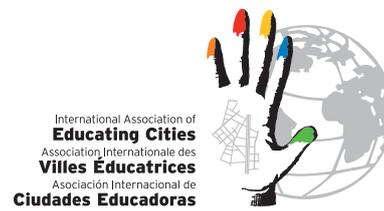


MONOGRAPH

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATING CITIES
2011

CITY, YOUTH AND EDUCATION

CITY, YOUTH AND EDUCATION



Contents

4 Editorial
Jordi Casanovas

6 International Year of Youth
UNESCO Section for Youth, Sport and Physical Education

Manuel Tornare



10

Norman Wray



14

Maqueto S. Lopes



18

Marta Cots



22

28 Youth and Youth Policies in a Globalized World
René Bendit

40 Social change and the transitions from education to work
Andy Furlong

46 Crisis of the Future, Redefining Citizenship and Forms of Cultural Participation by Young People
Carmen Leccardi

52 Youth and New Technologies
Francis Pisani

59 Rennes (France): Sports as an avenue for youth participation
Julie Guyomard, Yvan Dromer and Louis Bertin

64 Zaragoza (Spain): The Homeshare Programme
Silvia Calvo Mateo

66 São Paulo (Brazil): Banking on Youth Autonomy
Leandro Benetti

69 Turin (Italy): Services for youth autonomy
Marta Levi

Editorial

Half of the world's population, namely 3 billion people, are under the age of 25. According to the United Nations Youth Agency figures, in 2010 18% of the world's population was between 15 and 24 years of age. The world's youth population, which lives mainly in cities, is growing at a rate of 0.7% yearly and it will continue to grow at least another decade.

Given the demographic importance weight of the youth population worldwide and on the occasion of the 25th anniversary in 2010 of the first International Year of Youth, which successfully placed the problems faced by young people on the public agenda of countries and cities, the 65th Session of the UN General Assembly decided to dedicate the International Year running from August 2010 to August 2011 to that population segment. Framed within the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals and with the motto "Dialogue and Mutual Understanding", countries, cities, federations and associations have been invited to undertake measures aimed at promoting the ideals of peace, freedom, progress and solidarity among youth.

The IAEC decided to contribute to that year by drafting this monograph with the title "Cities, Youth and Education", in order to show how local policies on youth are playing an increasingly important role in the promotion, participation and improvement of the quality of life of that age bracket. Within that framework, the interviews, articles and experiences presented focus on different factors affecting young people.

The first section offers a number of reflections through four interviews with city officials and representatives of youth organisations and associations from different places around the world. The first interview is with Manuel Tornare, former Mayor and member of the Administrative Council of Geneva, who describes the aims and organisation and some of the initiatives undertaken by the city's Youth Delegation, including the Jobs Box, the VIA social integration agency and actions for fostering the association tissue.

In the following interview, Norman Wray, member of the Metropolitan District of Quito, reflects on urban cultures and their stigmatisation and provides an account of experiences such as the Metropolitan Youth Council and the Metropolitan Youth House.

Maqueto Sebastião Lopes, Secretary of the Pan-African Youth Union, explains the mission of that federation of African youth associations, which focuses on promoting the implementation of youth policies based upon the principles of the African Youth Charter.

Lastly, Marta Cots, President of the Barcelona Youth Council, an independent youth platform that has become one of the leading European exponents of the past 30 years, remarks on its contribution and co-operation with the City Council for improving the conditions and quality of life of young people in the city.

The second block of the monograph contains four in-depth articles. In *Youth and Youth Policies in a Globalized World*, René Bendit, a consultant specialising in youth policies and former researcher at the German Youth Institute, reflects on how globalization is causing extraordinary change in the processes of youth emancipation and posits integrated youth policies as the instrument *par excellence* of local youth policy aimed at providing young people with the tools and resources that will allow them to make the transition to adult life successfully.

For his part, the British sociologist Andy Furlong, professor at Glasgow University, in the article *Social Change and the Transitions from Education to Work*, describes the context of the economic recession that is having a particular impact on youth and resulting in profound changes in the transition from the educational system to the labour market (non-linear itineraries, individualised experience, need for new "hard" and "soft" skills, etc.), and advocates quality training programmes that will allow genuine integration into the labour market.

Then, Carmen Leccardi, professor at Milan-Bicocca University, in her article *Crisis of the Future, Redefining Citizenship and Forms of Cultural Participation by Young People*, describes, within the context of a crisis of values, the central role of "cultural citizenship" and the participation and cultural and artistic practices of youth in reclaiming the public space of the city and as an antidote to the "presentification" of time that characterises our society.

The section closes with the article *Youth and New Technologies* by Francis Pisani, a French political scientist and journalist specialising in information technologies who analyses the evolution of ICTs, Internet trends, the role of youth in the information society, as well as the changes due to the acceleration and digitalisation of society (social networks, forms of horizontal organisation, 2.0 enterprises), as well as the resulting problems (the digital divide, security, and so on), while questioning the widespread belief that the arrival of generations of digital natives necessarily implies genuine comprehension of the potential of ICTs.

The final part of the monograph sets out the experiences of four educating cities. The City of Rennes, with two projects, one comprising night-time sports activities and the other a pilot programme for facilitating access to sports facilities by groups of young people in vulnerable situations. The City of Zaragoza presents an intergenerational homeshare programme to address two needs: alleviating the solitude of elderly people and providing accommodation for young students. São Paulo describes the Ruth Cardoso Youth Cultural Centre, an emblematic 8,000 m² mega-facility that rehabilitated a problematic area on the edge of the city, a successful experience in cultural innovation and youth participation. Lastly, Turin, European Youth Capital in 2010, presents three new municipal services for promoting youth autonomy: accommodation for young people, fostering the association tissue and youth entrepreneurship.

I should like to emphasise certain factors that we can infer from these contributions:

- Detection of the effects of globalization on people's lives and particularly on young people's lives, where it is transforming emancipation processes and creating obstacles to the accomplishment of the aspirations of young people (unemployment and unstable jobs, difficulties in obtaining a dwelling, and so on).
- Changes affecting the labour market and the transition from school to work, involving non-linear itineraries, individualised experience, need to acquire new technical and social skills and to promote formal, non-formal and informal education.
- Impact of information technologies on our societies, with young people as the biggest users, giving rise to new opportunities and risks.
- The conviction that the extension of the juvenile phase leads to definition of youth as a stage of life with its own characteristics and having potential and opportunities but also drawbacks and hazards within the current context of crisis. This is generating phenomena that affect culture, the public space, communication, languages, lifestyles, consumer habits, use of time and social and political participation by young people.
- The need for political and social involvement of young people and for governments to recognise and support youth associations while at the same time creating and tending channels for youth participation in the processes of conception, design and assessment of public policies.
- The particular relevance of youth policies and their cross-cutting nature at all levels of government,

particularly at the local level, given that it is the closest to young people. There is a need to implement integrated youth policies (joint and priority action in all areas) and their corollary (overall plans, inter-departmental co-ordination, etc.) rather than sectorial policies, as the best approach to meeting the new challenges of globalization, addressing the problems of youth emancipation and providing young people with the necessary tools to plan and carry out their own projects.

One final remark: the Charter of Educating Cities (2004) states that education, in the broadest sense, is a fundamental and cross-cutting component of any city's political project. On that basis, there can be no doubt that the policies developed by cities (urban planning, culture, sports, health, education, infancy, senior citizens, and so on) contribute to building a shared project and an individual itinerary. Likewise, youth policy must contribute to that process. However, the figures that we have at our disposal show that in spite of its numerical importance and clear needs, the youth sector has not yet been given proper recognition by the population in general nor by policy-makers. Much work remains to be done.

As noted in the monograph, there are a good many reasons to encourage cities to take up the challenge of developing and implementing innovative, comprehensive and cross-cutting youth policies to provide the resources and services that this population segment needs in order to attain full citizenship. We believe that the content of this monograph can contribute to accomplishing that goal, which is likewise the road map for the International Year of Youth 2010-2011. I invite you to read it.

Jordi Casanovas Berdaguer

Degree in Education Sciences, specialist in Youth Policies.
Technical Consultant for the Barcelona Youth Plan

International Year of Youth: Dialogue

12 August 2010 - 11 August 2011

Why an International Year of Youth?

In December 2009, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 64/134 proclaiming the International Year of Youth from 12 August 2010 to 11 August 2011.

The proclamation of the Year signifies the importance the international community places on integrating youth-related issues into global, regional, and national development agendas. Under the theme Dialogue and Mutual Understanding, the Year aims to promote the ideals of peace, respect for human rights and solidarity across generations, cultures, religions and civilizations. The Year provides the framework to bring youth to the forefront of global debates. It is an opportunity to take the youth

development agenda a step further and to advocate for increased investments in, and strengthened commitments to, youth.

The world is facing many, often overlapping, crises including financial, security, environmental and other socio-economic challenges hindering the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals. Investing in and partnering with youth is key to addressing these challenges in a sustainable manner. Indeed, youth development is more and more recognized as an important area of national development that relates directly to the economic, political and social well-being of a country. Such recognition is based on the realization by



stakeholders (policy and opinion makers, national and local authorities, academia, the civil society, Intergovernmental Organizations and NGOs, media, the private sector and the UN System) that youth are partners and key pillars in development. They should therefore be provided with opportunities to build their assets and skills and to engage constructively in their communities.

Celebration of the International Year of Youth The United Nations Interagency Network on Youth Development

This interagency is a network consisting of UN entities, whose work is relevant to youth. The aim of the Network is to increase the effectiveness of work in youth development by strengthening collaboration and exchange among all relevant UN entities. The United Nations Programme on Youth is the permanent co-chair of the Network. A second co-chair is selected by the members and rotates on an annual basis. In 2010, UNESCO was selected to be the second co-chair of the Network until March 2011.

The terms of reference of the Network were adopted at the interagency meeting organized by UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and UNESCO at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, from 18 to 19 February 2010.

During the meeting, the Network has identified various collaborative initiatives for the biennium 2010/11, including activities related to the International Year of Youth.

The Network also developed the UN Framework Approach for the International Year of Youth in order to provide a concrete framework for collective efforts during the Year.

The UN framework approach

The UN system's approach for the Year focuses on the three key areas outlined below. In each of these areas, collaborative partnerships with young people are fundamental. The progress achieved during this Year in each of these areas will lay the foundation for further work in youth development, including the implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth as well as the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The three key objectives of the Framework are:

1. "Create awareness": Increase commitment and investment in youth.
 - Increase recognition of youth development as a smart investment by the public and private sectors.

- Advocate for the recognition of young people's contributions to national and community development and to achieving the Millennium Development Goals.
 - Promote understanding of inequalities amongst youth and how to effectively address the needs of the most disadvantaged.
 - Foster research and knowledge building on youth to better inform youth policies and programmes.
2. "Mobilize and engage": Increase youth participation and partnerships.
 - Institutionalize mechanisms for youth participation in decision-making processes.
 - Support youth-led organizations and initiatives to enhance their contribution to society.
 - Strengthen networks and partnerships among Governments, youth-led organizations, academia, civil society organizations, the private sector, the media and the UN system, to enhance commitment and support for holistic youth development.
 3. "Connect and build bridges": Increase intercultural understanding among youth.
 - Promote youth interactions, networks and partnerships across cultures.
 - Empower and support youth as agents of social inclusion and peace.

What's happening?

The Year begun with launch events at UN Headquarters in New York and around the world showcasing youth contributions to development and promoting the implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth. The UN Conference on Youth, anticipated in the General Assembly Resolution on the Year, will be a highlight of the International Year of Youth. Many other events are scheduled throughout the world to celebrate the Year. A calendar of events, where each organization can register their activity is available at: <http://social.un.org/youthyear/>.

Taking stock of the Year: the 7th UNESCO Youth Forum

The 7th UNESCO Youth Forum will take stock of the "International Year of Youth: Dialogue and Mutual Understanding" (12 August 2010 - 11 August 2011) and is planned to provide a space for youth delegates, UN agencies and other partners to report on the activities



they have carried out during the International Year of Youth and chart a future course of action. It will be organized prior to the 36th session of the UNESCO General Conference.

The UNESCO Youth Forum is institutionalized as an integral part of the UNESCO General Conference (32C/Res.82)¹, thereby being among the few regular mechanisms, at global level, which allow youth to submit their recommendations to representatives of national governments. The Youth Forum is an event where youth are the primary delegates and “own” the content and

outputs. The Report of the Forum is presented by the youth delegates to Member States during the General Conference.

More than a simple event, the Youth Forum is also an ongoing process designed to raise the responsibility

1. “The General Conference... Recognising the importance of youth participation in the development and implementation of UNESCO’s programmes... Decides that a Youth Forum shall be an integral part of every session of the General Conference...”



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of youth delegates in undertaking concrete action to implement their ideas. Youth delegates are encouraged to follow-up on their recommendations, in cooperation with national governments, especially the UNESCO National Commissions, as well as with civil society and the UN System. The Youth Forum also has the potential to be a

powerful tool to mobilize partners around a common set of priorities on youth, by linking to other major youth-related events and building synergies for follow-up action.

UNESCO Section for Youth, Sport and Physical Education



Manuel Tornare

Former Mayor and Administrative Councillor of the Geneva City Council (Switzerland) in charge of the Department of Social Cohesion, Youth and Sports from 1999 to May 2011

INTERVIEW

Manuel Tornare holds an MA from the University of Geneva and teaches philosophy and French literature at Collège de Genève. He has been dean of Collège Sismondi (1984-1993), head of Collège de Candolle (1993-1999), and president of Collège de Genève (1996-1998). He has been member of the Socialist Party since 1973, Mayor of Geneva on three occasions, Administrative Councillor in charge of the Department of Social Cohesion, Youth and Sports from 1999 to May 2011, and member of the Parliament of the canton of Geneva since 2009.

Geneva has a high percentage of young people. Could you tell us how youth policies have evolved and how they fit into the municipal government's overall political project?

When I took up my duties in 1999, the City of Geneva did not have an overall youth policy. I therefore set up the Youth Office (DEJ) to take better charge of this area and place it in the framework of a real social policy. Indeed, the department of which I was in charge is called the Department of Social Cohesion, Youth and Sports. It runs seven services which, together, contribute to the municipal social policy with more than 2,000 employees.

Thanks to one of my predecessors, Guy-Olivier Segond, Geneva has developed a large network of community and leisure centres. These institutions put on activities for the whole population, often including ones specifically aimed at children and teenagers. Since they are heavily subsidised by the City Council, it was important for the Council to be more involved in the overall organisation of the network. One of the DEJ's central aims consists in getting the community centres, which are run by the associations, involved in the proximity policy of the Council.

I am also aware that many young people no longer like to take part in "organised" activities. The DEJ's social workers offer activities that the young people demand. The huge success of the sports activities for which there is no need to previous enrol proves this.

It was equally important to set up a real "youth feedback" mechanism with the local and cantonal authorities; to think about each urban planning project from the standpoint of young people. If this way of proceeding already existed for children and the elderly, it should be also developed for young people. Setting up the Youth Office has made this feedback more present and continuous.

What are the Youth Office's main goals and priorities?

The Youth Office's mission is to initiate and stimulate individual, collective and community actions in the neighbourhoods, prioritising integration, dialogue and the exchange of views with young people.

Formed mainly by a team of social street workers (*travailleurs sociaux hors murs*) operating in the sensitive areas, the DEJ fulfils the functions of prevention,

education and monitoring with regard to young people through an informal presence on the streets.

By providing non-repressive responses to the violence, uncivil behaviour and malaise of certain youth, the social street workers aim to allow the young people to regain confidence in their abilities, to feel that they are supported and recognised. This approach also aims to encourage more harmonious relations among all groups of the population, to develop better social relations in the neighbourhoods and, above all, to restore social links. The Youth Office:

- Prioritises the exchange of views with and about young people;
- Prevents them from becoming marginalised;
- Enables them to develop a sense of citizenship by making them independent and responsible;
- Carries out projects with them in collaboration with the various associations and institutions concerned.

Could you describe some significant initiatives that are examples of the way these goals are achieved in practice?

Among the many actions carried out by the Office, I shall mention two projects. Through their daily contact with young people aged 15 to 25, the social workers soon realised that one of the main problems most of them had was the lack of pocket money. Indeed, feeling helpful by working just a few hours a week, while at the same time earning a little pocket money, was a wish they expressed many times over. That is how the Office came to be actively involved in setting up an association called the Jobs Box (*La Boîte à Boulots*), through which more than 1,300 young people are able to find small jobs to do. The City Council subsidises this association, but is also one of its main customers, taking on young people to do different jobs.

Another project set up by the Office is the insertion agency known as VIA. Indeed, in the canton of Geneva -which has about 450,000 inhabitants, 1.5 million counting the cross-border region-, there are over 1,500 young people who have not obtained any qualifications and do not have any precise project for the future.

These young people need specific, individualised support. VIA enables them to get back into society by providing review courses and a personalised education plan. A good



Skate competition, Asphaltissimo urban Sports Festival. © Mark Inderkum



Concert of the French artist "Grand corps malade" during a citizen ceremony.



Basketball competition, Asphaltissimo Festival. © Mark Inderkum

quarter of these courses, lasting between one and six months, are run by the different City Council services.

Switzerland has a number of well-developed mechanisms of direct democracy. How do you encourage young people in Geneva to take part in these mechanisms?

The Geneva Youth Parliament has not existed for the past four years. Unlike in other Swiss cities, the Youth Parliament had no direct link with the City Council. It had no right to put forward proposals or even to be given a hearing other than via the ordinary channels such as petitions or citizen initiatives, which increased the lack of attractiveness of the Parliament.

Rather than launch pro forma exercises in which young people imitate the faults and failings of their elders, greater importance is placed on direct contact with young people and support to specific projects is offered. Young people need to be listened to and for quick answers. That is how more than a hundred small and big projects coming from young people have been supported or helped by the department.

Among the many projects supported by the DEJ, I might mention the recent organisation of the European Hardcourt Bike Polo Championship. This new sport cleverly pokes fun at the pomp of polo. It is played by young people aged 18 to 25 from the best BMX circles and bike courier companies. The kit, sticks, balls, goals and other items are made from recycled materials. The Geneva team went to London by bike and won the championship in 2009. It was therefore up to it to organise the games in 2010. The DEJ actively supported it and the event was a big sporting and festive success.

Three young people of African origin wanted to organise an "integration and sharing" party as part of

an end-of-school assignment. We supported them by making available a community hall, by having a member of the DEJ on the organising committee as adviser and, lastly, by providing a small grant that made it possible to bring together more than 800 young, and not so young, people.

A group of youth crazy about electronics and music, occupying premises made available to them by the DEJ for the past several years, wanted to pass its skills on to other young people. The DEJ's social workers helped and encouraged them to set up a recording studio. A grant of Swiss Francs 3,000 enabled them to buy equipment. This group then formed an association and has allowed other groups supported by the Youth Office to record their first discs.

Geneva celebrates its young people's coming of age and, consequently, their acquisition of full citizenship, by a public welcoming event. Could you explain to us what this event consists in? What are its goal and its message? In your opinion, what is the reason why this ceremony is still held after 65 years?

Since I first took up my duties, this event has been completely rethought. Today it is aimed at all young people, whether they are Swiss or foreign (for instance there are 30,000 Spaniards living in Geneva). The aim of this citizen event is to encourage young people to work actively for their citizen rights, but also to make them aware of their duties. Rather than give them a "citizen's diploma", their sense of civic duty is encouraged by inviting well-known figures who have had to fight for their own rights and those of others. That is how they come to have heard from people such as Lucie Aubrac, a heroine of the French Resistance; Ruth Fayon, a Geneva Jewess who was sent to Auschwitz at the age of 14; Sister Emmanuelle; Alexandre Jolien, a disabled person and a philosopher;



'Primart': exhibition of young artists. © Mark Inderkum

Yukio Hoshiyama, a survivor of the atom-bomb attack on Hiroshima, and many others.

These meetings always have a huge success and young people are grateful for having been given the chance to hear these stories.

The enhancement of democracy is closely linked to the existence of a large number of associations. How do you encourage young people to play an active part in the life of the city's associations?

As I have already mentioned, young people are listened to what they have to say every day. The councillor's office and the DEJ's office are open to whoever requests it. Having knowledge of the associations means that the DEJ can easily refer and address whoever wants to the right places. The creation of new associations is encouraged, whether it be in the field of urban sports, leisure, the arts or development aid. Having an association makes it easier to obtain grants from various bodies, be listened to and be taken seriously. It also makes it easier for them to deal with matters such as responsibility, insurance and opening accounts. The DEJ explains to them all the advantages and guides them in regard to formalities such as drafting statutes, organising meetings and so on. This also allows the DEJ to maintain a large number of associations and to make use of their services and competences if necessary.

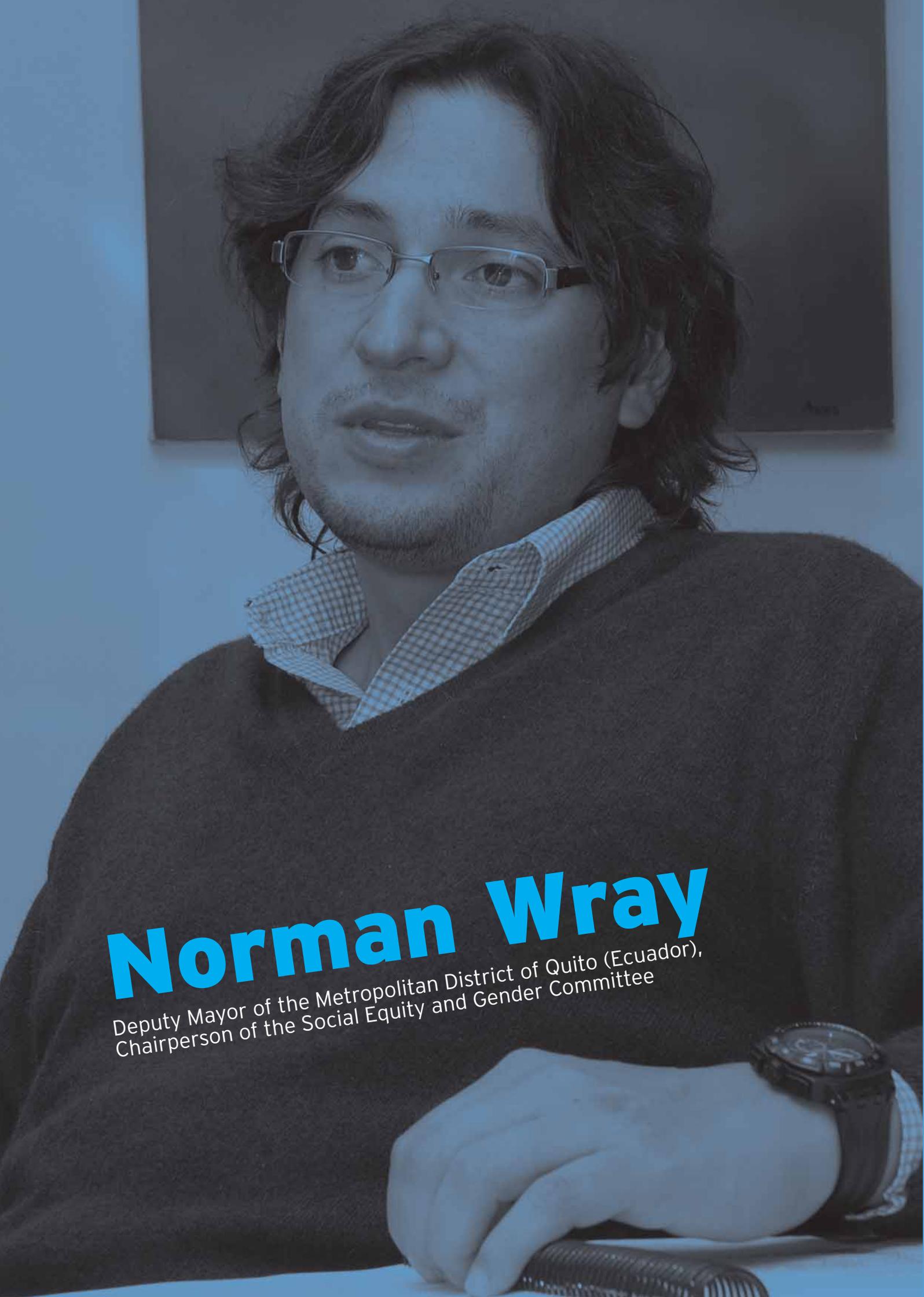
Geneva, a major global financial centre, is a city which enjoys a high quality of life, but that also has high city taxes. Is Geneva affordable for young people? How do you stop the "drain" of the social capital young people represent?

I do not think Geneva is seeing a "drain" of young people. Young people need to experiment, to gain their independence. They do this, and have always done this, by travelling, having new experiences away from their families and everyday lives.

What counts is being able to come back and feel at home. That is why must be created a climate of trust and respect towards everybody, regardless of age, physical condition or economical status.

To conclude, I would say that youth are never where you expect them to be and this is both thrilling and disconcerting. In May '68, for example, we imagined that young people would become more and more politicised, but it has happened just the opposite. In '68 young people rose up against the system; at present, it is the system that discourages their integration.

If we want to build a world in which different generations live together in harmony, we have to listen more to each other, reduce inequalities and maintain public services that are mindful of young people's problems. ●

A portrait of Norman Wray, a man with long, wavy dark hair and glasses, wearing a dark sweater over a checkered shirt. He is looking slightly to the left. The image has a blue tint. In the bottom right corner, his hand is visible, wearing a watch and resting on a desk with a comb.

Norman Wray

Deputy Mayor of the Metropolitan District of Quito (Ecuador),
Chairperson of the Social Equity and Gender Committee

INTERVIEW

Norman Wray has a PhD in Jurisprudence and a British diploma in environmental governance and democracy. He is a lecturer in Constitutional Law and Political Sciences at the University of Las Americas. For the past 15 years he has been a coach and facilitator of citizen education processes with a human rights focus. He has worked with various indigenous organisations on training processes in collective rights for the defence of their territories in the face of extractive activities, and with other citizen organisations on the development of strategies for influencing public policies, especially in defence of children's and adolescents' rights, and environmental rights. He has also been journalist and activist in defence of economic, social and cultural rights. He was member of the Legislative Committee, Chairperson of the Committee on Reform of the State and Public Management, and member of the Constituent Assembly. He is currently Deputy Mayor in the Metropolitan District of Quito, Chairperson of the Social Equity and Gender Committee, Deputy Chairperson of the Security Committee and active member of the Environmental and Health Committees.

Taking into account the fact that people under 35 make up 66.8% of the population of the Metropolitan District of Quito, could you describe in general lines what are the priorities of the municipal government in youth policies?

To guarantee a satisfactory, full life in accordance with the standard of good living or living in harmony (*sumak kawsay*), which refers to the national system of inclusion and social equity. It is the combined and coordinated sum of all the institutions, policies, guidelines, programmes and services that ensure the exercise, guarantee and enforceability of the rights recognised in the Constitution and the achievement of the goals of the development plan. The system is structured in the National Development Plan and the decentralised national system of participatory planning; it is guided by the principles of universality, equality, equity, progressiveness, interculturalism, solidarity and non-discrimination; and it functions in accordance with the criteria of quality, efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, accountability and participation. On the national level, the system comprises the fields of education, health, social security, risk management, sports, habitat and housing, culture, communication and information, enjoyment of free time, science and technology, human safety and transport. On the local level, we seek to offer young people in the Metropolitan District of Quito the following services:

1. Free education.
2. Access to primary school and staying on to complete the basic education cycle (6 to 12 years of age).
3. Fostering of education in technology, crafts, arts and science by linking up with the Metropolitan education subsystem (municipal educational institutions).

4. Access to decent employment with fair wages.
5. Facilitating access to housing schemes.
6. Strengthening identity on the basis of recognition of the different youth cultures.

In general, young people tend to question the social, economic and political system in place. To what extent are urban cultures a refuge for young people? Why is it important for youth to be part of a group they can identify with?

By urban culture we understand a group, usually of young people, who get together as a means of expression in the face of a reality of different nuances; the link between them can range from arts to sports.

In countries such as Ecuador, where the emigration rate is extremely high, there are large numbers of cases in which conventional families (father, mother and children) are transformed according to the particular circumstances of each case (children and youth are taken care by uncles and aunts or grandparents). Children, teenagers and youth who suddenly find themselves in the situation of being left behind by their parents, find in their association with other young people who are in a similar situation not only company and friendship, but also a new type of family. This then goes beyond the concept of a refuge and becomes a family space. This sense of belonging and solidarity is essential for every young person's development.

Unfortunately, in Latin America, because of the economic situation in which emigrants' children find themselves, youth groups occasionally become spaces of illegal activities. However, that is no reason to criminalise urban cultures, as the vast majority of them are spaces of recreation and artistic creation for young people.



Urban cultures include a very wide diversity of groups with different ideologies. However, the existence of violent groups has led to all urban cultures being stigmatised as dangerous. What role do the media play in this?

It is important to stress that most urban cultures are groups that foster the development and free co-existence of young people, and that violent groups are exceptions to the rule. Now, the matter of violence and illegal activities is not necessarily related to urban cultures. This unfair connection has come about as a result of the negative aspects of urban cultures being played up in the different media. Intolerance and economic inequality are factors that cannot be ignored either, as they are triggers of violence, but we must not fall into the trap of saying that all urban culture is synonymous with delinquency.

In your opinion, what is the rise in violent actions by certain groups due to? What is the Municipality's position regarding these groups?

There are various factors that have a bearing on youth violence. However, I can point out three of the most important: a) the exacerbation of intolerance by the media, which causes a social stigma to be attached to the members of urban cultures, which in turn produces a violent response from them; b) the fact that the State does very little in the way of generating public youth policies, such as access to spaces for recreation, art, job creation, etc.; and c) the exclusion of youth from social and economic dynamics, and from the use of the territory, on an equal footing with other sectors of the population.

In May 2010 the Municipality had to face an incident which was unprecedented in the city's history. It was the murder of a member of a Neo-Nazi group by an Antifascist group. This drew a reaction from the local government, which asked the Metropolitan Council's Social Equity and Gender Committee to intervene with a view to stopping a

possible escalation of violence. Conversations were held with the sectors involved in an attempt to find a peaceful solution to the problem. Eventually, the Committee decided to reject all manifestations of violence of any kind by the members of both groups and to establish minimum agreements concerning respect of each other's territorial position. Fortunately, eight months on, no further similar incident of violence has been recorded, thereby setting a precedent in the city regarding the handling of conflicts of this type.

What actions is the Municipality taking to guarantee the right to the city, an inclusive city in which different groups respect each other and can live together in harmony? How is this intervention being approached?

Through the City Institute, which is a unit of the Municipality of Quito for research and the generation of proposals, an information system is being put in place for the ongoing assessment of the situation of young people in the Metropolitan District. This will enable the adoption of policies that are much more firmly grounded in the city's reality.

On the other hand, the intervention strategy is territorial and operates through the nine administrative areas of the Metropolitan District. For several years now, through inclusive initiatives such as the Urbal projects, Quito has been generating spaces of inclusion for youth, community centres and incentives for cultural activities making it possible to get young people involved in what is going on in the places where they live. Quito also supports the staging every year of various music festivals, ranging from heavy metal to hard core to hip hop (*Quito Fest, Quito Raymi, Al Sur del Cielo*, among others), which allows the public space to be opened up democratically to everyone. The priority area on which work has been done is reaching agreements on the non-consumption of alcohol at these concerts, as a result of which the incidence of violence has decreased considerably. The interesting thing about these processes is that it has been possible to achieve peaceful co-existence and tolerance among different urban cultures in the same space: punk rockers and metalheads, hip hoppers and ska fans, etc. These different groups have gradually generated self-control processes and co-existence agreements thanks to these groups' own processes, but which, in turn, have also been facilitated by the Municipality.

Does the municipal government have channels to take youth proposals into account in defining public youth policies? If so, what do they consist in?

The Metropolitan District of Quito, pursuant to the rights and duties established by the Municipal Organic Law, passed the By-Law 280 aimed at setting up and defining



Celebration of the Youth Day.

the powers of the Metropolitan Youth Council. This is a participatory body in charge of ensuring compliance with rights and duties by actively integrating the young people of the Metropolitan District in the political life of the municipality.

It is intended as a space of respect for rights and diversity that is representative of the youth organisations and in which local government officers also participate. The Council's function is to propose, design and assess policies, programmes and projects that are to be included in the annual Metropolitan Youth Plan.

Can you describe a significant youth participation initiative?

One of the initiatives worth highlighting is the work done by young medical students at the Central University of Ecuador who run training sessions in sexual and reproductive rights in schools in the city.

Another example is the Metropolitan Youth House, which brings together young people to engage in artistic and recreational activities and to disseminate and promote their rights. The young people conduct a programme on *Radio Municipal* in which they interact with other youth in the city in order to get to know their demands and their opinions on topics of interest to young people. Another interesting example of youth participation is the magazine *Tu Quito* (Your Quito).

Here are some of the results of actions carried out in the District through the Youth Houses:

1. Inclusion of young people:

- 3,024 young people have taken part in creative development processes.

- 146,930 young people have taken part in training and awareness courses (young people's productive development and rights).
 - 294 grants have been awarded for a total amount of USD 250,888 (undergraduate, postgraduate and English courses).
 - Opening of Youth Houses in Quitumbe and Calderón.
- #### 2. Promotion of sexual and reproductive rights:
- Co-ordination of the programme with other municipal departments (Health, Education, Quito Metropolitan Council for the Integrated Protection of Children and Adolescents - COMPINA). Review of the methodology of the *Adole-Isis* project, the aim of which is to work with young people to inform them and promote risk prevention in regard to sexual and reproductive health.
 - Holding of an international seminar on "Sexuality from another angle: learning in order to teach".
 - Inclusion of all users of the reception centre (*Adole-Isis*) in the educational system.
 - 35 schools and educational establishments participated in the "Baby, Think It Over Carefully" teenage pregnancy prevention programme.
- #### 3. Campaign against alcohol and drug consumption:
- "Let's Party in Peace" participation campaign run by the Quito Student Councils Network which every year organises alcohol-free artistic, sports, educational and cultural activities.
- #### 4. Youth against Climate Change, which is an initiative focused on citizen education to promote environmental practices that strengthen the public's responsibility concerning this issue. ●

Maquento Sebastião Lopes

Secretary General of the Pan-African Youth Union



INTERVIEW

Maqueto Sebastião Lopes was born in Angola where he graduated in Chemical Engineering. A student activist, he became a full-time youth leader after finishing school. He held several posts in youth organizations in Angola and for 4 years he was Vice-President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth based in Budapest. He initiated the movement that led to the creation of the Pan-African Youth Union and was elected as its Secretary General in 2003 and re-elected in 2008.

What is the Pan-African Youth Union's mission? What methods are used by the organisation to unite the voices of young Africans?

The mission of the Pan-African Youth Union (PYU) is to work for the materialization of the ideals and strategies of the African Union (AU) namely Unity, Peace, Democracy, Sustained Development and African Integration (as stated in the Statutes of PYU).

PYU is still in the process of establishing itself, since the organization was only just created in 2003. It went through a process of revitalization from 2006 to 2008, which has not yet concluded, as the moving of the Head Office from Algiers (Algeria) to Khartoum (Sudan) has been taking much more time than expected, preventing the organization from operating normally.

PYU is an umbrella organization for all the youth of the continent. The process of bringing all the youth organizations together is still going on. At this stage all national youth platforms are members of the PYU. Other types of youth organizations, such as the regional youth platforms and the African branches of international youth organizations are welcome to join the PYU, and many of them are already in the process of joining.

This clarification was necessary in order to answer the second part of the question, related to the methods used in order to unite the voices of young Africans. The content of the mandate of the PYU is defined by its Congress and the Executive; thus, the task of the Secretariat is to implement the recommendations of the Congress. Bringing together as many youth organizations as possible is already a way of ensuring unity within the African youth movement.

How do you think the Pan-African Youth Union can contribute to the growth of democracy in places where there are still major problems in this regard? What kind of youth policies do you imagine could really help solve the violent internal conflicts seen in many territories?

We must understand that democracy is a new practice in many African countries, so we need time to make everyone

in Africa understand the values of democracy. You cannot expect to have democracy in a country where the majority of the population do not understand what democracy means.

The contribution that the PYU can provide is to make democracy understood by more people. The way to do this is to promote democracy within the youth movement itself, because the youth leaders of today are the leaders of our countries tomorrow.

The conflicts in some countries are not a specific youth problem; they cannot be solved by youth policy. One of the solutions is to build societies with social justice, which is not always present in many African countries. Social injustice combined with extreme poverty will remain the basis of conflicts for a long time to come. Therefore, it is really not a question of youth policy, but a question of governance.

What measures could help reduce unemployment and poverty among young people, when we consider that 60% of the African unemployed are young people?



According to my personal analysis of the situation of unemployment in the continent, one of the solutions could be to create and intensify micro-credit programs and loans to fund projects initiated by young people. A second measure could be to change certain educational programs in most African countries. Our school curricula are not adapted to the labour market, and, accordingly, every year we train new graduates who simply cannot get a job because there is nobody in our society looking for someone with their qualification profiles.

What opportunity does the global financial crisis provide, looking at the way emigration to developed countries has stopped? How can young Africans with specialist education and training be motivated to come back in order to invest in the development of their native country?

For me this opportunity and need existed even before the global financial crisis. Let me just compare the opportunities of investment between Africa and Europe.

In many African countries there is still room for creating service and manufacturing companies. We still have countries with a lot of margin for investment in agriculture and other fields of activity for anyone. In Europe, I have the impression that there is sufficient supply in all fields and that there are not many opportunities to start a small business. But there is one main difficulty, in many African countries loans are not easily available and when they are available, the interest is too high.

I am sure that the first choice of young African people coming from abroad will not be the public sector. Accordingly, private business could be very attractive for many of them if they can get assistance with loans in order to be able to start their own business.

Do you believe that youth policies can contribute to reducing the high rate of child mortality in Africa caused by AIDS? And if so, how?

Yes, I do believe in the contribution of the implementation of youth policies. I say implementation because a country

Opening ceremony of the Africa-Europe Youth Summit in Libya, November 2010.





Mr. Ben Duntoye, President of PYU after signing a partnership agreement between PYU and the Southern African Youth Movement.



Participants at the meeting African Youth on the post electoral crisis in Ivory Coast.

can have a good youth policy as a document and not implement it. In Africa we have a document called the African Youth Charter which is designed to inspire every youth policy in the continent.

Let me speak about the child mortality in global terms, not only in terms of AIDS. There is a direct relationship between child mortality and living conditions. The aim of implementing a youth policy is to provide a better life to young people, by implementing a policy that promotes youth development. Every country should be improving many issues related to youth and to the future of the country. Access to health care and education are amongst the basic requirements of a national youth policy.

By implementing a youth policy, the country will necessarily increase awareness about AIDS and will also reduce poverty, two issues that are directly related to the rate of AIDS. Therefore, this will have an impact on reducing this disease.

Does the Pan-African Youth Union collaborate with other international organisations? What are the objectives of such collaborations? How can these collaborations help young Africans?

Yes, the PYU actively participates in the international youth movement. We have a close relationship with the European Youth Forum. The objectives of this particular form of cooperation is to build friendship between African and European Youth, to build mutual understanding and knowledge, which is a guaranty of a new and better relationship between the two continents. I personally think that this knowledge can have an impact on problems such as illegal migration. Young Africans who know Europe very well will not easily decide to live in Europe, unless they go there to study and return home. Indeed, many of the people willing to emigrate illegally have never been to Europe. ●

Marta Cots

President of the Barcelona Youth Council (Spain)

CLUB
CONSELL DE LA JOVENTUT
DE BARCELONA



INTERVIEW

Marta Cots has a degree in Psychology and is currently doing a master's degree in emotional education. Regarding her associative life, at the age of 18 she became responsible of a scout troupe belonging to the Scouts and Guides of Catalonia (*Minyons Escoltes i Guies de Catalunya*) where she was later in charge of a sector and commissioner of the Barcelonès area. This post led her to work on common projects with other organisations in the Barcelona Youth Council (CJB). In 2007, she was voted onto the Board by the general assembly and became President of the Council in 2009. Among other positions, she is the Deputy chair of Barcelona's *Consell de Ciutat* (a consultative body bringing together local government and civil society) in representation of the CJB and Secretary of the Barcelona Council of Associations.

It is said that over the past thirty years Barcelona has been a benchmark for youth policies because of the way it has involved young people in policy definition, management and assessment. What are the key features that have made Barcelona a point of reference?

Indeed, Barcelona has paid a lot of attention to its youth policies, although there have been periods when they have been disregarded a little. The very existence of the Barcelona Youth Council –the history of which has run parallel to that of the city since the reinstatement of democracy– has helped a lot to strengthen youth policies in the city. From its earliest years the CJB called for specific youth policies in key areas such as leaving the parental home and civil rights, over and above leisure policies.

In 1985, the Barcelona City Council approved the Young Project, which gave rise to the first attempt in Spain

to promote a comprehensive youth policy, as in order to really empower young people, cross-cutting policies involving all areas of government are required. During the 1990s youth policies in the city gradually ran out of steam, leading the Youth Council in 1999 to claim again for youth policies acting on every aspect of young people's lives. In 2006, the City Council approved a youth plan that was drawn up in the spirit of that of 1985, in other words, with the involvement of the CJB, organisations and young people themselves. Indeed, the success of youth policies depends on their being called for, constructed and agreed by young people and their organisations. On the other hand, Barcelona's youth policies would most likely not be a benchmark were it not for the existence of a youth council that has taken on the job of co-ordinating the young people's clubs and associations and acting as an intermediary with the local authority.

Education March calling for greater recognition to be given to educational associations. One of the projects involving various youth organisations co-ordinated by the CJB.



There are various formulas for the organisation of young people at the local level. What is the basic difference between a platform of youth associations, such as the Council you represent, and a youth council led by the Municipality?

A municipal youth council is not a formula of organisation set up by young people. It is true that there can be, and there is a need for, institutional participation formulas that

include the voice of young people and their associations. Even so, for us, organising ourselves goes far beyond this. It means that young people define and influence the world they want for tomorrow, come together, plan, debate, decide and take responsibility for the actions and stances they decide on. It means they set up the meeting agendas, the activities agenda and the strategy for achieving their goals.

In 2007 the CJB called for more and better youth facilities by going round all the existing facilities in the Tourist Bus.



A local youth council such as the CJB is a non-profit association independent of the local authority that brings together various youth associations in the city and reflects the plurality and the agreements of the young people's associations. The CJB board is made up of young people who represent their associations and who have been elected at a general meeting of each of the youth organisations belonging to the CJB. The assembly also

decides the guidelines for the activities to be carried out during the year, which are further developed by working groups in which the organisations participate and eventually turned into specific educational projects, debating cycles, communication actions, etc. So the young people put forward proposals arising out of their concerns and needs. The fact that these proposals come from the city's youth organisations (student, cultural, political, social associations, trade unions, etc.) as a whole, that are run democratically with assemblies and succeed in constructing common demands, is a source of great strength which makes us powerful interlocutors with the local authorities.

What are the CJB's main objectives? How does it encourage young people to set up or join existing associations and to play an active part in the city's social, cultural and political life?

The Barcelona Youth Council has three main objectives. The first one is to co-ordinate the associations so they can develop concrete projects and proposals which are enriched with the different points of view of the various organisations and that unite efforts and resources. The second objective is to act as an intermediary with the local government and pass on to it the demands of the youth organisations with a view to being the voice echoing the needs of the young people in the city. Lastly, the final objective is to foster participation and involvement in associations among young people. This last point is extremely important for us, since the essence of a youth council lies in reducing age-based inequalities. The best way to reduce these inequalities is by empowering young people so they can influence the social, cultural, ecological and political definition of their environment. As we see it, the best tool young people have for expressing how they want tomorrow's world to be like is by coming together -creating their own organisations and/or taking part in those that already exist.

That is the reason why a large part of the CJB's efforts since 1994 has been devoted to running the Youth Associations Resource Centre, a municipal service offering youth organisations resources such as legal and tax advice, applications for grants, the hire of materials and rooms for all sorts of events, resources for carrying out more sustainable activities, pamphlets on topics of interest as cohesion and diversity in organisations, and so on. It is therefore the associations themselves that use the service which, through the way they manage the Centre, can have an influence on deciding which resources and services are necessary.

The CJB organises open debates on the type of city we want, writing up the conclusions and proposals afterwards and making them public. For instance, we put out a public statement when all the federations of educational





World Youth Festival held in Barcelona in 2004. The CJB was one of the promoting organisations.



The CJB's sovereign decision-making body is the general assembly consisting of representatives of all the member organisations.

associations, youth centres and scout groups saw the need to call for them to be socially recognised in order to demand better funding and quality spaces in which to carry on their work as the schools for promoting active citizenship they actually are; every time there is an election we run a campaign to encourage young people to vote and influence the outcome. Besides that, a group of associations' representatives, together with municipal officers and councillors took over a tourist bus to visit and demand youth facilities where young people can participate in the management and decide how they are to be run. We also call on the media to convey positive role models for youth. In addition, a large proportion of our actions and projects is devoted to promoting participation and membership of associations among all the young people in the city. For example, we work on a lot of projects with secondary schools and carry out campaigns "advertising" the existing associations, taking advantage of the beginning of the school year and the city's annual festival in September.

In Barcelona three youth plans have already been drawn up with the CJB's involvement. What are the monitoring and liaison mechanisms for an ongoing assessment of the actions stemming from them?

Each of these plans has had its own monitoring mechanism depending on the political will of those in power at the time. As regards the Master Plan 2006-2010, the CJB meet once a month with the councillor responsible for women and youth to monitor the status of the actions. Meetings were also held with councillors responsible for other departments and for different districts in the city, as the plan included policies which require the involvement of the entire City Council. As well as this, the City Council prepared reports on the status of each of the lines of action and decided its own municipal committees. The CJB began to monitor the proposals through the BCJ Observatory which publicly assesses the status of each action and for the past

two years we have issued an annual report evaluating the Youth Plan as well as other issues affecting young people.

How do you get the proposals put forward by young people to the Mayor of Barcelona? Why do you think it is important for the Mayor to be in contact with young people in his city?

The City Council has a responsibility to listen to its citizens and, therefore, to its young people. The CJB's legitimacy does not stem from passing on the demands, one by one, to the local authority, but by working on them, discussing them and presenting what has been agreed to the local government and society in general. Our target group are not young people as individuals, but their organisations. Indeed, what we want is that young people organise themselves in order to put their positions to the administrations and the media. The CJB, therefore, acts as a meeting place for these proposals with the intention of reaching agreements that can become points of reference for youth as a group. Apart from this, the City Council must put in place its own procedures for listening to young people's demands and not isolate itself from the city's social reality. The CJB meets the Mayor once a year, but what is really needed is that the proposals are worked from a transversal perspective, all the more in such a big, complex city as Barcelona.

Barcelona was the world youth capital for ten days in 2004, when the CJB was involved in the self-organised World Youth Festival. What has been the legacy of that project for the city's young people?

The World Youth Festival began on 8 August 2004. This project was organised jointly by the CJB and the National Youth Council of Catalonia (CNJC) with the collaboration of the European Youth Council. More than 8,000 young people from all over the world took part in it. In staging this event, Barcelona took over from Portugal and Panama, which had hosted the two previous

festivals. Prior to that, the general assembly of the CJB and the CNJC had decided to present the candidacy to host the festival in our city, taking advantage of the fact that Barcelona was organising the Universal Forum of Cultures. In June 2002 the proposal was approved and an international preparatory committee was set up with the regional youth platforms: African Youth Network, Pan-African Youth Movement, Arab Youth Union, Asian Students Association, Asian Youth Council, European Youth Forum, Latin American Youth Forum and Pacific Youth Council.

From the outset the Barcelona World Youth Festival was designed on the basis of three programmes: the central programme, the self-organised programme and the parallel programme. Each day was focused on a particular topic: cultural diversity, globalisation, sustainable development, the International Youth Day and the conditions for peace. The central programme took the form of lectures, whereas the self-organised programme consisted of activities and workshops run by the associations taking part on it and a fair where organisations set up stalls to inform the public about what they do. Alongside this, the parallel programme offered the young people a chance to get to know the city and the region.

Its main legacy was to visualise the capacity of youth organisations -and therefore of young people- to organise and take responsibility for major events. In fact the media reported on the Festival, which does not happen very often, still less when it is a matter of highlighting positive aspects of youth. For ten days, young people and youth organisations were the protagonists and, what is more important, so were their projects and initiatives, breaking with the clichés of individualistic and conformist youth. As far as the associations were concerned, the Festival allowed many organisations to meet their counterparts from elsewhere in the world, thereby enabling them to establish relations in the future. Moreover, young people were able to learn

a lot in the more than 500 activities that no doubt helped the organisations to grow.

Faced with the global crisis that has such an impact on young people, what are the challenges for public youth policies to ensure that young people do not become a group at risk of exclusion?

Most young people were in a precarious situation before the crisis. Now, in addition, many are out of work. At the end of 2007, 10,235 young people in Barcelona between 16 and 29 were unemployed. By 2009, this figure had almost doubled to 19,360. The economic situation has certainly had a bearing on this increase. However, the overall increase in unemployment was 67%. This indicates that the crisis is hitting young people particularly hard, as the rise in the youth unemployment rate was 22 percentage points higher than the average.

We have two challenges: the first is youth unemployment and the second precariousness. Young people as a group have been brutally expelled from the labour market and the reason is that this was an easy option. Precariousness -fixed-term contracts and low salaries- have made Catalan youth a vulnerable target and, the younger they are, the more vulnerable. Also, the two challenges have to be tackled together; we cannot put an end to unemployment at the cost of greater job insecurity; that is why we are opposed to the labour reform.

Moreover, Catalonia and Spain are at the bottom of the table of expenditure on education, which is not even 5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This says a lot about our priorities as a country and maybe we ought to turn this around. I think that young people and society in general want not only to overcome the crisis in the immediate future -which is urgent-, but for measures to be implemented that allow us to think of more cohesive cities, in which everyone can carry out their own life project, including work, friends, family, education, enrolment in associations and so on. ●

Youth and Youth Policies in a Globalized World

René Bendit

Researcher at the German Youth Institute between 1976 and 2008, expert private consultant in youth and youth policies

ARTICLE

This article focuses mainly on the question of how economic, social and cultural changes generated by globalization are affecting young people and youth policies across the world and particularly in Europe and Latin America. In the framework of this general question, the author discusses aspects referring to new patterns of vulnerability of young people and tendencies toward deepening social inequalities and the social exclusion of certain groups. Based on this analytical background, the article attempts to respond to the question of how youth policies and formal and informal education can contribute to coping with such tendencies and stimulate processes of social, economic and cultural inclusion of young people in modern and late modern contexts (service, information and knowledge societies). To achieve these objectives the author presents various youth policy strategies practiced mainly in European Union (EU) member states and in Latin America, trying at the same time to provide a general orientation for certain basic aspects and issues that local authorities should consider in drafting their own youth policies.

1. What is Globalization?

There is no lack of definitions in the torrent of literature on this subject. Anthony Giddens' classic work states that globalization "is the intensification of global social relationships through which distant locations are connected with each other in a manner whereby occurrences at one location are influenced by those at another many kilometers away, and vice-versa" (Giddens, 1990). Following this, other authors like Beck (1992; 1996; 2000), Blossfeld *et al.* (2005) and Hornstein (2008), characterize globalization processes as the combined action and effects of different macro-structural processes of economic, technological and societal changes, namely the increasing internationalization of markets, leading to increasing competition between countries having very dissimilar wage structures, productivity levels and welfare systems, and therefore offering also very different standards of life to their population.

Globalization must be seen also as a dialectical process between global and local moments (Giddens, 1990) and, as international comparative research shows, changes induced by globalization processes do not lead necessarily to similar effects in different societies. Since globalizing factors are confronted in different countries with different economic contexts and with strongly rooted institutional structures, not only linked to labor market regulations and different existing welfare systems, but also to differences in prevailing norms and values, they become "filtered" in a special way, giving the globalization process a specific character in each country. While the combined effects of the macro-structural trends at international

and local levels described here have led in certain world regions and countries to more productivity and economic growth and together with this to an improvement in the living standard and quality of life of large layers of the population, in others it has also led to an increase in unemployment, poverty, vulnerability and insecurity for different social groups. In less developed societies, especially in developing countries such as in Latin America, these economic trends have generated large groups of "globalization losers", especially those with lower formal education and less social and cultural capital (Blossfeld *et al.*, 2005)¹.

Due to the explosive development of new information and communication technologies, a stronger interdependence of economic, cultural and social interactions and exchanges takes place so that globalization is characterized also by the intensification of international links and networks between enterprises, states and persons (Castells *et al.*, 2007). Further, worldwide economic and social inequalities generate "pull" and "push" factors causing large-scale international and national migrations, generating new integration and social cohesion problems in the host societies and draining off qualified persons from economically less developed ones. As a result of these tendencies, national and local markets have become more and more influenced by political, economic, financial, social and military situations and crises occurring in other world regions, generating economic instability and volatility at the national and local level. In most societies, these tendencies generate *uncertainties and insecurities* that are reinforced by

changes in the welfare state (reductions in welfare state benefits) so that old securities are also becoming more and more fragile. As a consequence, we can point to a loss of confidence by individuals, especially in the capacity and effectiveness of policies to successfully balance different problems and interests in society, as well as with reference to the integrating power of the state.

2. Special Consequences and Effects of Globalization, Modernization and Social Change on Young People

Globalization processes create new, non-traditional frames of reference and constellations for the processes of growing up, socialization and social positioning of the upcoming generations and, therefore, at the same time, for the process of generational change (which on the other hand, represents a substantial element of social change)².

In this context, some common trends, even though they have differing intensities, can be observed in Europe and Latin America.

The relevance of the market in all spheres of life demands of young people increased individual resources and professional qualifications and skills adequate to the demands and needs of companies in a given region and period of time. Education, computer skills at different levels, vocational training, as well as professional experience and market-related social networks have therefore become the key to successful individual development and economic and social integration. In all societies formal and informal education has become more and more important and the competition for greater educational achievement and qualifications has become more intense and is already beginning at the pre-school level. Early job starters without good formal qualifications are the most affected by labor market contingencies and are therefore also the most vulnerable to social exclusion.

Globalization processes also have consequences for the transition of young people from school to work. As Biggart, Furlong and Cartmel pointed out (2008), in modernizing societies the transitions of youth from education to the workplace and to adult life have become much more protracted, complex and de-standardized, resulting in greater vulnerability to marginalization and exclusion. The routes young people take between school and professional training and from there to work and an independent life, which were once viewed as linear and predictable, have now been replaced by more differentiated, uncertain, fragmented and even reversible trajectories and biographical paths. Today, in most world regions, full employment, and a welfare state guaranteeing social integration and citizenship for all who follow a gendered "normal biography", belong more or less to the past (Blossfeld *et al.*, 2005). Short-term contracts, the

increase in atypical and precarious jobs, part-time jobs and precarious forms of self-employment with low skills and income levels and also a poor self-image are part of the new "normality". Because of this, for Blossfeld *et al.* (2005), young people in different world regions, seem to be the big losers of globalization.

Changes induced by globalization and modernization also have important implications for the individual's biographical course and for identity construction. They generate a number of new demands, such as, for example, the demand to constantly take individual *decisions* while outcomes remain uncertain; to stand and resist increasing labor market *competition* (Lianos *et al.*, 2002); to reconcile *fragmented life spheres*: family, work, peers, education, etc. and to maintain a sense of coherence within fragmented lives (*identity work*) (Giddens, 1991; Keupp *et al.*, 1999; Bauman, 2004). Further on, such changes demand from young people that they also generate *biographical continuity* while temporal horizons between past, present and future and between life phases are being blurred and finally that they assume *self-responsibility not only* for their own careers through lifelong learning but also and increasingly for their own social security through individual savings. Young people with lower social status and a lack of resources and opportunities –this is the case of the majority of young people in Latin America– tend to be forced into atypical but not individualized *trajectories* and are restricted to adaptive reactions to "how things are" or be open to them in order to integrate economically into the labor market and to cope with exclusion or marginalization. Also, in more developed societies, social inequality is no longer restricted to differences in social status, but even so, it is also connected to risks of social exclusion (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Furthermore, emancipation processes taking the youth away from the parental home, e.g. the attainment of economic and housing independence, are being changed by globalization and modernization factors. Research has shown that the conditions, methods and strategies of young people to attain the independent adult status have also changed tremendously. Especially with reference to independent domestic life, young people seem to significantly delay their transition to adulthood. In this respect, youth research across the European Union and in Latin America (Bendit *et al.*, 1999; FATE report, 2005) shows that a significant proportion of young people between 15 and 29 years tend to delay their domestic emancipation and still live at their parental home until a relatively late age for lack of choice (Bendit *et al.*, 2004; ECLAC; 2004).

Finally, changes induced by globalization and modernization have also had an impact on young people's social and political participation. Even if formal participation of young people in existing political



Night-time study rooms.

structures and institutions is decreasing almost everywhere, we see that in many countries, in Europe as well as in Latin America, they play an important - sometimes even central - role in social movements aimed at societal change and transformation. Together with their creative mobilizing use of the Internet (e.g. e-mails, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) they have a strong presence in NGOs of the so called "third sector" and in different social movements based on electronic communication, volunteer work and informal participation. And they are also heavily involved in anti-globalization activism.

In economically less developed countries and regions, active participation of young people in the improvement of society and subsequently of their own conditions of life and future perspectives are mostly the result of need, of the lack of opportunities and the willingness to demonstrate what they are able to achieve in different fields of life.

3. Challenges to Youth and Youth Policies in Latin America

As in late modern European societies, youth and educational policies in Latin America are also confronted by the challenges of accelerated technological, economic, social and cultural change, and saddled with the need to provide innovative answers to old and new problems and different, more difficult conditions, since young Latin Americans face more intensely than youth in the EU a series of tensions and contradictions that determine their everyday life. These tensions and contradictions include:

- Better access to general education yet having at the same time fewer employment opportunities.
- Growing up in a context of greater possibilities of obtaining information and at the same time, having less access to structures of power and decision making.

- Higher expectations of independence yet at the same time fewer options to implement them.
- Better health conditions vs. a low societal consciousness and recognition of youth specific factors causing illness and death.
- Developing strong emotional sensibilities while at the same time separating and segmenting intra- and inter-generational communication.
- Being convinced of their higher qualification and skills in many fields and especially in their capacity to adapt to technological changes and requirements of the information society, while at the same time feeling more excluded than adults from work in productive and service economies.
- Finding themselves in the role of "receivers" of youth and other policies and services, but not being recognized as social and political actors.
- Expanding activities in symbolic and virtual worlds vs. growing restrictions of their material consumption possibilities.
- Concentrating mainly on the present vs. societies' expectations of youth focusing on the "future", and, finally
- Experiencing society's expectations of youth as "social and political actors" vs. adult practices of closing young peoples' routes to their own initiatives and assuming social and political responsibilities (ECLAC-OIJ, 2004).

Many young people cannot cope with these tensions and contradictions properly because of their lack of resources and opportunities and because extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth have widened the gap between rich and poor and increased the economic and social vulnerability of large groups of young people. This situation has led to a concentration of poverty

among children and young people and their isolation or marginalization from the rest society.

For underclass youth, concretely, growing up under such conditions, the result has been extended forms of social exclusion, e.g., in education, access to the new information and communication technologies, vocational and professional training, penetrating the labour market, emancipation from the parental home, young people's participation in society, causing finally, their extreme poverty and marginalization (ECLAC, 2004).

As in the case of EU member States, Latin American national governments, regional and local authorities as well as Supra-National Organizations must also conceive and implement adequate policy concepts in order to cope with this situation. Furthermore, they must convince young people that their interests are being considered by policy makers, and must overcome the extremely skeptical

attitudes of young people towards public institutions and services, as well as political practices in representative democracies.

The question we will deal with, in the next section of this paper is, therefore, how to face all these changes and challenges, e.i., how youth and youth-related policies can help young people to achieve economic, social, cultural and political integration into the societies they are living in? Against the background of the sheer magnitude of these changes for young people taking place everywhere in Europe and in Latin America, it is possible to state with Anthony Giddens that "the overall aim of politics (...) should be to help citizens pilot their way through the major revolutions of our time: globalization, transformations in personal life and our relationship to nature" and that this is especially relevant when applied to young people.

Night-time leisure program (music festival).



4. How are Youth- and Youth-Related Policies Contributing to Coping with Globalization Challenges?

4.1 Mainstream policies for young people in Europe and Latin America

National States, but also supra-national organizations in both regions have conceived and implemented different strategies, action programs and measures aimed at coping with the new challenges generated by globalization and modernization processes. Their main strategic objectives are focused on:

- modernizing educational policies and institutions, and equating them to the challenges of present times;
- re-orienting the labor market and employment policies by focusing on the integration of young people, women and other groups facing hurdles to paid work;

- reforming and modernizing existing welfare systems focusing on enhancing social integration and securing social cohesion through new welfare models and practices;
- improving the balancing of family and professional life through new organizational work models, broadening child care systems and other measures;
- developing new forms and methods of governance by stimulating citizenship, participation and voluntary commitment;
- developing innovative children and youth policies at the European and Latin American, national and local level.

These main objectives are being implemented in the youth policy field as well as in youth-related fields such as education and vocational training, transitions from school to work; employment and social policies, with more or less success³. In Latin America national, states and supra-national organizations have also been developing and implementing in the last decade strategies to cope with the impacts of globalization and the effects of economic and social changes on youth⁴. In the context of this article it is not possible to describe, discuss and evaluate these different policy strategies, action programs and measures. Our modest aim here is only to identify the main fields, topics, issues and changes taking place in youth policies in Europe and Latin America in the last years. In a further step and with the background of this analysis, some basic elements for the development of an integrated Youth Policy Concept will be discussed.

4.2 Changes in youth policy priorities, concepts and pedagogical approaches and strategies

In the last few decades important changes in youth policy priorities and strategies can be observed in Europe and Latin America. These changes in political priorities, concepts and approaches can be seen also as a result of a particular combination of factors, such as growing societal expectations of improving student achievement at all levels and to empower students to be successful in today's knowledge society. Public discussions and educational reforms implemented with reference to these issues correspond to policies at the EU and Ibero-American level aiming at a general improvement of human capital. These strategies include more awareness about the growing relevance of lifelong learning as well as informal and non formal learning (also as practiced in youth social work and youth work). Furthermore, the accumulation of social problems and conflicts, such as premature school leaving, cross-cultural conflicts and integration problems of migrant students or those from ethnic minorities; "bullying" and other anti-social behavior against other students or minority groups, alcohol and illegal drug abuse as well as violence inside and outside schools, have been centering the attention of people responsible for youth



Integrated youth policies are addressed to young people and young adults between 14/15 and 25/29 years old and are not focused mainly on education, youth welfare, youth work, employment, housing, health, risky behaviors or youth assistance, but, on all these areas of action at the same time, although having different priorities according to specific aspects.

policy and other stakeholders in Europe and Latin America and have turned out to be further priorities in most youth policy programs. As a result of these political priorities, new pedagogical approaches and strategies of coping with social and individual problems have also been garnering more and more attention. This has been accompanied by the necessity to make explicit youth concepts and definitions underlying youth policies more evident and accepted. Should youth be treated as a "problem" or as a "problem group" (with many "deficits to be covered") or should youth be seen and treated as a societal "resource", or as a "problem" and a "resource" at the same time?⁵

Further changes observed in youth policy concepts include a tendency to developing youth policies based on a restricted age definition, considering the main targets to be young people between 14/15 and 25 (in some cases 30) years old⁶. Furthermore, we see that youth policies have shifted step by step from a "problem-group" focus, to a more "universalistic", "comprehensive" and "resource" oriented approach (e.i. to policies addressed to all the members of an age cohort-generation as well as to specific problem groups, in some cases). Sometimes these policies link strategies and programs focusing on children with those focusing on youth.

Another change in trends in today's youth policies and youth-related policies in Europe and Latin America can be seen in stronger cooperation between schools, child welfare and youth work institutions, aiming at improving the protection of young people from external dangers and from themselves, at providing qualified vocational guidance and support for labor market integration, at better social and political participation of young people, enhancing the cross-cultural openness of youth associations and youth clubs and at fostering citizenship and tolerance and engaging in anti-racism and other equal rights campaigns.

Finally, an important change to be observed in several European countries is that children and youth policies in the last few years have been distancing themselves from the "deficit approach". Under this perspective, young people are no longer seen as a social group with a large

number of problems and deficits to be offset by both educational and youth policy / welfare institutions. New paradigms and strategies focusing on the development and support of autonomy and emancipation of young people, have gained influence and are becoming more attractive for stakeholders and other decision-makers, even if in some countries in Europe and Latin America, problem-oriented rather than preventive strategies still continue to be part of the political mainstream and therefore the beneficiary of better financial support from children and youth policies.

5. Developing Integrated Youth Policies

Policies for young people in Europe and in Latin America involve several policy fields and a large variety of issues and different national and local priorities, as well as the need for common action. The tasks and problems in relation to young people needing policy support are primarily: education, lifelong learning, health, risks and risky behavior, youth protection, support for leisure time and cultural activities, employment, mobility, social disadvantages, integration, racism, participation, information, volunteer work and, last but not least, youth autonomy. While youth sector policy deals specifically with some of these issues, problems and needs, other youth-related policies in place in other policy sectors are rolling out parallel programs and actions considered to be further key elements of the broader, integrated trans-sectional concept of *integrated youth policies*. Such an approach should be conceived and implemented at local, national and supra-national levels.

Integrated youth policies are addressed to young people and young adults between 14/15 and 25/29 years old and are not focused mainly on education, youth welfare, youth work, employment, housing, health, risky behaviors or youth assistance, but, on all these areas of action at the same time, although having different priorities according to specific aspects, such as age sub-groups (within the above-mentioned range), gender, educational level, ethnic origin and specific problems becoming relevant during different developmental phases, moments and stages in the life of a young person.

Under this perspective, and based on the background of the changes and challenges generated by globalization for youth, certain "key elements" e.i. objectives, aims and strategies for the development of "Integrated Youth Policies" will now be discussed⁷.

5.1 Objectives of Integrated Youth Policies

The general aim of Integrated Youth Policies is to equip young people to live in a modern knowledge society, i.e. enhancing their access to knowledge (and to produce it themselves), using existing, modern instruments and tools and stimulating concepts of lifelong learning. This means,



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first of all, a re-contextualization of learning by combining formal with non-formal and informal learning processes in the context of youth policy and youth-related policies and projects (inside and outside of educational institutions).

As a further aim, Integrated Youth Policies focus on implementing programs to fight against youth unemployment by shaping and expanding the systems of vocational/professional training; promoting guidance and vocational orientation at secondary schools as well as offering vocational preparatory measures with integrated social and youth work programs focusing on the incorporation of the disadvantaged in the labor market.

Implementing programs to deal with youth unemployment and enhancing and supporting the geographic mobility of young people is another strategic aim of this integrated policy concept.

Strengthening children's and young people's rights, promoting equal status of girls and boys, young women and young men, including institutional participation in decision-making processes (e.g., reducing the age of majority; experiences with children's and youth parliaments, etc.), promoting youth cultural activities and productions, political education, citizenship, participation and volunteer work, encouraging young people to live up to their convictions, are further aims and objectives of this concept.

Implementing programs supporting the integration of foreign youth with migrant backgrounds or from ethnic

minorities, fighting xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism and violence as well as fighting right-wing extremism are further objectives to be attained.

Furthermore, the Integrated Youth Policy concept focuses on the well-being of young people. One aspect of this aim refers to the protection of children and youth against sexual abuse and from dangerous contents in publications, the mass-media and the Internet.

Enhancing education for young people on consumer practices as well as developing and implementing "adolescent health" programs, including: prevention of risks (health prophylactics, especially focusing on illegal drugs, alcohol abuse, smoking, dangerous driving; risks involved in sexual practices and the implementation of prevention and intervention programs and measures in the field of child and juvenile delinquency are also important objectives of the concept.

Finally, enhancing and qualifying co-operation and networking between social services for young people, re-organizing public youth services (new public management) and promoting international youth work and youth policy, complete this spectrum of key objectives of the Integrated Youth Policy Concept.

5.2 Re-Contextualizing learning as a "touchstone" of Integrated Youth Policies

During the first stage of modernity, mass systems of education and training brought together and legitimized

curricula, pedagogy, assessment and certification within highly standardized and formalized structures and processes. These arrangements now appear self-evident and almost natural, but only because we are accustomed to them and because their continuing relevance in the second stage of modernity is a given. In this second phase there has been a re-discovery of the learning continuum and its implications for lifelong learning. Together with the social reconstruction of the life-flow and how youth is positioned within this framework, new theoretical and empirical questions are challenging educational and youth research, and education and youth policies as well.

According to Chisholm (2008), long established boundaries between categories of knowledge and the ways in which propositional and experiential knowledge intersect and are used in everyday life are shifting and loosening. At the same time, we are approaching more differentiated understandings of what counts as learning, the ways in which people (of all ages) can learn and how learning outcomes can be identified and recognized. These developments point to the necessity of *re-contextualizing learning* itself, generated by the transition to the second stage of modernity in the context of cultural and economic globalization.

Young people are specifically positioned in these changes: they are prime learning subjects, even if in many educational systems they are still treated as “pedagogical objects”. Nevertheless, in all societies, young people learn to know, to do, to be and to live together. The re-contextualization poses the question of the *role that formal, non-formal and informal education should play in socialization processes* and in the configuration of youth life. In this context, the question of re-contextualizing learning i.e. of changing or deepening the relationship *between formal, non-formal and informal learning* in different youth life scenarios (school; peer groups; youth work; volunteer services, service learning, etc.) deserves special attention. With regard to this, youth and educational policies must respond to certain core problems and contradictions. For instance: what role should informal learning processes play in the schools i.e. in formalized curricula? How can professionals from different working areas and systems (educators, teachers, youth workers, social workers, etc.) cooperate inside and outside institutional settings? What knowledge should educators acting inside formal and non-formal learning settings have of each other’s work? How can we cope with certain contradictions between formal, institutionalized learning and informal, “voluntary” learning contexts i.e. how can we improve co-operation between both sectors? Can “service learning” projects, offered inside and outside of formal education, be an exemplary answer to these contradictions?

5.3 Integrated Youth Policies at Local Level

The Integrated Youth Policy concept needs to develop and implement objectives and aims also at the local level, taking into account, of course, their adaptation to the specific local conditions at all times. The following essentials for local youth policies –limited by a large variety of regional particularities– can be postulated:

- To adapt urban development to children and youth, i.e., neighborhoods suitable for children, adolescents and young people (healthy environments, playgrounds, schools, day nurseries, child-oriented inspections, youth centers, etc.)
- To stimulate the participation of children and young people in decision-making processes in local institutions and civic organizations, youth services, statutory socio-educational provisions and custodial rights.
- To improve local socio-educational provisions for children and young people (e.g. support for the family, fostering, and small-scale residential provisions) are further important parts of the concept.
- To implement empowerment strategies for young people through social and cultural activities with children and young people in life contexts, i.e. offering youth work, creating leisure-time infrastructures (“youth clubs”, etc.), opening up possibilities for young people to create and develop self directed leisure and cultural activities as well as experiencing democratic participation at local level and in local politics.
- To integrate young people with migrant background through social and cultural projects.
- To develop ecological projects at the local level in which adolescents and young adults can sharpen and implement convictions and commitments learned in family socialization and in formal education.
- To use local public resources to create and implement local labor markets, giving political and economic support to certain groups of young people so that they can access vocational training and jobs.
- To develop housing programs stimulating and supporting young people and young adult independent living and lifestyles would be another important answer to the challenges of individualization facing youth today.
- To conceive and implement innovative strategies and practices preventing young people from getting involved in risky behavior and especially juvenile delinquency at the neighborhood level. (Bendit *et al.*, 2000).
- To foster innovative forms of co-operation and networking between related social services, educational, health and employment agencies and institutions and contribute to the common development and implementation of local Youth Plans.

Finally, and this refers not only to local but also to national and supra-national policy, Integrated Youth

Policies in Europe and Latin America (and elsewhere) should be planned, developed and implemented with the extensive and intensive participation of young people at different age levels.

6. Conclusions and Perspectives

Processes of globalization and modernization have had enormous consequences on the lives of all members of society and especially young people during their transition from education to work and adult life. Permanent economic and societal changes induced by globalization make the predictability of future economic and social developments more difficult, which leads to uncertainties and insecurities in work and social life. For all social actors and especially for young people it becomes more difficult to make rational choice decisions, especially those associated with long-term biographical projects, because of the complexity and the blurriness of alternative options and their consequences. On the ground of such uncertainties and insecurities, local structures, traditions and norms are once again increasingly important parameters for identity construction and for the life orientation of an individual. At the same time, since taking long term, strategic decisions becomes more difficult, especially for young people, many of them prefer very short-term plans or do not make any at all. The societal developments and trends described and analyzed in this article are increasingly putting young people under pressure to cope with and adapt to accelerated changes in all spheres of life.

Consequently, social actors in the fields of youth and youth-related policies (policy makers, youth researchers, youth workers, planners, and other stakeholders) need to revise their own concepts of "youth" and draw up new policy concepts and working methods as well as new, transversal and interdisciplinary approaches, leading to a better understanding of the social changes generated by globalization and modernization and offering better reference points to support young people adequately in coping with the challenges of youth during their transition to adult life.

We can conclude further that the diversification and individualization of youth and youth transitions to adult life not only produce changes in the socialization processes of young people, but has also important implications for the policies aiming to enhance their conditions and rights in society. Therefore, for instance, the change of youth transitions from a process centered in the society to one based on the individual has important consequences for youth and youth welfare policies.

The endowment of universal services and areas of support, based on the assumption that formal rights and equal opportunities guarantee sufficient social justice,



Noz'ambule, a risk-reduction proposal from Rennes.

must be revised according to the latest knowledge of youth transitions. Social disparity is growing, and it is not at all balanced by the effects of globalization. The weakening of social backup, such as family and community, demands the implementation of policies that *reinforce the individual's capacity* to acquire the necessary resources (and particularly knowledge resources) for a successful biographical development toward adulthood. Such policies must take into consideration the specific individual circumstances and the local contexts, and therefore they must be decentralized and flexible.

Under the new conditions, youth policy making will need to address a number of challenges over the coming years if young people are to be supported in playing an important role in changing and modernizing societies. A key priority is to create the policy framework which will ensure that societies are prosperous, that there are more and better jobs and where young people have clear pathways linking the world of learning and work to the world of personal development and growth. Greater efforts are also required to promote cohesion within society, cross-generational solidarity and the development of inclusive multi-cultural models where all young people can find a place. This process is an essential foundation for the development of social, cultural and political participation, i.e. citizenship experience not only at national, local and regional levels, but also at a European or Latin American level. This broader policy concern with the development of prosperity and the integration of young people into policy making processes which support their participation in society will only be possible if such policies emerge from an evidence-based integrated concept of youth policy describing and interpreting the life situation of young people properly, identifying their needs, values and orientations empirically, and also providing practical examples of how to most appropriately address these issues in feasible and sustainable ways.

Accordingly, we propose a new concept of *Integrated Youth Policies* that can respond to the challenges of our time by linking formal education to non-formal and informal learning in the context of coordinated Youth, Education, Employment, Social Integration and Health and Risk Prevention programs, measures and projects, focusing especially on the local level. ●

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1. In the framework of the GLOBALIFE-Project, Blossfeld et al. investigated the effects of globalization on youth in fourteen countries in Europe, the United States of America and Central America (Mexico). Further information at: <http://www.uni-bamberg.de/sowi/soziologie-i/globalife>

2. When thinking of the special consequences and effects of globalization and social change on young people, we refer to this also as a modernization process taking place in a context in which industrial societies are becoming "knowledge societies", with flexibilization, individualization and "liquidity" as their most noticeable characteristics (Giddens; 1990; Toffler, 1991; Beck, 1992; Sennett, 1998; Bauman, 2000; 2004).

3. The main strategies and Action Programs rolled out in Europe at a supra-national level in the field of youth policies are:

- the European Commission Action Programs *Youth for Europe* (1988); *Youth for Europe II* (1991) and *Youth for Europe III* (1995), the *Memorandum on European Youth Policy* (1989) and the *Reports on the State of Young People and Youth Policy in Europe*; the European Commission White Book "A new impetus for Youth in Europe" (2001); the European Union *Youth Programme* (2000-2006) and the EU *Youth for Action Programme* (2007 to 2013).

- Important European strategies and Action Programs in youth-related policy fields refer to: (a) education and vocational training: Action Programs *Comet, Petra, Force, Erasmus and Lingua*, and the "European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning" (2000); (b) Supporting youth transitions: Action Programs *Socrates and Leonardo da Vinci*; (c) Higher Education: *The Bologna Process: Towards the European Higher Education Area, 2009; 2010*

and (d) Social Policy and Employment: the "European Social Policy Agenda" (ESPA) and the "European Employment Strategy" (EES) (2000).

4. Especially relevant here are programs to implement the UN Children Rights Convention (1989) as well as the "UN - Millennium Objectives" (2000). Important significance must also be given to the Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, the Spanish acronym is CEPAL) reports and policy recommendations and to the "Iberoamerican Youth Development Plan", agreed by all Latin American Governments at the Iberoamerican Presidents Conference in El Salvador in 2008.

5. The image of youth as a resource emphasizes the positive aspects of youth as representing the future of society. Policies emphasizing this view of youth consider that young people have to be given the best opportunities for their appropriate development. On the contrary, the perception of youth as a problem leads to viewing young people as vulnerable individuals who are in need of protective measures. Summing up, seeing youth as a resource or as a problem will influence key concepts and the formulation of aims of national youth policies.

6. Nevertheless, some European countries (e.g. Austria, Germany; the Netherlands) continue to practice integrated child and youth policies, starting at birth or at primary school entrance.

7. Some of them are already being practiced while others only appear in policy documents at national, regional and local levels without really being implemented.

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Social change and the transitions from education to work

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ARTICLE

Young people's experiences of the transition from school to work have changed quite significantly over the last few decades and the current economic crisis has introduced a new set of changes which will impact negatively on young people. In this chapter I explore the changing nature of youth transitions, highlighting processes that increase vulnerabilities and measures that promote social inclusion.

Changing contexts

The transition from education to work represents a crucial stage in the lives of young people which lends shape to future experiences, opens up a world of possibilities and allows them to reap the benefits of educational endeavours and investments. For some though, transitions lay the foundations for a career characterised by uncertainty, marginality and even exclusion. For all young people, during the closing decades of the 20th century, the shape of youth transitions changed quite significantly in ways that increased uncertainty and heightened the risk of a complex or ineffective transition.

While much of Europe is emerging from recession, it is clear that the economic crisis is far from being over and that its impact will be felt by young people in the years ahead. Indeed, government responses to the economic crisis are hitting crucial youth services and laying the foundations for a new economic order in which young people are forced to take additional debts and postpone transitions to independent living. Unemployment is high and likely to rise as public sector cuts are implemented and young people, who always experience the highest levels of unemployment, will suffer disproportionately in the years ahead and face the risk of long-term exclusion.

Across Europe and in other advanced economies, the key changes affecting young people are relatively similar although there is variation in the timing of the changes and their intensity. Education has become more central to young people's lives with participation having increased across all groups and with educational attainments being recognised as crucial determinants of subsequent labour market experiences. Relatively few young people are leaving education at the minimum age and many more are experiencing tertiary education. In turn, this increase in participation has led to delays in labour market entry and has impacted on patterns of leaving home and family formation.

As well as having become more protracted, transitions from school to work have, to an extent, also become much more complex. Young people build up a greater variety of experiences, combine work with study, may hold a series of jobs before settling into a career (and of course

employment turbulence may not be short-lived) and may experience several periods of worklessness. Progression is frequently non-linear and involves backtracking and changes in direction. As a consequence both of the speed of change and of the lack of certainty, young people can find it hard to establish a sense of direction and navigate a labour market that is perceived as complex and uncontrollable. This can result in stress and a sense of hopelessness.

The changes in education and the labour market have also led to a situation where experiences are increasingly individualised in that young people find it difficult to identify others who have the same portfolio of experiences as themselves. In this situation they are denied the opportunity to learn through the experiences of others. Youth transitions, which were once clearly structured and amenable to guidance by parents, teachers and counsellors, are now best represented as individualised biographies rather than as well trodden and clearly understood routes. Whereas labour market outcomes were once clearly structured by resources such as educational attainment and social capital, in contemporary contexts young people's own navigation skills and their ability to assess options and imaginatively invent solutions have an enhanced significance. There is no suggestion here that the inequalities associated with social class, gender or ethnic origin have weakened, rather they are manifest in new, frequently obscure, ways and new vulnerabilities have emerged that are associated with a heightened sense of risk.

Education and transitions

Youth transitions have changed profoundly as a result of the emergence of new patterns of educational engagement across a wide range of countries in the developed and developing world. Today, in virtually all advanced societies, a relatively small minority leave school without progressing to the upper secondary stage of schooling or entering a formal process of vocational education and training. This change was not brought about by any radical alteration in the minimum legal leaving age, but was largely triggered through changing opportunity

structures both in education and the labour market. As the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) observed, an upper secondary education has become a minimum requirement for many employers and “those who leave without an upper secondary qualification tend to face severe difficulties when entering the labour market” (2009a: 46).

Educational policy makers in different countries have responded to changing patterns of participation in a variety of ways, including expanding capacity at the upper secondary and tertiary level, introducing courses regarded as “more suitable” for the “less academic” students and enhancing vocational provision. Yet despite these changes, it has been argued convincingly that pedagogies still bear the hallmarks of their industrial origins. Schools and colleges were designed to prepare young people for an occupational world characterised by relative stability where they could be equipped with “hard” skills that, with periodic updating, would set them up for life and furnished with “soft” skills such as conformity and the ability to take orders. As Wyn suggests, “secondary education has been more expanded than transformed, retaining older models and assumptions about the nature of learners and the form education should take” (2009: 98-99).

In many European countries, as well as in Australia and Japan, more than 60 per cent of a school year cohort will now graduate from upper secondary school with a standard of qualification that will allow them to progress to higher education (UNESCO, 2009). As a consequence, participation in further and higher education has also expanded significantly. Among those who participate in post-compulsory education, some follow academic routes leading towards higher education, while others embark on vocational courses that often lead towards skilled forms of employment but may also offer opportunities to embark on tertiary courses. The allocation of young people to vocational pathways is often justified on the grounds that some young people are thought to have little interest or aptitude for an academic curriculum. Yet if we look at countries that have a strong separation between vocational educational routes and academic pathways, such as Germany, there is strong evidence that the vocational alternative reduces unemployment among young people and smoothes transitions to employment: in other words, a strong vocational track helps reduce marginalization. However, there is also evidence that these same processes limit the opportunities for upward social mobility.

The expansion of higher education has led to a situation where significant numbers of young people remain in education until their mid to late 20s. The change has led to a significant transformation of higher education from an elite to a mass experience, although it remains a highly stratified experience with important divisions between

the elite universities and lower status institutions some of which have firm roots in vocational education (Furlong and Cartmel, 2009). Other important divisions exist between high and low status courses and between those which provide clear routes to lucrative sectors of the labour market and those leading to less rewarding sectors of the economy.

To an extent the growth in participation in higher education represents a response to a process of qualification inflation whereby employers are able to seek graduates for positions that could once be accessed with a high school diploma. Expansion has also been fuelled by a process of professionalization whereby a range of careers once associated with sub-degree forms of training (such as nursing and a range of medical professions) began to require or prefer those trained to degree level. For young people, the move to a mass system of higher education has other consequences. The period of semi-dependence on parents becomes prolonged and the entry to the world of employment becomes graduated as people increasingly spend several years combining education and work.

Although far reaching changes have occurred in the education system, analyses of the effects of past periods of educational expansion have demonstrated that increasing levels of educational participation do not *necessarily* result in a process of equalisation between social classes (Shavit and Blossfeld, 1993). In all OECD countries young people’s educational attainment and patterns of participation are strongly affected by the class position of their parents. In all European countries the majority of those with poor educational achievements have parents who are poorly educated. Where parents have completed upper secondary education, the chances of their son or daughter finishing upper secondary education are high: across the OECD countries, young people with educated parents are ‘between two and six times more likely to complete tertiary education’ (Field *et al.*, 2007: 39)

In all forms of post-compulsory education the gender gap has continued to expand in favour of females (Eurostat, 2009b). These trends are repeated world-wide with female students outnumbering males in a wide range of countries. In global terms, by 2003 men and women had roughly equal chances of progressing to tertiary education; since then trends have led to increased female advantage. Perhaps surprisingly, these trends are not confined to North America, Europe, Japan and Australia, but in Latin America, the Caribbean and Central Asia women take a greater proportion of places in tertiary education (UNESCO, 2009). In terms of performance, at all levels women are increasingly taking the lead. In twenty two member OECD countries, women are out-performing men academically (Field *et al.*, 2007). Despite these gains, women tend to be over-represented on low status



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vocational courses (such as nursing and teaching) and are clustered within a narrow range of subjects (Self and Zealey, 2007).

While patterns of participation and attainment have changed in all countries, one significant change that is frequently overlooked by policy makers concerns the delinearisation of patterns of participation and the blending of statuses. Young people increasingly combine education and work. Rather than making linear, step-by-step movements through school and further or higher education, the sequences of their participation may be adjusted. They may leave education for employment, subsequently returning for further study and perhaps combining study with jobs. In these circumstances, we cannot assume that education is prioritised over work, or vice versa, or even that either of these are prioritised over leisure or family (Ball *et al.*, 2000). Policy makers need to recognise and accommodate the significance of delinearisation and need to develop new pedagogies designed to equip young people with the types of entrepreneurial skills that will allow them to navigate the complexities of modern labour markets.

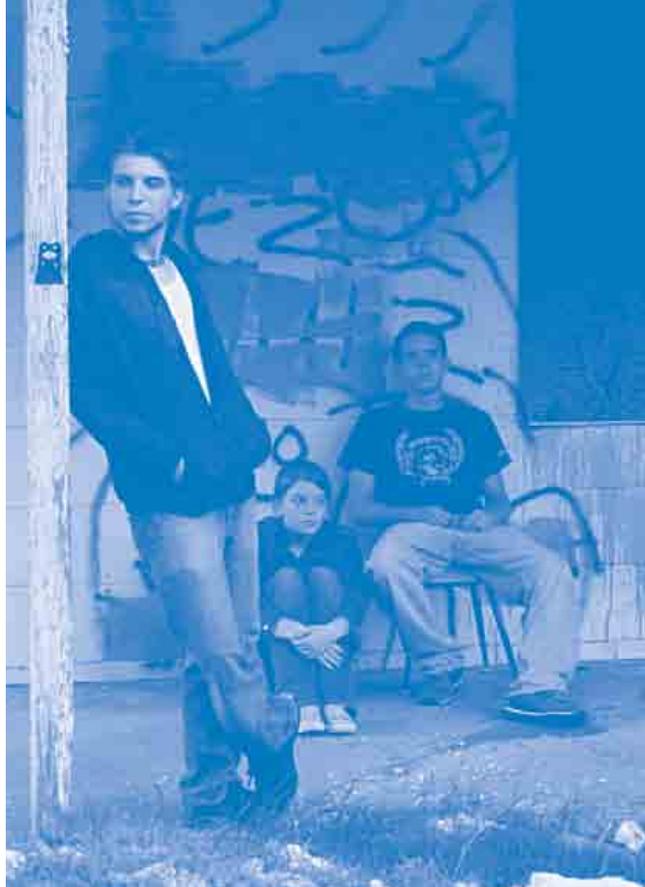
The Labour Market and changing employment relations

To understand the changes affecting young people it is necessary to examine trends in employment and unemployment. To begin it is important to be clear that levels of employment (and of course unemployment) are directly affected by educational and training policies as well as by welfare policies. Despite the severity of the recession that began in late 2007, in many countries, levels of unemployment among young people have not

reached the same heights as in the 1980s, mainly because increased educational participation has removed a large part of the young population from the labour market or removed their eligibility for unemployment benefits, thereby reducing the incentive to register.

During periods where all age unemployment rises, such as in times of economic recession, increases tend to be magnified among young people. It is usual for the rate of youth unemployment to be two to three times higher than among adults. In 2008, for example, in both the OECD countries and the European Union, unemployment among 15 to 24 year-olds was, on average, 2.8 times higher than among adults (Scarpetta, 2010). There are a number of reasons for the higher rates of unemployment among young people: they are more likely to be in the process of transition and therefore seeking jobs at a time when employers cease recruitment, they are more likely to be in temporary positions and are more likely to be laid off as they are not usually eligible for significant redundancy payments.

Unemployment in the early stages of a career can be particularly problematic and early school leavers are particularly vulnerable. For young workers, there may be long-term implications of being locked-out of active labour force involvement at this stage in their lives. There is evidence that unemployment carries a stigma and that employers can be suspicious of the work ethic of those who have been unemployed for some time. When the economy picks up and employers resume recruitment, they may have a tendency to employ fresh school or college leavers rather than those who have been unemployed for some time, leaving behind the older cohort among whom levels of unemployment may remain relatively high.



For these reasons, unemployment is said to “scar” an individual so that the experience causes lasting damage to a career.

The occupational changes linked to the emergence of a knowledge economy have resulted in a range of new opportunities for young workers as well as a new set of disappointments. The expansion of jobs in the professional and managerial sectors has provided opportunities for the growing numbers of young people with upper secondary and tertiary level qualifications, although the demand for qualified labour tends not to match the growing supply of motivated and educated young people coming onto the labour market. Within the European Union, in 2005, almost four in ten (39%) young workers aged 15-24 were employed in hotels and restaurants and in wholesale and retail trade (European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, 2007). A few of these young workers will be employed full-time in managerial or trainee managerial positions, but a large proportion will be employed part-time and/or on temporary contracts.

The nature of employment among young people has also changed, especially in the initial stages of participation. In particular, young people’s early careers are often characterised by part-time and flexible forms of working, frequently combined with other activities, such as education. In 2008, among 15 to 24 year-olds in the European Union who were not in education, one in four were working part-time; an increase from one in five in 1998 (Scarpetta *et al.*, 2010). The prevalence of temporary forms of work contract among employed 15 to 24 year-olds also rose between 1998 and 2008: from 35 to 40 per cent in the EU and from 30 to 35 per cent in the OECD countries (Scarpetta *et al.*, 2010).

Earlier work on young people’s transitions from education to employment tended to regard the process as linear; a one way street that entailed progression from one status, education, to another status, work. It is clear that

for significant numbers of young people transitions today are complex and frequently involve reverse movements and periods of uncertainty. Some pathways in particular carry high risks. Those who leave education at an early stage, those who enter employment without training and those who encounter a significant period of unemployment may experience long-term labour market turbulence, especially in periods when overall levels of unemployment are high.

The entry into employment has always been conditioned by a wide range of “soft skills”, but it has been argued that, in late modernity, a key skill is the ability to navigate uncertainty. The pace of change means that young people may be left without a clear route map and, to succeed must be imaginative and entrepreneurial. Drive, resourcefulness and life-management skills become central to the effective accomplishment of transitions. With many of these skills being more prevalent in middle class families, young people from working class families may be doubly disadvantaged: they lose out in the educational marketplace then face marginalisation on account of what employers may regard as a deficit in “soft skills” and underdeveloped reflexivity.

The future in a context of crisis

The situation facing young people in contemporary society is conditioned both by long-term trends that require young people to develop the skills to navigate the ongoing complexities of modern labour markets as well as a new set of difficulties in the aftermath of recession and in the context of economic turmoil and restructuring. Both require solutions that can be developed by local and national governments. To begin, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive audit of initiatives available to young people so as to identify effectiveness and gaps in provision and, drawing on knowledge of programmes developed in other regions or in other countries, begin to re-think provision in a holistic manner.

Many programmes are ineffective and based on false conceptions regarding the needs and motives of modern youth. While there is empirical support for the idea that work experience enhances the employment prospects of the young unemployed, there is also evidence to suggest that without the provision of quality training or strong links to the education system young people are being helped into the low skill and insecure sectors of the economy where they become trapped in a cycle of poor jobs interspersed with further periods of worklessness: a process described as churn (O’Higgins, 2001; Furlong and Cartmel, 2004).

While work experience programmes can be regarded as well-meant attempts to move young people closer to the labour market, they are often underpinned by a suspicion on the part of officials that those without work

are somewhat work-shy. This suspicion is formalised in the “workfare” approaches that have become popular in a number of countries. The workfare approach makes the provision of benefits conditional upon the uptake of training or engagement in unpaid work. While compulsion is often justified in terms of the need to re-engage young people who have become discouraged and reduced their job-search activity, there is evidence that young people who participate in compulsory programmes may be stigmatised by employers. As such, voluntary schemes tend to be regarded as most effective (O’Higgins, 2001).

One of the key limitations of intervention programmes is that they tend to be most effective in helping young people who are initially advantaged rather than those with more deeply entrenched difficulties (O’Higgins, 2001). Where programmes attempt to move people into jobs as quickly as possible through low level training or work experience there is a risk that ex-trainees enter low skill jobs and find themselves unemployed again a short while later. To be effective, it is necessary to take a long-term view underpinned by the belief that proper investment in education and training may reduce the need for future interventions. Young people are the key to a countries future economic and social success and we fail them, and ourselves, if we do not build on our knowledge of changes affecting youth in order to modernise education and labour market policies and develop systems suited to the 21st century. ●

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Crisis of the Future, Redefining Citizenship and Forms of Cultural Participation by Young People

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ARTICLE

In recent years there has been much debate about young people's difficult relationship to the future. The present contribution attempts to draw attention to the central nature of cultural citizenship as an antidote to the 'presentification' of time and the crisis of social ties that are the hallmarks of our era. Thanks to forms of participation involving cultural practices within the city, young people in fact appear able to turn this situation around and regain an active role in society.

Although the cultural climate of our times fosters the spread of social and identity-related uncertainties, the present considerations - the result of recent research (2008) on how young people relate to timespaces in metropolises¹ - suggests that young people should *not* be considered as potential losers or 'victims of risk' (Miles, 2002). Instead, in the light of the experiences in 'cultural citizenship' (Isin & Wood, 1999) uncovered by research, young people emerge as new 'good citizens' (Sciolla, 1999). The claim of the present paper is that, at this time of crisis for the *agora*, a significant fraction of young people seems actually able to identify general issues and become involved in their defence - and thus to give life to practices that 'reterritorialise' (Tomlinson, 1999) city spaces.

Though coping with social processes that give rise to new and gaping forms of inequality and though forced to address the need to create their own biographies with no institutional support to rely on and within a very 'short-term' horizon, the young subjects of this research displayed a repertoire of positive creative capabilities. Thanks to this repertoire they also seem to be able to practice forms of cultural action often planned and constructed on a political and conflict-orientated basis, to 'domesticate' (Mandich, 2008) exceedingly accelerated timeframes (Leccardi, 2009) and 'abstract spaces' (Lefebvre, 1991) within the city. In a nutshell, they draw on active forms of negotiation when dealing with the social transformation dynamics they find themselves in, which often penalise the construction of social ties and collective participation. Thus they preserve the ability to make their subjective mark on the timespaces of daily life, opening them up for de-privatisation and de-commercialisation practices; in so doing, they also highlight the strong connection that exists among them today between cultural (and artistic) action, everyday living and reconstruction of public spaces within the city.

Nevertheless, in order to grasp the strategic importance of these practices from a political perspective, it is first necessary to consider the social timespace in which life as a young person takes place nowadays.

Living in the 'absolute present'

In a well-known essay, Agnes Heller (1994) raised the topic of the 'absolute present', calling it a common trait of the experience of contemporary modernity. Now that movements, whether real or virtual, are increasingly fast, we can physically get from one country to another within a few hours (or from one continent to another in little more than a day), immersed in a culture of the 'absolute present'. The places we touch, the relationships we establish, all refer us to the pre-eminence of the present as the guiding principle for action and for social relations. The present ultimately becomes the sole common 'home', the dimension with which we all cultivate or at least must attempt to cultivate some familiarity today. Thus, it is the privileged reference point for action.

Heller's considerations seem to chime with Sennett's (2006) proposed analysis of the culture of the 'new capitalism'. According to Richard Sennett, instability, always the mainstay of the capitalist economy, is perfected in contemporary organisations through the debasement of two key elements of the ethic work: deferred gratification and long-term strategic thinking (Sennett, 2006). This process knocks out the principle of time rationalisation whereby people are able to think of their lives 'as a story' that is at least partially predictable.

At the height of modernity, while a 'project' defined the sphere of individual possibility, deferred gratification - the present repression of hedonistic impulses for the sake of potential future benefits - was perhaps the primary guiding principle for action. An essential part of personal growth, of individual *Bildung*, it played a determining role in the construction of modern biography. The core of biographical narration in modernity, as highlighted by social phenomenology, was the 'life-project'. More specifically, within modernity, 'the biography of an individual is apprehended by him as a (...) project' (Berger, Berger & Kellner, 1973: 71).

Conversely, at this time of financial capitalism and of the absolute present, the project does not seem up to the task of ensuring a positive relationship with the future. Now, the main driving principle would appear above all

to be ductility, the ability to follow and adapt to the flow of change without putting up too much resistance, the ability to decide swiftly and remain open to the new. Biographical narratives, in keeping with this view, are in turn built around 'biographical episodes' largely seen as independent of each other, lying outside any continuity ensured by a linear and cumulative representation of time (Bauman, 2000). The present does not appear to pave the way for the future, nor does the past constitute a stock of usable experience. The speed of change, which no longer measures the passing of the baton between generations but crashes, even dramatically, into individual biographies (through unstable employment, first and foremost), has become a veritable background trait of the culture of 'new capitalism'.

Within this framework, especially for young people, the idea of a 'once and for all', of biographical choices that cannot be revisited and modified if need be, seems obsolete. The irreversibility of time and the potential irreversibility of a few existential decisions (such as those that have to do with procreation) is thus set on a collision path with the requirement that one be prepared to 'seize the moment'. Time is then depicted as a series of unconnected points, punctuated by deadlines that gradually change and are renewed. While 'programmes' replace 'projects', cultures of provisionality spread through social life, intertwined with the conviction that the ability to seize a timely opportunity along with the ability to 'surf the waves' is the true pillar of salvation in a universe in tune with constant speed and change.

The relationship to the future is hence transformed. The life-project as an instrument to relate to the future having vanished from the scene, short- and very short-term action programmes step into the fray, built around activities already under way or about to begin. Timeframes shrink: the extended present (Nowotny, 1987), rather than the future, becomes the dimension of choice. In practice, a programme for action runs out when the activity - after a few months, rarely more than a year - comes to an end (as in fixed-term contracts, for instance, or obtaining a diploma when the course of study is nearing its end, or planning a trip for the following summer). Moreover, for a significant minority of young people, what has been accurately defined as the 'strategy of indeterminacy' is taking shape (Lasen, 2001: 90). This term seeks to highlight the growing ability of the most resource-rich among the young (their resource wealth derived from their material wealth) to interpret future uncertainty as a multiplication of possibilities and as additional potential for action, rather than as a limitation. More than a few young people, male and female alike, express a tendency to open their biographical time in a positive manner to unpredictability, assuming from the outset the possibility of swift, even radical, changes of course.

Both responses - programmes addressing the extended present and openness to the unexpected - reflect young people's will to face the challenge of the future in this accelerated and uncertain time of neoliberalism. Yet there is another no less relevant level of reaction to current acceleration and uncertainty.² The response in this case is based on forms of everyday tactics - to take up De Certeau's (1984) phrasing - used to build a meaningful relationship with city times and spaces. It is a form of 'everyday art' honed through the ability to 'play' with events and turn them into opportunities for relationships and pleasure - an art which, in the case of our young people, is often linked to veritable forms of cultural output, frequently designed as political action. Thus, not only are meaningful relationships built, but certain forms of social ties are promoted, transforming space into public space, and time into shared time - in a nutshell, launching cultural and social practices founded on mutual acknowledgement, on exchange, dialogue and pro bono contributions. Through these 'tactics', our young people both individually and collectively 'domesticate' many city spaces creatively, make them welcoming and reassuring, and thus work to strike a new balance between times and spaces through reterritorialisation and re-signification (possibly even more necessary in Milan than elsewhere, as decried by many young people,³ because of the frenzied speed that rules it). These processes, as shall soon be pointed out, reconstruct forms of *agora* while allowing a new connection to be made between the present and the future, triggering virtuous processes that recover a non-contracted sense of time, one that is not exclusively entrenched in the present.

Thus, for these young people, focusing their energies on everyday practices does not take on a meaning of escape, loss of one's way or estrangement. Instead, it takes snapshots of a relationship to time that is positively structured through a meaningful relationship with space - what is 'local' is constantly crisscrossed by global circuits, thus producing new forms of urban spatiality (Sassen, 2009), and in this framework, the public and private spheres tend to emerge not as discontinuous, antithetical dimensions, but as a modular system (García Canclini, 1997; Rodrigues Carrano, 2002). In other words, the two spheres influence each other; each helps organise the meanings of the other.⁴

Cultural citizenship

On this field of the everyday, bursting with hybridisations and potential innovations, the sphere of 'cultural citizenship' begins to form (Pakulski, 1997; Isin & Wood, 1999; Stevenson, 2003). It is a form of civic participation by young people rarely addressed so far, though its significance is emerging as ever more strategic, primarily defined in regard to rights of access to the production and consumption of cultural goods. Through it, a new



The artist Nais has become a referent of the street art movement in Milan and Italy.

battleground emerges for conflicts and struggles over the recognition of such rights (Isin & Wood, 1999: 123 and subs.), where the city is the place of choice for the exercise of aforesaid rights. In this context, the players are represented as citizens based on their will and ability to enter into an active and conscious relationship with the world of cultural products and productions.

Consumption practices, it is well worth highlighting, are not demonised here as mere expressions of alienation and commoditisation, as per the School of Frankfurt's critique of mass culture. Instead, they are thematised as dimensions that are ambivalent in and of themselves, a potential area for self-expression but also simultaneously a sphere rigidly subject to the logic of power (Sassatelli, 2004). Consumer citizenship, analysed by Lash and Urry (1994: 309-310), founded on the right to access a broad variety of cultural products, services and goods, is a constitutive part of this, with consumption viewed as an empowering practice, an instrument to express subjectivity and potential creativity, rather than an exclusively over-determined and passive phenomenon. Still, 'cultural citizenship', at least as defined by Isin & Wood (1999), seems to be a broader and more critical concept than that stated by Lash and Urry. For instance, consumption is also thematised in the context of analysing inequalities from the angle of the economic, cultural and social capital available to the consumer. Moreover, there is critical awareness and explicit recognition of the role played by cultural goods within broader production dynamics in the post-Fordist era (which replaces mass consumption with specialised consumption).

Following this thread of analysis, it is worth noting how practices linked to 'political consumerism' (Tosi, 2008) - the practices that closely intertwine active citizenship and forms of 'critical' and/or 'ethical' consumption - fully belong in the sphere of 'cultural citizenship'. Consumption activities emerge here as political activities in their own right (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2004), opportunities for group commitment and democratic struggle, for instance in defence of the rights of faraway peoples.

In the new cultural economy in which we are immersed, characterised by extremely rapid obsolescence of goods and merchandise and by an equally rapid availability of identities and lifestyles, the sphere of cultural citizenship thus emerges as a socially significant dimension from a number of angles. First, in general terms, it thematises the link between citizenship and identity and casts light on potential tensions between them, indicating how the processes of social change we are contending with

have transformed the traditional concept of citizen (Turner, 1990; Isin & Turner, 2002). Thus, citizenship today, in addition to highly debated dimensions such as the ethnic, comprises aspects viewed as eccentric until now; for instance, next to the cultural dimension, the sexual, private or environmental dimension (the latter creating a tension between group rights and the 'rights of nature'), and so forth. The broadness of these inclusions, amongst other consequences, causes hitherto unseen friction between the universalistic thrust of citizenship and the particularistic demands of identity. Parallel to this, it places two closely intertwined topics at the centre of considerations on citizenship: lived experiences (Lister, 1997) and recognition (Honneth, 1992). 'Cultural citizenship' according to this view is based on the right to full participation in the cultural sphere and, at the same time, recognition of the experiences and identities tied to this participation.

Secondly, it leads us to place at the centre of our thoughts, alongside the issue of inequalities in relation to the cultural universe and access to cultural goods, the question of valuing a plurality of meanings, of representations and of differences among cultures. This valuing seems all the more relevant to the extent that it can counteract contemporary dynamics that 'empty' cultural objects, linked in turn to the processes that 'empty' time and space as part and parcel of the 'acceleration society' (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009; Leccardi, 2009). To sum it up extremely succinctly, it may be stated that cultural citizenship in this day and age has to do with the right to be not only active and conscious consumers, but active producers of symbols and meanings (Isin & Wood, 1999: 152).

Looking at the relationship built by the young people interviewed with the city of Milan through the lens of reflections on cultural citizenship, there emerge a few specific traits linked to the time and context in which it is exercised. There is a general mindset which takes a negative view of the relationship constructed today by Milan - by tradition, a city both refined and democratic from a cultural perspective - with the word of culture: one in which market logic prevails; dedicated public spaces are lost; openness to artistic experimentation is lacking; 'alternative' spaces for cultural encounters and collective practices, such as community centres, are in a crisis; open spaces (such as squares) where forms of 'cultural socialization' can be constructed are lacking; urban transformations in some districts (such as the Isola neighbourhood) are more observant of architectural and



Bike Festival. © Vicente Zambrano



Graffiti, tags, stickers are instruments of identity expression, through which young people manifest their presence in the city. © Corinne Schwaller

commercial experimentation than careful to conserve spaces for civil society; and governmental support for cultural practices is weak or non-existent. Briefly, the young people interviewed for research purposes largely highlighted an *incomplete experience of cultural citizenship*. Still, they also displayed a widespread wish to engage in this area, considered a crucial battleground for democracy: they want to affirm the right to cultural and artistic practice, to defend public gathering places for relationship and dialogue, to secure recognition of the importance of 'appropriating' urban places through their timely use (De Certeau, 1984) given the prospective growth of civic culture.

The interview transcripts and accounts of the participant observation research strikingly show young people's awareness of how cultural practices are able to create times (unaccelerated ones) and spaces (lived-in ones) from scratch. For instance, several of the young people involved in the research highlighted the fact that they had personally experienced the close relationship, analysed by Lefebvre (1958-1961; 1991) among others, between a dominantly abstract vision of space viewed as the result of assembling equivalent points together and a point-based, equally abstract notion of time as an ensemble of homogeneous, interchangeable instants.⁵ In the ethnographic research papers and interviews alike, when young people engage in cultural citizenship practices - investing their own time in actions to transform urban spaces (collective initiatives, street art practices, creation of spaces for neighbourhood socialisation and so on) - space tends to become temporalised: it becomes moving space, transforming space, a fundamental component of the very experiences that shape it (Crang, 2001). Just as the 'mathematisation' of time is always spurious and never complete in cultural practices, including consumption practices, their spatial dimension is generally never

altogether devoid of its concrete quality as a medium for interaction.

The cultural citizenship of the young people interviewed, be they Italian or foreign,⁶ is hence built on their awareness of the ability of cultural practices to create times and spaces and not just take shape within a given space-time. From this perspective, when some young people criticise the city's accelerated (and commoditised) rhythms, sometimes ferociously, it becomes a denunciation of the loss of value experienced by 'local' spaces - for instance, when they are sterilised by an absence of any collective cultural practice. 'Local' spaces are closely intertwined today, as pointed out earlier, with a rising number of 'global' spaces often immersed within market and consumption logics - spaces which the city makes present by a constant flow of information, images, signs, and ways of relating with media technologies.

As a whole, all these aspects refer us to an active notion of citizenship, which in turn cannot be dissociated from an idea of time that is open to the future. As Scheuerman wrote when considering the relationship between time and citizenship: "Public life rests upon a citizen's ability to pursue relatively long-term objectives as well as upon the fundamental ability to form a mutual commitment; otherwise, effective cooperation with our peers can become impossible" (2009: 297).

Without a future, within an accelerated social time that looks only to the present, the very idea of democracy becomes groundless - and so does, symmetrically, the idea of a public sphere.

In conclusion, the cultural citizenship practices highlighted by this research give rise to meaningful reappropriations of city spaces and to young people's at least potential reconquest of historical/future-looking forms of temporality. Government policies must leverage this capability in order to extend and bolster it. ●

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1. The results of this research carried out in Milan are summarized in the essays by Leccardi, Camozzi and Gambardella published in *Culture quotidiane*, edited by Giuliana Mandich (2010). The book presenting in full, systematic detail the materials of the Milan research as well as the research conducted in the city of Pavia as to the relationship young people develop with their home is still under preparation. *Sentirsi a casa*, by Leccardi, Rampazi and Gambardella, will be published by UTET in 2011.

2. The latter trait, typical of contemporary Western societies, has been extensively analysed for Italy by Marita Rampazi (2002).

3. This also emerged in a separate piece of research carried out in the first decade of the new century in Milan, cf. Leccardi (2005).

4. On the redefinition of the boundaries between the public and private spheres in Western society, please see Rositi's (2002) considerations.

5. Thus, for instance, one of the young people interviewed (24 years old), already active in the Italian cultural scene as a novelist, highlights the fact that if a citizenship space is not expensive - if it can be enjoyed without incurring high costs - the use of time allowed by that space will also tend to have a different quality, one able to meet the need to control and 'personalise' time.

6. Ilenya Camozzi (2010) reflected on their experience in her research. This is a specific group of young people who had migrated to Milan at the time of the interview because they were involved in a study or work project of an art-related nature.

Youth and New Technologies

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It would not be especially original to say that the future of ICT is in the hands of young people, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to try to predict in what directions they will take those technologies. However, the question is still interesting since introducing a generation gap into the history and evolution of these technologies that are revolutionising our lives leads us to consider a different change, and consequently a potentially distinct future, from the one involved in past generation gaps.

Hardware

The age of mainframes was followed by the age of the personal computer (PC). We are now entering the age of devices that can be taken everywhere.

This is in fact an interpretation conceived by engineers and manufacturers. It certainly makes sense and conveys an image of realities that are perceptible to everyone. Each one also corresponds to social or even political models.

The extremely expensive and unwieldy mainframes were beyond the reach of everyone except governments and institutions powerful enough to obtain them and afford them. The move to personal computers was quite rightly experienced as a democratisation. Thanks to dropping prices, a great many families were able to have one, first of all in the richer countries, and then more or less around the world.

Smartphones and tablets, badges of mobility, are, at least in the Western world, essentially individual devices. They allow each person to communicate from where they are, and to receive calls that are meant only for them. In addition, the emergence of the networked individualism that these devices make possible could well mark an important phase in the evolution of our societies.

However, symbolising the approaching change of civilisation, a subject to which I will return shortly, by the size of the objects that we use is clearly insufficient. It is much more sweeping than that: the world of ICT is no longer determined by hardware.

Social sectors involved

An interpretation that takes into account the sectors involved in each stage of the digital revolution leads to a substantially different view. This allows us to add a social dimension to the technological dimension in our understanding of the ultra-rapid evolution in which we are caught up. From a strictly technological standpoint, that also means that we move from an emphasis on machines to a more “networked” approach organised around the Internet and the web.

The initial stage, credit where credit is due, is precisely

the stage of engineers. That stage covers the whole period up to the invention of the graphical browser in 1992. This was when the changeover from mainframes to personal computers got under way. The Internet had existed since 1969 (ARPANET) and the web itself since 1990.

However, it was Mosaic, the first browser to allow easy surfing from one page or one site to another, that, in 1992, changed the world of computers from a domain controlled by computer scientists without whom most of us would have been unable to find our way to an open space in which everyone was able to move about more or less as they wished.

At first, what is now generally referred to as Web 1.0 was essentially the domain of institutions that used it as a means to publicise themselves. Websites were maintained by specialists. They did what they knew, that is to say: they applied the logic of broadcasting to a network architecture without taking any advantage of its capacity for horizontal communication. Content was as rigid as a political speech or a press release. However, starting at that time, the most popular tool was e-mail, which allowed, precisely, direct communication between people. The transition to real-time horizontal communication was facilitated by a “chat” program, ICQ by Mirabilis, which was quickly acquired by AOL, allowing users to communicate via instant text messaging.

When we say “institutions” we also mean “enterprises”, and cyberspace quickly emerged as a new territory for conquest, setting off a new gold rush. Thus, the following period, characterised by the dot-com boom and concluding with its subsequent bust, was dominated by businessmen (in the majority of cases in the world of ICT) and businesswomen.

It was they who grasped, as much out of necessity as intelligence, that they could benefit from the web’s most promising technical potential, namely its participatory architecture, which had been there from the outset but had been largely ignored. The logic of horizontal communication in combination with the spread of high-speed connections, the real importance of which is that



Comic Festival of the Tampere City Library. © Jarkko Rikkilä

of that stance is that we tend to lump all youth together, when we really need to discern the problems posed by the diversity of circumstances, unequal opportunities and other differences.

This is all based upon the belief that digital natives, given that they are better at ITC than their elders, are our assurance of a better digital society. That belief may be a little hasty.

In that sense, we can point two very simple reasons: while their more natural rapport with information technology and particularly with the gadgets that we use for access to that technology is undeniable, they are not born with a natural talent for ICT. They need to learn and understand it. Their peculiar problem is that, in theory, the preceding generations, who are traditionally responsible for educating them, are less at ease in that area.

The second reason is that the notion of generation fails to address differences, diversity of circumstances and inequalities. There is surely less distance between a well-off child in one of the world's great cities and his/her father, however trendy they both might be, than between that child and another child from a rural area in a developing country.

The most interesting issue is perhaps that of their potential impact on the threats and tensions surrounding ICT. At the risk of oversimplifying, we might discern two categories: on the one hand, the threats to the evolution of the Internet and the web, and on the other hand, the tensions caused by those who still oppose the penetration, adoption and spread of the use of ICT.

Most analysts studying the future of technology attempt to discern trends and one of the most obvious is to note, without a great need for acuity, the massive arrival of young people born in the age of computers and mobile telephones on the labour market and on the public sphere. They are more than likely to adopt practices that differ from those of their elders, given their different customs and very different mindset.

We think that it is inappropriate to adhere strictly to positive analysis of trends: a new product appears, young people starting using it, and the practice spreads. As unequally distributed as it may be (Gibson), the future is likewise a question of confrontation and conflict. We then need to envisage the impact of youth on those confrontations and conflicts that we can already discern.

Let us look at the following case: the threats facing the Internet as they are analysed by Jonathan Zittrain. In his book *The Future of the Internet and How to Stop it!*, he does not hesitate to use the term "counterrevolution" to refer to the dual danger represented by applications such as iTunes and the type of centralisation pursued by Facebook. He believes that this "would push mainstream users away from a *generative* Internet that fosters innovation and disruption, to an *appliancized* network that incorporates some of the most powerful features of today's Internet while greatly limiting its innovative capacity." (p.8)

1. <http://futureoftheinternet.org/static/ZittrainTheFutureoftheInternet.pdf>

The key concept of the book is the notion of “generativity”, which he defines as “a system’s capacity to produce unanticipated [by its creators] change through unfiltered contributions from broad and varied audiences” (p. 70). The characteristics that “invite” such contributions are both social and technical by nature. The resulting relationships “reflect how much the users identify as contributors or participants, rather than as mere consumers” (p. 71). It is obvious, to Zittrain, that applications and devices controlled by their sellers do not constitute a danger in themselves. There is an essential social dimension and the impact of youth is clear.

It may well be a good thing to the extent that, the more familiar they are with ITC, the less afraid of them and the more freely they are likely to move in an open system of the type defended by Zittrain. However, to the extent that due to a lack of training they have more dexterity than understanding, a very large number of them may well be seduced by the closed world of apps. The iPhone is still the most coveted smartphone and Facebook, an indispensable meeting place.

We might describe this threat as an “internal counter-reformation”. There is a further threat from those who still reject, regardless of the words that they use, information technology or attempt to restrict its use and penetration as much as possible.

The case of the media or the electronic books in countries like France and Spain are cases in point. Since the onset of the crisis in 2008, we have been seeing in the media a resurgence of conventional approaches over more web-based approaches. Integration is not bad thing in itself, but it may be disastrous when power is given to old journalists who only accept the web because they have no choice or who try to ignore the benefits of horizontal communication. Some of the leading European and American newspapers have thus lost the pioneers of the digital revolution in the media. They have driven them to creating alternative sites that might well quickly become their most daunting competitors.

In the case of books, the practical refusal, particularly in Spain and France, to make the digital version of published works available is tantamount to a refusal to adapt, to an attempt at a *de facto* obstruction of digital evolution.

In both those cases, the arrival of young people for whom all this is quite natural might change the course of events, even though we need to be wary of a common tendency among the ambitious who are just starting out to begin by adopting the dominant positions in the hope of succeeding faster. This is often seen in journalism schools.

One means of response would be to undertake a massive development of the “digital literacy”, a neologism that is practically unavoidable. It would not be merely a question of literacy, but rather of training in both the practical and the cultural dimensions.

The problem is that training would, in theory, have to be provided by the older generation, who are not necessarily the best qualified and, what is worse, who are accustomed to top-down or broadcast approaches to teaching, which is precisely something that the digital revolution calls into question.

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To conclude, in order for the arrival of young people to have a clearly positive impact on the use and comprehension of ICT, they must be trained to understand them. However, such training will require a questioning of traditional teaching methods that must start with the preceding generation. Education and learning must

be conceived in parallel. The sharing of knowledge is better suited to that reality, and to the tools at our disposal, than the traditional communication of wisdom. Institutions and individuals share the responsibility, as do young people and their elders. The challenge is not a simple one. ●





Experiences

Sports as an avenue for youth participation

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Since the initial formalisation of a municipal Youth plan in Rennes in 1994, one central issue remains: the place of youth in the city, and underlying that issue, that of the responsibility and role assumed by the municipal government to help youth define their own place and take it up.

The subsequent performance of experimental actions and the pursuit of lines of thought concerning that objective have allowed the identification of certain initiatives that are particularly appropriate for investment, development or creation with the aim of fostering access by youth, and especially young adults (ages 16-25), to the status of citizens in full standing engaged with their neighbourhood and their city.

With regard to students, and more generally young people with non-problematic social, educational and professional itineraries, the City of Rennes is working with many partners and now has at its disposal clearly identified tools and actions, which need to be assessed and readapted regularly, but which now structurally define the city government's youth policy.

This is particularly the case with:

- The Rennes Fund for Youth Initiatives, a system of grants to support young people's projects, ranging from €300 to €900.
- The 4 Thursday Nights, no cover charge alcohol-free night-time leisure events.
- Work on support for youth expression by the Regional Youth Information Centre.

With regard more specifically to the issue of access by youth to sports, the city government takes action at various levels:

- Oversight by the city's sports teachers of implementation of sports activity programmes at schools.
- CIS (Centres of Introduction to Sports).

- Services offered by clubs registered at the Sports Office.
- Social and sports objectives pursued by associations managing neighbourhood facilities, of which 6 are to be formalised in impending accords.
- The Récipon leisure complex, which welcomes the 12-15 age bracket during the summer.

More recently:

- Proximity Sports Monitors and particularly the neighbourhood Fridays that they organise.
- Sports Nights.
- Sports workshops during short school holiday periods.

Sports Night

Within the framework of the 4 Thursday Nights, an alternative night out is offered in Rennes almost every Thursday, as well as some Friday nights. Each month, one of those events is dedicated to sport, thereby applying the principles of the 4 Thursday Nights to different sports.

The overall arrangement of the initiative is co-ordinated by the Rennes Youth Office, and the Sports Department directs the Sports Night, mobilising its agents, developing partnerships with sports associations and opening sports facilities at night out-of-the ordinary activities to attract young people.

These night-time events offer young people the possibility of starting and practising such "traditional" sports activities as volleyball or badminton, or discovering more unusual sports such as blackminton or kinball, or even to take part, through initiations, in disability sports such as torball or wheelchair rugby. The pursuit of

interchanges between culture and sport is also fostered. Last October 2010, young people were able to swim while listening to a concert of underwater music or to play a game of chess at the bottom of the swimming pool.

The most recent figures confirm that the Sports Nights have a constant public, 70% are students. 54% of them go out once or twice weekly, but they will head straight to the sports facilities if they go out on a Sports Night.

Their main motivations are still to practise sports, to learn new sports and to be with their friends. Only 1% of the participants at Sports Nights are bothered by the absence of alcoholic beverages at the events. In terms of participation, 3,500 young people take part in the 7 or 8 events offered each season.

These nights' offer is based upon very simple principles: they are free of charge, alcohol-free and aimed at youth participation. That last, very important factor has been confirmed by the outcome of the assessment made in 2010. New plans for partnerships are now under way, notably with student associations and universities, but also young people in all areas of Rennes. Involvement by student networks in the organisation of these night-time events is especially welcome, so that these sports activities will be perceived as an opportunity for young

people to have a good time. Our aim is also to encourage the two youth sectors, i.e. students and non-students, to mingle at events that combine cultural pursuits with sports activities.

Pilot Project "Youth Access to Sports Facilities"

Young people at risk, residing for the most part in priority neighbourhoods, often miss out on conventional institutional offers and have a presence in the public space. With regard to them, the aim of valorising the place of youth in the city has led to the development of a certain number of actions or specific manners of implementing the initiatives mentioned above, such as:

- The Street Social Workers service, with social workers venturing out to contact young people and facilitate their access to leisure offers. Service carried out by the Cercle Paul Bert association.
- The availability under conditions of autonomy of Residential Collective Premises, which are spaces for social use ceded by lessors for initiatives by tenants. The Association for Renewal of Social Action manages these spaces in representation of public lessors.
- The "Neighbourhood" grants from the Rennes Fund for Youth Initiatives.

Free access to the facilities of Rennes from 10 pm to 3 am, where different activities are carried out by monitors. Kin-ball, tchoukball, ultimate and blackminton are original sport activities appreciated by young people.





Self-defense and climbing activities.



Ping-pong in the swimming pool.

- The organisation by lessors of citizens' workshops to facilitate financial aid for group projects in return for small workshops for renovating or sprucing up common-use areas of social housing estates (HLM).
- The "Summer Neighbourhoods" Festival organised by the Regional Youth Information Centre.

Several isolated initiatives have also been carried out in neighbourhoods at the instance of their councils or youth social workers in collaboration with local representatives of the Sports Department for a more flexible approach to allow solutions that may be more or less tailor-made to suit the circumstances. For example, the Quattro Connexion association takes advantage of slots to hold informal practises, the Cercle Paul Bert association handles certain slots independently via its different sections, or the North-East district reserves slots for young futsal players two evenings per week.

Nevertheless, the City of Rennes has noted that this range of responses is insufficient with regard to young adults in the neighbourhoods, on the one hand because they essentially address younger people (adolescents and pre-teens), and on the other hand because they are seen not to be in step with the aspirations of a great many young adults, particularly in the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Those young adults, due to an integration that has been largely chaotic, haphazard and difficult, do not take advantage of these means of access to sports activities and will not easily assimilate the institutional mechanisms and codes that would allow them such access, often because they strongly reject institutions in general, which tends to accentuate those obstacles and fuel a distancing process.

Consecutive activity reports submitted by the street social workers (whose mission is in some measure to analyse young people's aspirations with regard to leisure, based upon their observations) have stressed the difficulty for these youths, mostly the more distanced ones, i.e. those that more consistently reject institutions, in conceiving and then carrying out a sport project that corresponds to their aspirations.

More recently, the activity reports of the social workers of the Young Adult Accompaniment Pilot Project in the Le Blosne neighbourhood relate the accompaniment of initiatives by young adults in the neighbourhood aimed at taking advantage of the circumstance and developing a sports offer of their own, often aimed at their peers and younger people in the neighbourhood.

Factors determining the lack of adaptation of the offer to the specific social demand of young adults in the neighbourhoods are:

- Regularly scheduled activities require a long-term commitment, while young people, like many others, tend to prefer an approach more closely resembling "zapping".
- Pre-organised activities, when young people aspire to greater freedom in organising their leisure pursuits.
- Activities that leave little room for informal sports or ones that are more oriented towards recreation than competition (which does not necessarily conflict with competition periods, such as local tourneys, inter-neighbourhood meets, and so on).

A proposal was therefore made to provide a supplementary response taking into account both the current conditions determining the availability of slots for using sports facilities from the Sports Department and the specific expectations of the target groups concerned. This proposal provides an official framework for certain independent initiatives in order to legitimise and also to evaluate them.

Pilot project running from September 2010 to June 2012

Two typologies of demands have been formulated, leading to two levels of response:

A) On the one hand, there is the case of "emergent associations", i.e. a youth group that, in order to gain access to sports facilities, has gone along with the current requirements, drafting a plan, creating an association and registering it at the Sports Office. Once those conditions have been met and have been overseen by a professional (social worker or monitor who has taken advantage of



Basketball, rugby or kin-ball in wheelchair, football for blind people or torball are activities for disabled people open to all the youth, that allow to practise sport in equal conditions.

the requested formalities to foster the establishment of relations with the young people), it would be particularly undesirable to lead the City to respond negatively to the demands due to the threshold effect on the sports facilities and/or the current rules for allocation of slots, which give preferential treatment based on seniority and stability. It is likewise important for the City Council, which encourages partner associations in the implementation of the municipal Youth plan in Rennes, to rethink its professional stances and practices in order to take into account more effectively the characteristics of this public, to give evidence of this attitude by applying it to its own procedures.

With regard to these situations, a proposal has been made to reconsider the principle of priority for users from the previous year that governs the yearly allocation of slots, in order to make way to the demands from new associations to benefit from the official and permanent slots with a preferential rate, which is symbolically important.

The conditions are:

- A restrictive definition of what is understood by an “emergent association” that must fulfil 3 conditions: association created in the course of the year, comprising young adults aged 16 to 25, for which the

formality of drafting the plan and registering the by-laws has been accomplished with the specific oversight of social workers or monitors.

- Agreement between the representatives of the association, the local educational representative and the Sports Department (local representatives), concerning the material used, the rules applied to practises, proposals for new practises, and so on (supplementary financing of potential material).

For the 2010-2011 period, 3 associations around the city are affected by this proposal. The use of these slots should be maintained during school vacation periods.

B) The second typology of demands, received occasionally but rather similar one to another, come from young people who are not organised as an association. The requests that they submit to social workers and educators do not deal with specific sports (often they are somewhat out of the ordinary sports such as futsal, combat sports, motocross, biking, skateboarding, and so on). In addition, these demands are unstructured and sometimes transient and they are frequently an example of aspirations that go beyond the enjoyment of sports and seek to call the attention of the authorities to acknowledge and take into account their needs. This typology of demands has in common with the previous one the fact that they are independent, unstructured practises.

Proposal for this second typology of demands:

1. Prior reservation of a limited number of slots in each neighbourhood in the schedules of the facilities identified as relevant by youth experts.
2. Assignment of their allocation to technical groups tracking the “specific young adult objectives” set up in the different neighbourhoods within the framework of the renewed agreements between the City Council and the 5 neighbourhood facilities. These groups will meet every second month and will comprise the “young adult” social worker for a neighbourhood, their fellow social workers (whether street or services), social educators, neighbourhood councils (responsible for applying the City’s policies), the Youth Office and the Association for Renewal of Social Action. The Sports Department will be also represented (Proximity Sports Monitors).
3. This monitoring group will have the following mission:
 - To gather requests from groups.
 - To examine their degree of maturity for independent usage.
 - To organise follow-up «tests» of independent usage of the pre-reserved slots.

Within this framework, the proposal will:

1. Set up a framework for these test periods comprising: prior meetings of the educational representative, Proximity Sports Monitor and the person in charge of the facilities.



Besides sport activities, associations propose cultural activities, concerts, films, etc. In this photo, a game of chess at the bottom of the swimming pool.

2. Designate 2 representatives from among the youths.
3. Endorse a set of rules for use, followed, depending on the circumstances, by:
 - Direct transitional adaptation phases supervised by the educational representative.
 - Recurrent factors that will also concern material and sports practises and also allow reconsideration of any use conflicts or problems relating to the rules for use.

This pilot programme led the City of Rennes at the beginning of the 2010 school year to the allocation of new slots to emerging associations. They are now being monitored in accordance with the tracking approaches of the framework set out above. By the end of the school-year an assessment of the outcome for both the young people and the services and associations involved was under way. ●

The Homeshare Programme

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Homeshare is an intergenerational programme run in 27 Spanish cities in six Autonomous Communities that was brought to Zaragoza in 2004 by the CatalunyaCaixa savings bank's Foundation. It was set up to alleviate the loneliness of some elderly people while at the same time offering accommodation to young people studying at university. The programme is altruistic and mutually supportive: the students do not pay anything for living in the elderly person's home, while the elderly's main motivation is having company. This year, there are 19 pairs in the programme in Zaragoza.

The Homeshare programme run by the CatalunyaCaixa savings bank's social projects section was started up in one of the districts in Barcelona in 1996 with the aim of alleviating the loneliness of the elderly and fostering an exchange between them and young people, two generations that have grown further and further apart as a result of the social changes that have taken place. Subsequently, the initiative was gradually extended to the whole city and in view of the positive results obtained it spread to other cities in Spain. It is now present in 27 Spanish cities in six Autonomous Communities, and it is part of the International Homeshare programme.

The initiative has been run in Zaragoza since 2004 through the signature of an agreement between CatalunyaCaixa's *Viure i Conviure* Foundation, the Zaragoza City Council (specifically the Department of Social Services) and the Zaragoza University. San Jorge University joined the programme at a later date.

Homeshare is a mutually supportive programme that seeks to satisfy two needs: on the one hand, a solution to the loneliness felt by some elderly people who want company and, on the other, the need for accommodation of university students coming from other towns and cities, and even other countries.

It is aimed at people over 60 living on their own home who can look after themselves and have a spare room to take in a student. The elderly person's home must meet certain standards of habitability. The university students must be under 30, or under 35 if they are doing a postgraduate, master or PhD course, and must not live in the same city.

The functions of the different organisations involved in the initiative are as follows:

- The universities are the way the students come into the programme. Each of them provides an administration staff member who is responsible for supplying information and advertising the programme among the university population.
- The Zaragoza City Council provides a social worker whose job it is to furnish information about the programme and to publicise it among elderly people, to interview possible candidates and, together with a psychologist, to visit them at home, to introduce the elderly people and the students to each other, and to follow up the couples.
- CatalunyaCaixa savings bank's social projects section covers the financial cost of the programme, which consists in giving the elderly people a grant to help with the increased expenditure due to greater electricity and water consumption. It also provides a psychologist who interviews students interested in participating, matches the couples and monitors how they get on together.

All the organisations involved in the programme need to work together to ensure it runs smoothly.

When a student is interested in taking part, he/she receives information by the university or directly by the psychologist. Those senior citizens interested in participating are supplied with information by the City Council, either directly by the person responsible for the programme, or else through one of the Municipal Centres run by the Social Services. When an elderly person makes an application, they are asked to express what benefit they

expect to get out of the programme, such as help with shopping, having someone go with them to the doctor's or simply to have company.

When the senior citizens who have shown interest in taking part in the programme are interviewed, an attempt is made to find out their motivations, how they live, their interests and their state of health. In addition, a check is made on the general state of their home. The members of the couple are introduced to each other and, if appropriate, an agreement is signed setting out the commitments undertaken by each of the parties.

Here are some of the rules established to facilitate the pair living together: the students have to clean their own room, buy and cook their own food, and clean the bathroom and kitchen after using them. They cannot come home later than 10.30 at night, except on Saturdays. In exchange for free accommodation, in their spare time they have to help the elderly person with whatever they have previously agreed. They must both respect each other's space and privacy. The first month after the agreement is signed is regarded as a trial period with a view to making sure the arrangement is satisfactory to both parties and the situation is monitored more intensely by the professionals in the programme.

More than 90% of the elderly people taking part in the programme are women. Most of them are widows and their average age is 80. Their main motivation for participating in the programme is the desire for company. It should be pointed out that most of these people have an alert system¹ and home help service provided by the Zaragoza City Council. A change in attitude has been observed among this population since 2004: at first, elderly women were reluctant to live with male students, but over the past few years there have been mixed couples and the results

have been considered extremely positive.

Some of the students are Spanish and some come from abroad. The proportion of boy and girl students is more balanced than among the elderly. Their main motivation for taking part in the programme is economic, as many of them say that if it were not for the programme they would not be able to study away from home.

Once the minor problems that can arise whenever people start living together have been solved, both groups are very positive about the relationship of respect, support and friendship that is established between them, thanks to which it is possible to overcome the barriers often separating the two generations.

Since the beginning of the programme the number of pairs that have been established during the academic year have oscillated between 15 and 19, and some of them have lasted throughout the student's entire studies. The balance sheet of the initiative over the years has been positive: the elderly people are rejuvenated by having a student live with them, cheered up by being able to share their experiences with someone else and have a greater feeling of self-worth, while the students become increasingly involved in the relationship of living together with the elderly people. ●

1. A small electronic device that the person has always on them enabling them to summon help at any time of the day or night all year round.



Banking on Youth Autonomy

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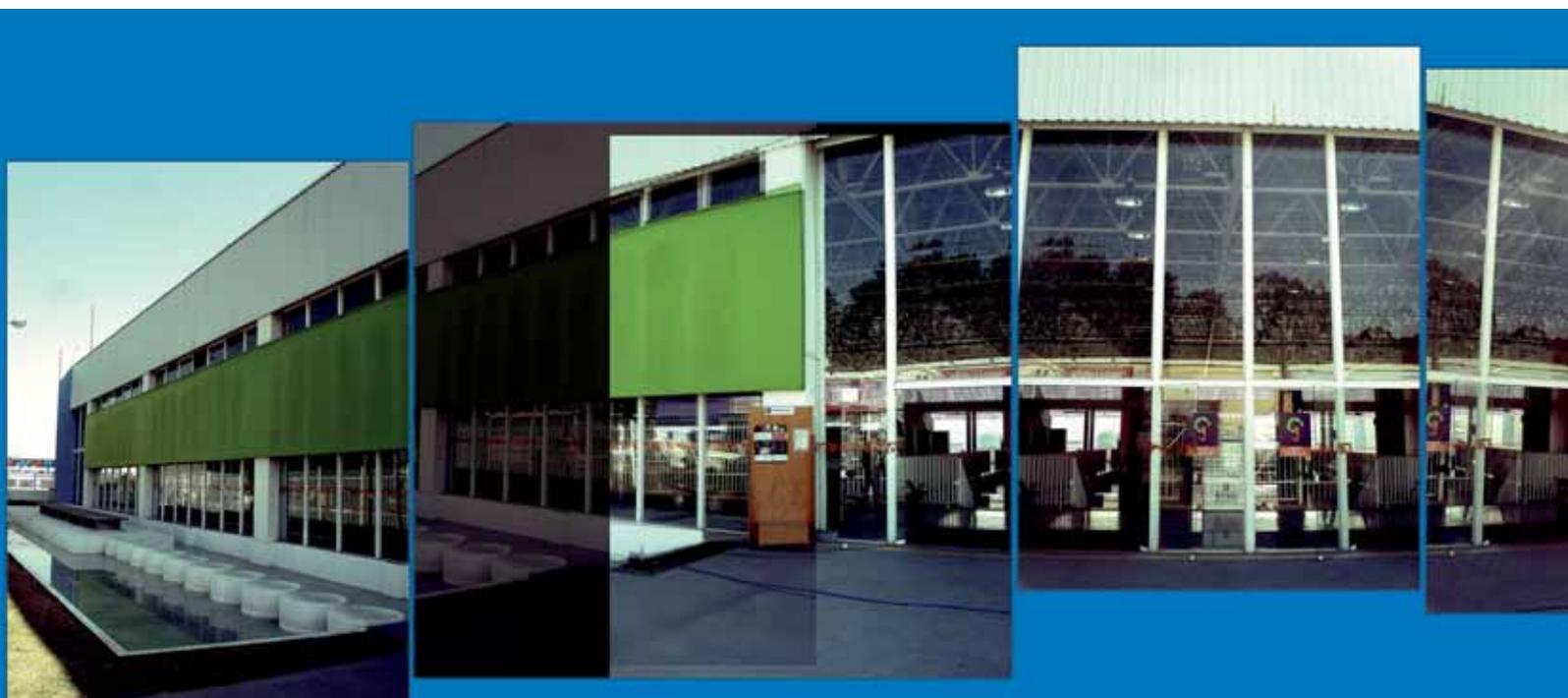
São Paulo is the biggest and richest city in Brazil. However, it still has a long way to go to become effectively established as an educating city. The challenge is therefore enormous. In this context, some of the actions taken can be considered quite promising. One that stands out is the setting up of the Ruth Cardoso Youth Cultural Centre where young people find the support they need for getting the projects they are interested in off the ground.

The classical idea that the city is the natural space for human beings because it is in the city where their natural rights are guaranteed and, consequently, it is there where they can grow and develop in a collective atmosphere of peace and freedom, is not always fulfilled in practice. Even in cities that are recognised as being rich, dynamic and creative, there are pockets of immense social backwardness that -ironically- obstinately refuse to disappear.

The city of São Paulo was founded in 1554 based on a school built by Jesuit priests with a view to evangelising

the Indians that populated the region. For two centuries it remained a poor, isolated town whose development was strongly shaped by the pioneers' expeditions. These expeditions were not exactly friendly and with the aim of capturing Indians and, particularly, finding precious minerals, they gradually marked out Brazil's borders with no respect for anything.

So it was that by the end of the 18th century, the city of São Paulo was still much more somewhere people passed through, rather than a place where they stayed and lived





together. The change in this trend came about in fact in the second half of the 19th century as a result of the economic cycle of coffee production, the arrival of immigrants from Europe and the expansion of the railway linking the farmlands to the port of Santos. The point at which this network converged was São Paulo.

In 1872, the year of Brazil's first census, the city had 31,385 inhabitants. Over the next few years the population grew fast, and by 1900 it had 240,000 inhabitants. And a hundred years later there were more than ten million of us. All this growth, however, was not based on sustainable foundations. On the contrary, what occurred in this brief historical period was a disorderly and badly planned expansion of the city, marked to a large extent by unequal power relations and a complete absence of public policies ensuring, even to a minimal extent, the citizens' conquests.

This legacy of deep social inequality appears nowadays almost as a given condition, as something insurmountable. In this context, the challenge of becoming an educating city is gigantic. Nevertheless, some examples are capable

of motivating us to break out of this state of powerlessness and try to achieve this ambitious goal.

Objectively, Brazil is experiencing the longest democratic period in its history without any authoritarian interruptions. This contributes enormously to a greater balance in the interplay of legitimate demands. At the same time, the economic stability attained through the *Plano Real* has enabled public and private agents to plan their actions better. In the specific sphere of public policies, this combination has given rise to the creation of solid and innovative models with the potential of serving as benchmarks or points of reference.

The case we are going to present here is that of the Ruth Cardoso Youth Cultural Centre, or CCJ as it is known by its initials in Portuguese. This centre is a public facility belonging to the city, situated in its northern periphery, where a dramatic symbol of the governing politicians' negligence and society's lack of care languished for nearly twenty years. There was to be found, plainly to be seen, the "skeleton" of a huge unfinished building that had been transformed into a rubbish dump, an area of prostitution and drug-dealing. In this sense, the first result of the creation of the CCJ was the recovery of the urban space occupied and, together with this, the symbolic transformation of the area.

Opened on 27 March 2006, the CCJ is also the materialisation of a process carried out by researchers, public officials and civil society organisations dedicated to studying alternative models to those adopted by the State in the specific field of youth policy. The common diagnosis pointed to a severe incompatibility between what young people were being offered and what they were actually asking for. The excessively stereotyped view held of them and the long-standing tradition of supervision discouraged the target public from joining the existing programmes and projects.

The CCJ's conceptual starting point was therefore to break with that logic and to opt for a detailed, ongoing study of youth groups and gangs with the aim of identifying their real interests and their everyday attitudes and practices. In this continually ongoing process, many of their





manifestations are being acknowledged as legitimate, thereby allowing the State to identify good opportunities for offering support that is better suited to the projects devised by young people themselves. So, in addition to serving as a public space for the co-existence, formation, production and dissemination of the culture of young São Paulians, the CCJ also serves as a centre of reflection and innovation in the sphere in which it operates.

The CCJ's conceptual guidelines are put into practice mainly through its permanent artistic and cultural programmes, access to which is always free. However, before taking a closer look at these programmes, let me briefly describe the architecture of the space. With 8,000 square metres of floor space, it has an auditorium, a *teatro de arena* (theatre with a circular stage), a library, an animation studio, a music recording studio, audio and video editing areas, and an exhibition space, all surrounded by a large garden that is being formed by transplanting 12,000 saplings belonging to a variety of native species. With young people free to come and go as they please, the CCJ appears as an authentic extension of the street, the epitome of the public space.

The CCJ's overall programme comprises nine specific programmes and thirty projects involving an average of sixty-five activities a month. These activities are devised on the basis of three guiding principles: training, production and dissemination. The matters dealt with seek to cover both artistic languages and the specific topics belonging to the world of young people. In this way, besides music, circus, drama, dance, films, video, photography, literature and graphic and visual arts, topics such as sexual and ethnic diversity, university entrance and careers guidance, the independent cultural market and many more are all assured of a space at the CCJ.

Since it was first opened, more than three thousand free cultural events have been put on, including stage and musical shows, meetings dealing with literature and reflection on particular subjects, movie screenings at film festivals, exhibitions and various workshops. To give an idea of the benefits this represents, the CCJ provides services on average to 12,000 people a month in an area with a population of over 700,000 people where, prior to its existence, there was nowhere else for young people to get together and engage in leisure activities. Moreover, 30% of the area's inhabitants, in other words more than 210,000

people, belong to the targeted age range: young people between 18 and 29.

Apart from the programmes run by the CCJ, a number of measures taken in the institutional sphere also contribute to meeting the Centre's goals. These include: 1) the incorporation of the CCJ into the municipal government's organisational structure by means of a by-law passed by the Council guaranteeing it legal, financial and conceptual cover; 2) the creation, also by means of a resolution passed by the City Council, of a Youth Cultural Monitor Programme ensuring the viability of the management model that had been designed by making provision for hiring young people from the region to work at the facility and serve as a role model for other young people; and 3) the issuing of a Call for Co-Sponsorship of First Works whereby priority is given to selecting projects by young authors and artists as a means of stimulating them to embark on a professional career in the arts field.

Having said this, it is easy to conclude that modern open spaces, combined with programmes covering a diverse range of creative languages and topics, are really capable of having an important effect in guaranteeing rights and overcoming serious social problems. An environment promoting harmonious living together, expanding activities and developing skills and competences is fundamental for a decent life in society.

Lastly, mention should be made of two instances in which the work carried out by the CCJ has gained official recognition. The first was in April 2008 when the First National Youth Conference was held in Brazil. On that occasion, after overcoming the hurdles at the municipal and state levels, 69 resolutions addressed to the federal government were passed. Two of them specifically concerned the field of arts and culture, and called on it to ensure that youth policies should have specific facilities for carrying on specific activities and that these facilities should have sufficient budgetary resources of their own to guarantee they are able to operate regularly and uninterruptedly. The second instance was in October 2010 when the Ibero-American General Secretariat acknowledged the CCJ as a benchmark model to be disseminated among the members of the Organisation of Ibero-American States and proposed the signing of a Collaboration Agreement for transfer of the knowledge accumulated in the course of constructing this generous collective project. ●

Services for Youth Autonomy

Marta Levi

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City of Turin (Italy)

The City of Turin, the European Youth Capital in 2010, has chosen to invest in policies supporting the autonomy of young people. The City has set up three new services supporting young people's participation in associations and clubs, their entrepreneurship and their decisions to leave the parental home. The shortage of resources available to Italian local authorities has forced the City of Turin to develop low-cost services aimed, nevertheless, at generating a big impact.

The Italian context

In Italy, policies aimed at young people have by and large been understood as education policies, irrespective of whether the targets are 14 or 30 years old.

It is often forgotten that when a young person turns 18, he/she becomes a citizen to all intents and purposes and that, as such, he/she has certain rights and duties. Too often youth are treated as potential citizens who are guided to become real citizens. The State, in short, must guarantee their rights and opportunities, but not tell them what to do or how to live.

Governments, whether right-wing or of left-wing, have always conceived of policies aimed at young people as "education". The most advanced trends in thought have raised the issue of promoting well-being rather than preventing "ill-being", but have steered it towards education on citizen's rights and duties, education for participation, education for citizenship; in short, education for life.

The right to become independent of one's family is doubly limited: on the one hand, there exists a diffuse culture according to which independence should be attained when someone is about 30 and not before; and, on the other hand, the State does not have the necessary welfare resources for a young person to be able to become autonomous from the time they are 18 or 20. In Italy, particularly, what predominates is not a concept of "citizen welfare" but of "family welfare", whose point of reference is the family (someone is not regarded as poor if he/she has a low income, but if his/her family as a whole

has a low income), and, consequently, many services are provided by the family: for instance, the shortage of nursery places is usually compensated for by entrusting care of children to their grandparents.

Turin's youth policies: autonomy as the central theme

In this context, the City of Turin –even with more reason for the fact of having been the European Youth Capital in 2010– has decided to invest in policies supporting young people's autonomy, innovative policies capable of constituting a new opportunity for young people to autonomously drive their own lives and carry through their own choices. Autonomy has therefore been interpreted as the possibility of constructing a future for oneself, the ability to take advantage of opportunities, freedom of choice and independence from one's family.

We have set up three new services supporting young people's participation in associations and clubs, their entrepreneurship and their decision to leave the parental home.

The shortage of resources available to Italian local authorities has forced the City of Turin to develop low-cost services aimed, nevertheless, at generating a big impact, taking advantage, on the one hand, of the know-how of local government employees and, on the other hand, making use of mechanisms such as "word-of-honour loans".





It is the State's role to guarantee young people's right to choose and to achieve an independent life.



Supporting associationism is the aim of the Torino Youth Centre, a network made up of 16 youth associations.

Accommodation for young people

Eurostat data for 2007 show that in Italy 56% of people between the ages of 25 and 29, and 26% of those between 30 and 34 live with their family, whereas in other European countries the picture is radically different, especially in the 25 to 29 age-range: 11% in Finland, 14% in the Netherlands, 18% in the United Kingdom, 18% in France and 19% in Germany.

These data are the result of the lack of a comprehensive national policy aimed at promoting young people's autonomy and this is the reason that led us to try to construct part of such a policy.

"Accommodation for young people" is a project endowed with Euros 1,350,000 comprising different actions.

We have set up a counter in the municipal young people's information centre (*Informagiovani*) providing support in finding accommodation and guidance regarding other services available in the city and different issues (including legal or red-tape) that have to do with the property and renting market.

We have put in place a guarantee fund for those property owners who let to young people wanting to move out of their parents' home using what are known as *contratti convenzionati* (contracts with particularly favourable terms for young people), whereby owners are reimbursed with up to nine month rent in the event the lessee defaults on payment.

However, the core of the service is the constitution of a rotating fund that offers all young people aged 20 to 30 living with their parents (or other relatives) the opportunity to obtain a loan of Euros 3,500 to move out. The only requirement is that young people present a registered contract and that they change their home address. The loan is repaid in interest-free monthly instalments over the three next years after having been granted.

The most innovative feature in the access to the loan is that no income-based scale has been used, as in most cases it would show the parents' and not the beneficiaries' income. The aim of the project is, on the contrary, to

consolidate and support young people's right to autonomy, regardless of their families' socioeconomic status.

In the first three months of the service nearly a hundred applications were received, more than half of which have already been granted. The average age of the applicants is between 24 and 25, which shows that the service helps to lower the age at which young people move out from their parents' homes. Most of the applicants are workers, about 70% of them with a precarious employment.

Young people in association

Becoming member of associations and clubs is one of the most common ways young people in Turin (and in Italy in general) take part in society and, at the same time, it is a factor contributing to autonomy, as this gives them the opportunity to devise projects, carry out activities and gain access to the world of work. In Turin we have set up a coordinating table which has been joined by more than a hundred youth associations and clubs.

In a context where money is in short supply (which means that it is impossible to fund the associations' projects), an information counter has been set up to provide associations of young people with support, advice and help in areas that range from: drawing up the articles of the association and managing the accounts, to employment contracts or preparing projects and even applying for funds from national and European bodies. This is a service that has hitherto been unavailable to citizens and, in order to ensure that it is efficient, a network of collaborators who offer their experience free of charge through agencies and who provide *ad hoc* advice to associations with accounting or tax problems has been formed.

During the first stage, more than half of the requests were related to setting up an association and getting it running, although queries about planning and administration have also been received.

In addition to this, a guidebook introducing young people to the world of associations which furnishes them with useful tips on how to set up and run one has been published.

Lastly, we are in the process of putting in place another service, similar to “Accommodating young people”, that will lend money to associations that need it. On the one hand, small loans will be offered to organisations which, in order to get a project or activity off the ground, have a temporary need of cash they are unable to obtain in the credit market (Italian banks are reluctant to finance associations); on the other hand, larger loans will be granted to associations that have been assigned funding from European Union programmes (such as Youth in Action) but are unable to lay out the money while awaiting for the payment from the EU, which can sometimes take a year. In this way, even the smallest associations will be able to apply for such grants for carrying out their own projects.

Young Company

“Young Company” is a service comprising an information counter and a printed and online guide the purpose of which is to help young people to find their way around the available services and opportunities for young people wishing to start up a company.

In fact, in Turin there exist several business incubators and various support services for starting up a company and raising funds. However, too often potential opportunities can turn into an information jungle for young people who are just starting out in this field.

The service welcomes young people, listens to their business ideas, supports them in transforming their ideas into a real business plan and, lastly, depending on the needs of each particular person, points them in the direction of the most appropriate service.

Thanks to the supervision and advice of those working there, young people coming to the information counter benefit from a multitude of ideas, particularly in connection with starting up commercial activities. The most important problem about which users request information is how to obtain a loan (where to apply for it, what documents are needed and what loan guarantees have to be provided).

In my opinion, autonomy (in regard to housing, associations or work) is the major objective that ought to be pursued by public policies concerning young people, because it is not the State’s role to tell people which direction to take, but to allow them to choose by themselves which direction they want to take. Too often it is said that young people are the future, but I think it is necessary to understand that young people are the present and that the role of the institutions is to provide the material and, above all, the cultural conditions, for their future to be as near in time as possible to the present. ●



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Ajuntament de Barcelona

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“If we want to build a world in which different generations live together in harmony, we have to listen more to each other, reduce inequalities and maintain public services that are mindful of young people’s problems.”

Manuel Tornare