – are not binding on national policies. This makes them on the one hand indispensable, but on the other somewhat unreliable for the project of empowering young people's citizenship.

2. Ambivalences and recommendations

One of the main questions of this research has been whether the active participation of young people in their transition to work is a promising approach that permits intrinsic motivation and therefore re-vitalises young people's status and feeling of citizenship. This is within a context of de-standardised, increased risks and restricted opportunities – particularly for those with low qualifications – which can undermine motivation; and increase the pressure towards adaptation. While our findings may be seen as giving a positive answer to this question, we find the opposite if we look at current discourses and policies – and the funding situation of most participatory projects. It is noteworthy that participation is promoted as the key principle of civil society at times when workers' participation in the economy is curtailed and individual autonomy undermined by activation policies. Or: the civil society is proclaimed and at the same time disconnected from the welfare state. Therefore, it seems necessary to sharpen the understanding of participation that has emerged from the analysis in an explicit way. At the start we had already stressed an active concept of participation and one that is related to the structural aspects of resources and opportunities. Looking back from an empirically informed and sensitised perspective we can now confirm this and make further distinctions. If participation is applied as a way of enhancing the motivation of young people to engage in actively shaping their lives – and that of their communities – and if this motivation is expected to be invested into inclusive careers then it is more than a procedural principle in artificial and restricted social arenas. On the one hand it means a pedagogical principle focused around the notions of space, responsibility and trust. On the other, it refers to policy in terms of re-opening the space for choice for those with limited opportunities and under pressure to adapt; choices which need to be secured by resources that permit an autonomous life. While this clearly does not imply to be able to freely choose any career with the assistance of unlimited support, it means to allow for processes whereby young people have the time and space to understand the prerequisites of different careers while being informed about the potential ways and support to achieve them. Empowerment – a term which comes close to the meaning of participation (and sharing the fate of inflationary use) – means that one should not force individuals to give up their goals and cool out their aspirations but to increase their power – in terms of rights, resources and competence – in order to achieve them (Rappaport, 1981).

At the same time however, our findings also support the view that there is no way back to the Fordist welfare state in which social justice (or social integration) was equated with and reduced to re-distribution. The reservations of young people towards welfare state

institutions do not only relate to the pressure from activation policies but also to bureaucratically applied re-distributive 'training for all' programmes. These are often characterised by strong normative assumptions and run the risk of neglecting young people's individuality and dignity (Margalit, 1998). As Fraser argues, welfare institutions fail to provide social justice if they address social needs exclusively from an expertocratic or bureaucratic perspective without involving the participants in the interpretation of their own needs (Fraser, 1989). In this respect, participation is not a harmonious concept but one that allows for communication and negotiation of divergent interests and conflict (Stevens et al., 1999). This position is best described by the notion of *lived citizenship* (Hall & Williamson, 1999) as both a status and practice (cf. Lister, 2003). Marshall conceptualised citizenship as the combination of civil, political, and social rights (Marshall, 1950), however at present, the risk is that this trinity is being separated with a downsized welfare state addressing social rights while participation programmes address civil and political rights – rather than being interrelated.

The key lesson to be learnt from the YOYO project is that social integration and the citizenship of young people requires both a welfare state approach aimed at redistributing resources and opportunities and a civil society approach of participation. Welfare without participation can turn into alienating normalisation; whilst participation without welfare carries the risk of individualised exclusion.

Transition policies in most cases are at least implicitly about learning – be it in terms of soft skills or hard qualifications, be it practically or theoretically. Our analysis allows us to make a first conclusive reflection in terms of the concept of *competence*. Like the whole discourse of lifelong learning the term has been introduced as a way to meet changed demands of social integration in the context of post-Fordist labour market flexibilisation and the de-coupling of education and employment (cf. Walther & Stauber, 1998; 1999; Coffield, 1999; Field, 2000). Rather than preparing young people in a selective way for different careers and positions, a more general approach is required which allows young people not only to adapt proactively to different contexts but to actively shape them: 'learning for change' (cf. Manninen, 1998). We would therefore suggest to speak not about competen*cies* thereby reproducing the separation of and hierarchy between different types of skills, knowledge and abilities but about competen*ce* – or to be more precise: 'contextual competence' (Mørch, 2003). Competence in this comprehensive sense means an individuals' capacity to act, to cope with constantly new challenges in private, social and work life, and to shape one's live in a self-determined way (Böhnisch & Schröer, 2005). Such a notion of competence is structured by two axis: the first integrates personal, social and methodical skills and knowledge, i.e. cultural techniques as well as more targeted professional knowledge (cf. Rychen & Salganik, 2003;

Erpenbeck, 2003); the second one relates biographical reflexivity with the aspect of social recognition. It is only if learning processes – and especially those provided by institutions with the aim of social integration – are reflected as subjectively relevant and also recognised by institutions and employers as societally relevant, that they can contribute to social inclusion. For example gender and intercultural learning will not lead to an individual nor societal extension of gender roles and identities if they not reflected within the de-segmentation of social structures and institutions. While the competence perspective contributes in overcoming the distinction between learning process and learning outcomes it also bridges the gap between learning and education. The necessity of self-directed learning does not liberate institutions from their responsibility to reflect upon what skills and knowledge are required in society, but also to provide opportunities in which these can be attained. Otherwise there is a risk that learning for competence turns into a fierce competition among individuals to accumulate skills and knowledge in order to maximise the chance of recognition under conditions of uncertainty. Needless to say that this does not only apply for learning in the transition to work but for the whole education system within knowledge-based societies as motivational careers and learning biographies tend to be founded early in life.

This perspective confronts policies with two key challenges. First: competence in a holistic sense requires learning to be accessible, supported by social policies while opening subjectively relevant career and life perspectives. The concept of Integrated Transition Policies (Walther, Stauber et al., 2002) has been developed to allow for the coordination of policies that are relevant for a biographical perspective on the transitions of young men and women. In this perspective, the boundaries between education and training, welfare, labour market and youth policies (but also housing, health etc.) become permeable with individual meaningful life perspectives and sustainable social inclusion is the subordinate objective. Second, the demand for policies to be open towards participation and a comprehensive concept of competence can be explained by the 'reflexive modernisation' of 'risk societies' (Beck, 1992) whereby the predictability of the effects of institutional agency and planning decreases. However, as soon as institutions fail in fulfilling their function of reducing insecurity in social life, they lose their legitimisation (Evers & Nowotny, 1987). As a consequence social spaces need to be open for the active engagement of individuals to explore strategies of coping with insecurity and uncertainty rather than being the subject of increasing control and standardisation. As Kelly (1999) suggests: experiments in surviving in the 'wild zones' of society should be encouraged rather than trying to 'tame' such zones at any cost because the protective aspects of the latter are increasingly restricted to institutional structures themselves and fail to protect the individuals concerned. This is the main implication of a

perspective of 'youth as a resource' which does not restrict young people's future as one of future workers and tax payers but as citizens of the present; a perspective which we find most developed in the Scandinvian universalistic transition regime.

The emerging structural gap between policies and young people makes a perspective which is oriented towards *'the informal'* in terms of social integration – or even better: the relevance of informal resources of social integration – more and more useful; contexts in which 'active trust' can be developed and relationships can be actively shaped and lived (Giddens, 1990). For institutions, that are intended to stabilise social integration and reduce uncertainty, the demand to recognise the informal and to reject plans for specific and controllable outcomes represents a paradoxical challenge but to leave space in which goals and means are negotiated and experimented. As our analysis proves current policies tend to attempt to re-standardise the informal. This accounts as well for approaches that aim to validate informal and non-formal learning – at least when reduced to attempts to translate them into and measure them according to formal standards. The challenge in fact is much bigger, it involves being mindful of the universally valid principle that "learning cannot be designed but only designed for – it is facilitated or frustrated" (Wenger, 1998, p 229) this becomes even more true under the conditions of late modernity in terms of "modelling without the model to be arrived at in the end being known or clearly visualised; … in short, an open-ended process, concerned more with remaining open-ended than with any specific product." (Bauman, 2001, p 139).

Referring to the interpretation of the relationship between participation and motivation in the sense of *self-determination* we can describe our approach towards participation and citizenship as a sociopolitical one, which asks for the structural prerequisites of participation and autonomy. In contrast, we criticise discourses that relate participation exclusively to civil society and to procedural aspects of involvement for giving way for a strategy of governance that predominantly aims to make individuals self-responsible for coping with the risks of social exclusion. We see the danger of participation becoming a "strategy of immunisation" (Masschelein & Quaghebeur, 2003) such as in the cases of the discourses of activation and lifelong learning (van Berkel & Hornemann Møller, 2002; Pascual Serrano, 2003).

This corresponds with a final aspect of young men's and women's motivation with regard to participation and citizenship: the aspect of legitimacy in late modern *democracy*. Public institutions are legitimised as the executive of democratic decisions, however the growing complexity of social structures makes institutions contradictory and likely to fail, and their credibility and legitimacy decreases. This means that citizenship loses its real

value and relevance and can only be compensated for by re-delegating power to the individual where they are concerned in their lives by public issues – power in terms of rights to negotiate with institutions about appropriate solutions, the appropriate definition of 'rights and responsibilities' in the individual case.

Key recommendations of the YOYO project

Recommendations for the assessment of young people's transition problems:

- The assessment of young people's transitions should distinguish between the structural aspect of achieved transition progress and subjective motivational careers.
- De-motivation has to be understood as arising from experiences of denied choice, neglected needs and interests, and damaged confidence in self-efficacy rather than as individual deficits.

Recommendations for the design and implementation of policies:

- Transition policies should allow for choice in terms of voluntary access and alternative options.
- Learning outcomes as well as counselling should not be channelled towards specific transition directions.
- Programmes should be flexible for individualised use.
- They should be oriented to provide spaces for experimentation and learning by doing.
- The scope of transition policies should be extended to recognise the whole person with his/her needs and interests, not only those related to transitions from education to work.
- Policies should connect any activity that is useful for personal development or the wider community, or both, with social rights and entitlements to the existential minimum.
- Funding structures must allow for project continuity and not only depend on crude success rates.

- Evaluation procedures should measure both hard and soft outcomes.

- Young people should be consulted in the policy-making processes in the areas of education, training and employment. This includes evaluating their subjective progress.

Recommendations for the delivery of practice:

- Transition policy schemes should be designed to provide a framework rather than pre-structured learning opportunities while providing support if it is required.

- Projects should not restrict themselves to their original field of practice, official function and formal professionality but extend to all areas relevant for the needs and interests of young people.

- Projects need to focus on strengths by selecting activities in which young people are competent rather than concentrating on the compensation of deficits.

- Project delivery needs to be able to invest an advance of trust in young people and prove worthy of being trusted by young people by offering unconditional support.

- Local partnerships of different schemes need to be tailored to increase young people's choices and allow for individualised networks.

Recommendations for further research:

- A longitudinal perspective in the evaluation of transition systems could assess the sustainability of the impact of participatory policies on young people's transitions.

• Interdisciplinarity in terms of relating to separate policy fields and research perspectives which intersect young people's transitions.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

1. Strategies for dissemination during the life time of the project

A key structure of dissemination throughout the project has been the incorporation of an advisory board; as a result the YOYO-findings have been extended to other countries and institutions (Swedish Youth Board, Stockholm; New Europe Center for Regional Studies, Plovidv, Bulgaria; European Youth Forum; National School for Public Health, Rennes, France; International Sociological Association, Research Committee 34 Youth).

In addition to this ongoing dissemination the consortium itself has widely disseminated the research findings.

- A *Training Module* for the Further Training of practitioners and policy makers in the field of youth transitions has been developed (see annex 1), whereby the findings can be transferred into practice. The first attempt to realise the training on a European level by submitting a proposal to the YOUTH programme was unsuccessful (but the proposal is planned to be re-submitted).

- YOYO findings have been presented and discussed at a Conference at Cork University (June 2004), together with representatives from the EU Commission, the Council of Europe und Irish national policy makers (see annex 2).

- There have been publications by individual consortium members and the consortium as a whole concerning the dissemination of research findings – articles in scientific journals, book chapters, papers presented at conferences; as the list of dissemination activities shows (see annex 4), a broad use has been made of this option.

- Through the production of video films an additional option for dissemination exists whereby the young people have the possibility to raise their voices directly.

Findings have also been disseminated through education and training activities. The specificity of the YOYO-project in this respect is, that these activities did not only address students (on university courses), but also policy makers and practitioners (see annex 4), and even influenced national processes of policy making in some contexts (see chapter V., section 3.).

The project website www.iris-egris.de/yoyo has been a big success. It was established in summer 2001, and the number of visitors soon rose to an average of 3000 page impressions per month. The online availability of National reports and Working Papers

attracted particular attention. For example, the state of the art report on youth transitions, participation and informal learning (YOYO Working Paper 1) has been downloaded 9,000 times. The innovative nature of the project and the online dissemination strategy has also lead to a high ranking in web inventories and search engines. Google for example ranks two YOYO product links among their Top Ten under the search for “youth transitions” and “participation”.

Table 7. Dissemination activities and results

Title of result	Partners involved	Exploitation intention	
		Achieved	planned
Training module	United Kingdom, Italy, Germany West, Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, Romania	Available as a didactical instrument; Proposal has been submitted to the YOUTH programme	Plan to re-submit YOUTH proposal
Cork conference	All partners involved	Impact on national and European youth and transition policies	
Scientific dissemination (articles, book-chapters, papers on conferences)	All partners to different extent (see annex 4)	See annex 4	Book publication with all partners involved
Training courses for students	Netherlands, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Romania, Germany East and West	Pedagogical use is made of the Yoyo findings	Courses for students planned for summer 2005
Dissemination addressing policy makers (papers on conferences, policy consultancy)	All partners to different extent (see annex 4)	Conference in Madrid 2002; YOYO seminar in Cork 2004; Council of Europe; URBACT network	Seminars in Sweden (2005)
Doctorates based on YOYO research	UK, Italy, Germany West and East, Netherlands		Ongoing deepening and further exploitation of yoyo-findings
Video Tapes	All partners involved		Transfer of Yoyo-results to practitioners
Further European research based on YOYO project	All partners to different extent	Thematic study on policies for disadvantaged youth (DG employment)	Planned FP 6 proposals
Executive summary	Coordinator		Addressing policy makers and practitioners

2. Follow-up of results after the completion of the project

On a scientific level, the project's findings are followed up.

First, by the "Thematic study of policiy for disadvantaged youth" (DG Employment and Social Affairs), for which the coordinator of YOYO has successfully applied. Other members of the YOYO-Consortium or advisory board from Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, United Kingdom, and Denmark are involved.

Second, by different *proposals* to the 6th Framework programme.

- A proposal for an Integrated Project for the 1st call has been submitted addressing de-standardisation of transition over the whole life course (to be revised for the 2nd call).
- A Marie Curie Research training network is planned regarding this topic.
- A follow-up of the YOYO –project is planned in terms of re-interviewing respondents under the perspective of social inequality and biographical development.
- A proposal is planned on youth and intergenerational relationships between formal and informal contexts of growing up.

Third, the research findings are further explored and deepened by five doctorates which are being developed in relation to the YOYO-research, carried out in the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany West and East, and the Netherlands (see annex 4).

3. Political impact of research findings

It has to be highlighted that YOYO, although being a research project, managed to have some impact on national transition policies already within its lifetime:

Sweden: The National youth board, which was represented on the scientific advisory board of YOYO, has contributed to the consultations on the new Swedish Youth Policy Bill by using - among others - YOYO-findings. In fact, the new law corresponds in some important respects with the YOYO recommendations, above all regarding the strengthening of social rights und power of young people towards institutions.

Ireland: YOYO has been referred to in the re-structuring of the National Youthreach programme by a Ministry advisor (see annex 2).

On the level of the European Council, YOYO discussions have given their input by the report of Lynne Chisholm and Siyka Kovacheva, both members of the scientific advisory board of the project (see Chisholm/Kovacheva 2002).

Apart from this the coordinator has been invited to the Council's expert group on youth policy indicators (Council, 2003) and to the international team reviewing the youth policy of the Slovac Republic.

Another member of the coordination team has been invited as a scientific evaluator of network within the URBACT programme on participatory youth policies on the local level.

The commitment of YOYO-researchers to their topic is underlined by the fact they have been asked for and actually provided support to some of the case study projects either in terms of reference for funding or with regard to project counselling.

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