



René Bendit
Marina Hahn-Bleibtreu (eds.)

Youth Transitions

Processes of social inclusion and patterns
of vulnerability in a globalised world



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Books from the German Youth Institute/ Deutsches Jugendinstitut (DJI)

The German Youth Institute (DJI) is an independent social science research institute working at Federal level. At present, the German Youth Institute has five Research Departments: Children and Child Care, Youth and Youth Welfare, Family and Family Policy, Gender Research and Woman's Policies, Social Monitoring, plus the Research Priority Area "Transitions to Work" and the Research Unit "Migration, Integration and Inter-Ethnic Relationships". The German Youth Institute has his central seat in Munich and a regional branch in Halle. Its tasks comprise basic and application-oriented research on issues related to children, youth, women and families. Moreover, the institute initiates and accompanies scientifically pilot projects carried out by youth and family welfare agencies and offers social science services. In line with its tasks, the German Youth Institute works in the interface between policy, social practice, science and the public. This task of the institute is twofold: on the one hand, it ensures that knowledge is transferred to practical social work and political counselling; on the other hand, it incorporates the experiences gained in practical work into research. The institute carries out own as well as other contracted research projects, supported financially by different institutions. The German Youth Institute obtains its main funding from the German Federal Ministry for Families, Senior Citizens, Woman and Youth (BMFSFJ), through projects financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBWF) as well as by means from the Federal States (Bundesländer) and Institutions other supporting research.

Youth policy in Austria is designed to help young people to cope with the many demands that are put on them at that stage in their lives. Above all, however, it is there to give young people the opportunity to live their life in a self-determined way and to enable young people to develop attainable and worthwhile goals in life. Gender equality, participation, networking, and quality assurance are the basic foundations that must always be taken into consideration in this context. Youth research serves as a foundation for the development of diverse and open youth policies in awareness of the challenges of an ever more complex environment and is an attempt to manage

these. In the context of such goals and aims it is also a main task of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Health, Family and Youth (BMGFJ) to promote and to contribute to generate more knowledge on youth.

It can be said without doubt, that this volume is a result of both, an intensive financial and personal cooperation among the responsible institutions of the two countries sponsoring the project and among many youth researchers all over the world.

The editors owe thanks to the German Youth Institute and to the Austrian Federal Ministry for Health, Family and Youth (BMGFJ), whose funding facilitated the production of this volume providing additional manpower and means to accomplish the task.

Introduction

René Bendit and Marina Hahn-Bleibtreu (eds.)

The main objective of the present volume is to analyze and to discuss young peoples' transitions to adult life as well as the different forms in which globalization processes affect youth life in different world regions. This includes of course their educational and labour market situation, their ways of learning outside of formal settings, their social and political participation as citizens, their own cultures and communication styles and of course, their patterns of vulnerability, of social inclusion and exclusion.

The intention of the editors by producing this volume is not only to transfer knowledge on specific issues related to youth transitions and young people in a globalizing world but also to improve awareness on the side of all actors involved in the field of youth, youth policy and youth work, education, employment and welfare, about the specific needs, interests, demands and subjectivities of young people today and in the near future, about their potentialities and competencies and about their own lifestyles and cultural activities. Together with this, the editors and all authors participating in this book are convinced about the necessity of producing more policy relevant and praxis-oriented knowledge e.g. data and interpretations that can be useful for policy makers, educators, youth workers and other practitioners in the political and the pedagogical field.

With this purpose the volume offers first different approaches to understand better that, what has been called the "globalisation complex", and with this background to give, secondly, an overview of youth life in this context and especially on the challenges young people are facing today in five different world regions, namely Australia, Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America.

To achieve this ambitious project, scholars and selected policy officers living and working in countries of these different continents participated first at the International Researchers Meeting "*Youth, Participation, Governance and Democratic Citizenship*", held in Vienna from 11 to 14 December 2006 in the context of the *International Conference on National Youth Policy*, organized by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Social Security, Generations and Consumer Protection and the International Council of National Youth Poli-

cies (ICNYP), in order to exchange knowledge and experiences related to the issues discussed during that Conference.

Furthermore, and in a second step, the invited researchers and policy officers contributed to this volume, by giving theoretically founded and empirically supported answers to a wide complex of questions proposed by the editors, once the international researchers meeting was over. In this way, the presentations discussed at the Vienna experts encounter were later re-elaborated by the participating scholars and are now being offered to a broader public in separate parts and chapters of the present book, that is being edited also in a Spanish version (s. Bendit/Hahn/Miranda, 2008).

General Aims, Questions and Thematic Issues of This Volume

As already said, it is the general aim in this book, to analyse different forms of youth transitions to adult life and also the extent to which different and contradictory economic and societal trends linked to globalization and modernization processes, determine the biographical development, economic and social integration of young people in different countries and societies. It is also a main aim to investigate the role young people themselves play today or can play in the future; either as constructive social actors of social change or as a problematic – and partly excluded – group unable to face the challenges of a permanently changing world.

For this purpose, the contributions united in the present volume, intend to give answers to the following questions and research issues:

- What is and how does “Globalization” affect modern societies and, as a result of it, in what way does it impact on youth, youth policy and youth research? What is the status of youth in the frame of globalization processes?
- What is the role of formal education, qualification and employment at this respect? Can future demands for education and training be anticipated in a global context?
- What are the potentialities of non-formal and informal learning in young people’s transitions to the labour market and to adult life? And what significance for learning and training can young peoples’ participation in voluntary services assume?
- How can youth participation be characterized in the context of globalization? How do young people cope with society’s demands for active social and political participation, but also with situations of political instrumentalization or exclusion?
- What are the specific links between youth cultures, new technologies and democratic citizenship? What representations of “real-world” social rela-

tionships have young people today and how do they express them through the new information and communication technologies?

- What are the links existing between youth transitions, patterns of vulnerability and processes of social inclusion/exclusion in unequal societies?
- To what extent is youth being considered as a societal resource in the present globalization context? Can youth really be an actor of social change in present societies? And finally,
- What should/could be the links between international youth policy and youth research? What relevance assumes networking in this context?

Summing up, how can youth research contribute with its knowledge to better forms of national and international governance in the context of globalization?

To answer these questions the authors have been asked to focus their analysis on those specific issues and developments that were considered by them of particular interest for youth research in their own countries today. The national cases analysed in this volume are not at all representative for young people in a determined country or region but they can be considered as “prototypical” for certain situations young people experience in the contexts in which they live today or in which they probably will live in the future. To facilitate their work, the authors have been supplied by the editors with a number of additional, general questions, to serve them as “markers” or “reference points” for the elaboration of their own contributions. For example:

- How do processes of economic and political modernization influence living conditions, educational and labour market opportunities, as well as the awareness of young people upon their own situation in each region/society?
- Which new social problems and conflicts are emerging, or will emerge, from such processes in the different “national cases” being analyzed in this volume?
- What new forms of (e.g. trans-national) identity formations are arising in the different world regions on the background of different contexts of technological and social modernization? How are such new identities linked to other, more traditional, regional and local ones?
- What new challenges and impulses for national and trans-national youth policies are already developing out of the described trends?
- How can such policies be developed under consideration of the necessary balance between the requirements imposed by globalization and the respect for local and regional particularities and traditions?

These general questions were proposed to the authors as “guidelines” to facilitate their work. They also have been used as the main criteria to organize the different parts and chapters planned for this book. We hope that its results could inspire the work of other colleagues and to motivate them to undertake in the future more trans-national comparative research.

Structure of the Book and Summary of Contents

The volume presents a multidimensional and interdisciplinary approach to the above mentioned questions and issues, starting with an intent to clarify the different implications of the “Globalization” concept, which is the key-concept of the main assumptions postulated in this book namely, that young people today, all over the world, are growing up in contradictory life situations determined both by global and local factors.

Having in mind the initial reflections developed in this introduction, the contributions in

Part 1 of this volume: *Youth and the future: growing up in the context of globalization and social change*, offered by René Bendit (senior researcher at the German Youth Institute (DJI), and Walter Hornstein (Prof. a.D. for education and socialization theories at the University of the German Defence Forces), offer a general theoretical framework to understand “Globalization” and the situation of young people in the context of economic and social modernization processes. Further, these authors develop categories and perspectives under which the role of youth, of youth policies and youth research in a globalized world can be productively discussed in order to contribute to the generation of new relevant research questions and innovative theoretical approaches.

Part 2 of the volume deals with *Youth transitions from education to work and with the link between transition processes and youth mobility*. The broad spectrum of contributions in this part of the book includes different theoretical approaches and empirical results coming from current youth research in different countries.

So, for example, Andy Biggart, lecturer at the Queen’s *University of Belfast* together with Andy Furlong, Professor of Sociology and Fred Carmel senior lecturer for sociology and anthropology, both from the *University of Glasgow*, show in their article on “*Choice Biographies and Transitional Linearity: Re-conceptualizing Modern Youth*”, that young people’s transitions have become much more protracted and complex resulting in a greater vulnerability to marginalization and exclusion. That the routes young people take between school and work, which were once viewed as linear and predictable, have been replaced by a set of movements that are more fragmented. With the widening of the time- or age-span that young people take to ‘complete’ their transitions, it has become increasingly necessary for research to draw on longitudinal approaches. However, it is often difficult to access appropriate longitudinal data sets that cover both the age-span and detail to empirically assess many of these new assumptions.

Drawing on a unique longitudinal dataset from the west of Scotland the analysis presented by Biggart et al. attempts to capture the degree of complexity that is characteristic of modern transitions and explore the implica-

tions this has for patterns of labour market integration. In doing so they argue that in recent years there has been a general tendency among youth researchers to exaggerate processes of de-linearization and to regard transitional complexity as symptomatic of 'choice biographies' that can help mask structures of disadvantage.

Johanna Wynn, from the *Youth Research Centre of the University of Melbourne (Australia)* focuses on new "*Patterns of youth transition in education in young Australia*". Young Australians who came of age during the 1990s faced a particular set of social and economic conditions which have shaped their identities and life patterns. They can be seen as a vanguard of the 'post-1970 generation' shaping a 'new adulthood' which has an enduring impact on successive cohorts of young Australians. New patterns of transition are evident as this generation develops distinctive approaches and priorities. The author focuses the discussion on the evidence of young people's changing relationship with education and employment, in which education has become both more significant to transition processes and at the same time more marginal in determining outcomes. A key issue is the extent to which all social groups are able to make use of educational opportunities. She concludes that policies and programs have been slow to respond to social change and that in order to serve the needs of all young people, new educational approaches are needed to reflect the changing role of education in young people's lives in Australia's culturally diverse, post-industrial society.

Transition processes of young people in another world region are being analyzed by Ana Miranda from the *Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO)*, in Argentina. She presents results of own research on *Young people's labour market integration* in her country. Besides describing the current and very difficult employment situation of today's Argentinean youth, she analyzes transformations during different socioeconomic periods of the twentieth century. On the one hand, she seeks to explain how the integration of youth into work has been delayed until they became much older; on the other hand she explores the effects on youth employment caused by the neo-liberal structural reforms of the 1990s and the economic crisis of 2001. Her central argument reveals that the social polarization processes that were induced by neo-liberal economic reforms produced the most severe consequences for young people with the lowest income, especially for young women. These generation of young people in Argentina experienced prolonged periods of unemployment due to the scarcity of employment opportunities. The case of Argentina represents a kind of paradigmatic example of the effects and general trends induced by globalization and neo-liberal economic reforms, in youth (un)employment in some countries of Latin America.

Kalman Gabor, Head of the *Youth Research Group at the Institute for Higher Education Research in Budapest*, discusses in his contribution on "*Education, Qualification and Employment. The Hungarian Experience*" two

main questions: (a) how can the transition of Hungarian youths from the educational to the labour market system be described in the context of the changes experienced by the educational system (particularly with reference to the expansion of secondary and higher education) after the economic and societal transformations happened in this country as in the rest of Eastern Europe in the 1990s and (b) in what ways have the opportunities of Hungarian youths changed in this new context? This chapter also investigates the inequalities caused by birth (social origin), the living place and ethnic identity, which did not cease to exist after the expansion of the educational system.

In a further chapter, Marc Molgat, associate Professor at the *University of Ottawa (Canada)*, closes this part of the volume by analyzing the link existing between youth transitions and mobility, discussing the case of migration processes of young people in the province of Quebec. In his article: “*Youth mobility and work. Internal migration, immigration and public policy implications in Canada*”, the author points out, that migrations (internal and external ones) have become an intrinsic part of the transition to adulthood of many young people living in Canada. Despite a growing concern for “Velcro youth” (those that live longer in the parental home), the number of young people who first leave home in their late teens and early twenties remains high. If to these young people also those are added, who have themselves or whose parents have immigrated, then the picture of internal or international mobility among youth dramatically alters the general perception of youth as a “Velcro generation”. The data show that this young people have to cope not only with certain ambivalences (“staying or leaving”), but also with the complicated challenges of integration in their new surroundings and into the labour market.

Part 3 of the volume deals with *Potentials of non-formal and informal learning* in young people’s transitions to the labour market and with forms of non-formal learning in the context of voluntary services.

Lynne Chisholm, Professor at the *University of Innsbruck (Austria)* discusses in her contribution on “*Re-contextualizing Learning in Second Modernity*”, the “rediscovery of the learning continuum” and its implications for life wide and lifelong learning and education. Together with the social reconstruction of the life-course and how youth is positioned within this framework, the learning continuum poses challenging theoretical and empirical questions for educational and youth research. 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, the author is approaching a more differentiated understanding of what counts as learning, the ways in which people (of all ages) can learn and how learning outcomes can be identified and recognized. Together, these developments point to an emerging process of re-contextualizing learning itself, generated by the transition to second modernity in the context of cultural and economic globalization.

On the background of Chisholm's theoretical reflections on non-formal and informal learning, some empirical and practical approaches are presented. David M. Hansen, associated Professor at the *University of Kansas (USA)* analyzes in his contribution on "*The Variety of organized Youth Activities in the United States and Adolescents Developmental Experiences in Them*", what adolescents learn in such activities. According to this author, scientific research in the United States on these topics until now has pointed out the fact, that adolescent participation in organized youth activities, including extracurricular and community-based activities, is positively correlated with general outcomes, such as academic achievement, behavioural adjustment, and civic participation. This link between participation and positive outcomes in formal education and other areas of youth life is presumed to be the result of developmental processes occurring within the activities. Nevertheless, according to Hansen, little research attention, however, has been devoted to delineating specific development processes within youth activities or to evaluating how these processes systematically differ across the range of activities in which adolescents participate. In this chapter, Hansen reports own research findings on this question from a study with a representative sample of eleventh grade adolescents on the patterns of developmental experiences in organized youth activities.

Young-Kyoon Park, from the *Korea National Youth Policy Institute (Seoul)*, focuses, on the question of participation and informal learning processes of young people in voluntary services in his country. In his contribution on: "*Youth Volunteering in Korea*" the author gives a general overview on the introduction, development and actual relevance of voluntary services and volunteering in Korea as well as data referring to young peoples' participation in them. In a special section he also informs about youth voluntary services in Japan.

Finally, Dina Krauskopf, from the *University of San José (Costa Rica)* complements and closes this part of the volume with an analysis of the relationship between "Volunteering, Youth Development and Informal Learning". In her contribution on "*Voluntary Service, Youth Development and Non-Formal Education*", she begins with an analysis of some characteristics of contemporary youth which are important, when considering young people as "subjects for action". Such actions include voluntary service. Further on the author reviews various forms of voluntary service and their various contributions to youth development, where the service types and the importance of informal learning experiences are highlighted. The contribution ends in a review of some of the policies and strategies required to strengthen voluntary services in which young people would like to engage.

Part 4 of the volume focuses on the relationship of young people with societal aspects like *political participation; citizenship and leisure; exclusion and instrumentalization*. Four different contributions centred each of them in one of these different topics and aspects, draw a more or less detailed picture of these important dimensions of youth life in today's globalized world. Some interest-

ing convergences between different countries and regions can be recognized out from the trans-national and cross-cultural reading of these contributions.

Wolfgang Gaiser and Johann de Rijke, both senior researchers at the German Youth Institute Munich (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V (DJI)), discuss data in their article on *Social Participation of Adolescents and Young Adults in Germany and other EU-Member-States*, obtained by both, the *DJI Youth Survey*, a replicative study been carried out in Germany, every 5 years, on the base of a very wide representative sample of young people and also of European comparative studies like the “*Young Europeans*” survey. In their contribution the authors show, that “impatience with politics”, “weariness with political commitment”, and “individualization”, labels frequently used to characterize the political involvement of young people are, to a certain degree, simplifications since empirical analyses show a rather more complex picture. A basic willingness to become politically involved and to express one’s political opinion is apparent: Indeed, many young people use numerous and varied opportunities to express themselves politically; however, this usually covers only occasional activities. Not surprisingly, participation in some traditional associations has become lower. On the other hand, affinity and commitment to new social movements remain fairly consistent. Participation patterns differ according to gender, education level and the youth’s place of origin (e.g. Federal States of the former Federal Republic, or former GDR). These are some of the key results of the DJI follow-up youth surveys discussed in this chapter. If the comparison between eastern and western Germans is seen in a European perspective, for example put in relationship with data of European surveys, the complex interconnections between the institutionalized political cultures of nations and the participation patterns of young people become even more apparent.

In a further chapter, José Machado Pais from the *Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS) da Universidade de Lisboa)* has selected another perspective to discuss and to analyse young peoples’ participation and citizenship status. In his contribution he focuses on the relationship existing between “*Young People, Citizenship and Leisure*”. In this way he brings the participation issue very near to the topic of young people’s cultural activities and productivities, a sphere where young peoples participation is most developed. According to the author, the concept of “citizenship” lends itself to sociological controversy. For instance, how can universal rights sit side by side with the rights of segments of the population, such as young people, who embrace lifestyles which call for plurality, difference, identity and individuality? In view of some of the manifestations of youth culture, he discusses the sociological meaning of a fluid and empathetic style of citizenship, composed of “*trajectivities*”, where the desire to take part, to take a lead and to escape may be associated with forms of leisure which carry in their wake latent forms of alienation or emancipation.

Rosana Katia Nazzari, a political scientist at the *West University of Paraná – UNIOESTE* (Brazil), highlights the role of social capital in political

socialization of young people. In her contribution on “*Social Capital and Political Socialization: The Brazilian Youth*”, she discusses political socialization and social capital of Brazilian youth at the start of the twenty-first century, in the context of the debate about democratic consolidation in her country. Basing on research work at national and international levels, theoretical references related to the socialization, political culture and social capital needed to understand the formation of youth and their democratic practices are established. The contribution is focused on important aspects of society and state, trying to contextualize the obtained data in empirical research. In this article youth is portrayed as a historical and social construction, and its profile is traced to the unchained conjectural impact of globalization and, also, by the structural impacts caused by the hybrid political culture of authoritarianism and democracy dominant in Brazil.

Finally, Oscar Dávila León, a social worker and researcher at the *Centre of Social Studies (CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES (CIDPA – Valparaiso – Chile))*, analyses the question of young peoples’ participation in the context of a new secondary school student’s movement in his country. In his contribution titled “*Youth Participation in Chile: New Movements in Old Analytical Structures? Secondary Student Movements in Scene*”, the author discusses the relationship existing between societal expectations on young peoples’ participation and the channels that have been given to them in order to do so. There are some marked tensions today, where it seems to be that the traditional structures and the socio-political readings that are made on young peoples’ “participation” pass through a moment of revision and extension of their analytical contours. This conceptual tensions become visible the moment they are confronted with new forms of social and cultural participation of young people, in some way very different to the old or traditional formal structures of participation that we knew in the past, in which a socio-political perspective prevailed, and where the sphere and space of “politics” managed to channel and filter the demands of institutionalized social actors.

In this context, the author reviews the dimensions of youth participation, especially, in the case of a new secondary student movement in Chile, around the year 2006. This movement raises and gives visibility to the contradictions in the Chilean social order, specifically about social inequities and educative inequalities in current times.

Part 5 in this volume has been dedicated to another relevant aspect of youth life in the context of globalization, namely to *Youth Cultures and New Technologies*. Manfred Zentner, senior researcher at “*Jugendkultur.at*” (Vienna), a non-university research institute, points out in his contribution on “*Young people, culture and new technologies*” the relevance of modern and post-modern youth cultures for young people’s social life and citizenship. In his view, young people nowadays are “living” inside youth cultures, that provide the frame for everyday life and are more accepted in society than former sub-cultures or countercultures. Whereas these old forms of groups of young peo-

ple were a means of protest against society it is no form of objection now. The concept of counterculture is discussed much since it implies a common main culture in society. In the post-modern world, adults can choose their lifestyles too, and they are choosing different styles. So “the one” main culture, the one and only leading culture, does not exist anymore in western societies but many different cultures with more or less the same value are present at the same time. And with that the concept of any “*counterculture*” has lost its meaning. On the other side subcultures, e.g. cultures that are not commonly accepted – and are therefore somehow under the surface – due to different reasons still exist. But in general, modern and post-modern societies became far more tolerant: almost everything is accepted; almost everything is so integrated in everyday culture that it is hardly noticed. So being part of a youth culture today is not perceived as protest against the adult society anymore but far more as being part of a parallel society.

Also looking at young people from a youth cultural perspective, Sergio Balardini, researcher at the *Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) (Argentina)* and responsible for youth policy programmes at the *Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Buenos Aires)*, focuses on modern and post-modern youth cultures. In his contribution “*From Deejaays, Floggers and Ciberchabones. Youth Subjectivities and Techno cultures*”, he describes and interprets another dimension of youth life, linked to digitalization, mobility and new forms of communication and sociability. Adolescents say that having a mobile phone is like having sports shoes. They say that the mobile phone “is not for talking”. They exchange ring tones and personalize the experience. They open photo logs and negate the gap between what is public and private. Young children and adolescents (digital natives) find a new field of independence in the virtual worlds that are different than that of adults (“digital immigrants”). What technologies do they use? How do they use them? What are they used for? Where do they use them? These are the questions the author intends to answer. In doing so, he takes the reader of this volume to a journey into the new communication, participation and leisure practices of adolescents and youths of different social sectors and different Argentinean cities.

Part 6 of this volume discusses patterns of vulnerability and processes of social inclusion/exclusion of young people in Mexico and other Latin-american countries. José Antonio Perez Islas former director of the Youth Observatory at the Mexican Youth Institute (and working today as a senior researcher at the Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)) analyzes in his contribution: “*Between Uncertainty and Risk. To be or Not to Be, That is the (Youth) Question*”, the ambivalent and problematic situation of young people especially in Latin America, for example, in his own country, Mexico. According to this author, most Latin American countries, like Mexico, are passing through an accelerated process of economic, political and social change but at the same time, the persistence of authoritarian structures and styles has not

necessarily meant passage towards a society that is more open and democratic. The weight of tradition still persists and it is a must – especially for new generations – to find balanced means to achieve certain openings in spaces designated by “informality”. This refers not only to the workplace (where it is already a common occurrence) but also in any other type of relationship between young people and institutions, particularly those directly linked to the processes of socialization and social integration. Main objective of the article presented in this volume is to show these new trajectories of youth, using for this purpose as a basis, data from the second National Youth Survey that took place nationwide between 2005 and 2006.

Ngan-Pun Ngai, and Chau-Kiu Cheung from the *Department of Applied Social Studies at the City University of Hong Kong*, analyse in a comparative study the “*Sub-cultural Factors Underlying Chinese Marginal Patterns of Vulnerability and of Social Exclusion by Means of a Youth’s Gang Involvement*”. According to data of a survey with 825 marginal youths carried out by the authors in the cities of Hong Kong, Guangzhou, and Shanghai, different subcultural factors appear to come into play in gang involvement across these three Chinese cities. Moreover, different subcultural components demonstrate differential effects on the marginal youths’ expected gang involvement. In all cases, moral belief is a social control factor impeding or inhibiting in part the marginal youth’s gang activity.

Part 7 of the volume focuses on the topic of *Governance and Supra-National Youth Policy* making processes. This part of the book has been conceived to give a cross-national policy overview, in which policy makers and experts working in the field of international youth policy and youth research co-operation, inform about the concepts, strategies and experiences of their organizations.

Hans Joachim Schild from the Council of Europe (CE) and Coordinator of the Youth Partnership Programme between the European Commission (EC) and the Council of Europe, analyses in his contribution on “*Evidence Based European Youth Policy – Strategies and Networks*”, premises and experiences of the CE and EU – Youth Partnership Program on European Youth Policy. He shows the ways and forms in which relevant European supra-national institutions try to cope with the problem of linking youth politics to youth research in a pragmatic and policy relevant form.

This European perspective has his counterpart, in the article of Eugenio Ravinet Muñoz (General Secretary of the Iberoamerican Youth Organization (OIJ/IAY)), about “*The Relevance of Youth Research and Youth Observatories for Youth Policies in Iberoamerica*”. In his contribution the author deals with some policy relevant questions like: When does youth become the “object” of discussion and analysis by public institutions? When does society begin to pay more attention to this segment of society? What are the reasons that make the academic and scientific world start to develop, more frequently, studies and research work on youth? And how can the relationship between scientists, policy makers and responsible of youth work be improved?

In answering these questions, the author comes to the conclusion that the link between youth policy and research in Latin America, Spain and Portugal is strongly determined by a double and ambivalent perception: “*youth as a problem*” vs. “*youth as a chance*”. When youth and young people are seen as a problem, it is evident that research will be biased by the negative and frequently mistaken perception that society or parts of it has on young people. With expressions such as: “disruptive behaviour”, “conflict”, “political apathy”, “school desertion”, “massive unemployment”, “risky behaviour” (among others), still related to youth today, also the issues of youth research become strongly delimited by this “problems-sphere” and “problem-perception” of youth.

The author points out, that if we look over the different studies carried out on the topic of “Youth” in the Iberoamerican context and specially in the Latin American one, we can see that it is very difficult to detach the term “Youth” from negative associations such as “*unemployment*”, “*violence*”, “*conflicts*”, “*political apathy*”, “*drugs*”, etc. Youth is unfortunately, frequently related to the term “problem”, forgetting that being young is also an opportunity. Nevertheless, for the Iberoamerican Youth Organization, being young is an opportunity, an opportunity to change and transform societies. Young people are the impulse societies need to attain development. “Development”, as the term referred to in the Millennium Development Goals, should also be a key concept for further youth policy and youth research co-operation.

The volume ends with a René Bendit’s Summary Chapter: “*Looking to the future: Some new perspectives for Youth Research and Knowledge Based Youth Policy*”. The conclusions and perspectives for future work exposed here have been discussed in both, the Vienna researchers meeting, in the context of the International Conference on National Youth Policies (ICNYP) (2006) and in the present book. They refer to open issues, questions and methods relevant for future youth research and to new impulses for trans-national and cross-cultural networking and co-operation between youth researchers and political responsables at national and supra-national levels in different world regions.

Summing up, similar to the Vienna ICNYP Conference that brought together more young people, policy makers, youth workers and youth researchers from all over the world, this volume is a sort of global endeavour and vision of youth. It is written by 27 authors coming from 15 countries and 2 international organizations, working at Universities, research institutions or international youth policy administrations. The contributions presented by them in this volume are based mainly on their own research findings or practical experience. We hope this will make the book interesting enough and also challenging for a broad international readership.

At this place we would like to express our gratitude and acknowledgment to the persons and institutions that have made this publication possible, first of all to the authors, for offering their knowledge and time to this project. Secondly to the organizers of the ICNYP Conference and Researchers Meet-

ing, and here especially, to Bill Angel (†), former Secretary General of IC-NYP and to Elizabeth Ziegler, Director of the youth department at the Austrian Federal Ministry of Social Security, Generations and Consumer Protection (today Federal Ministry of Health, Families and Youth). Without their support the production of this book would not have been possible. Finally, our thanks go also to the translators of the non-English texts and to the staff of Barbara Budrich Publishers for their sympathy and efficient editing work.

We hope that with the present volume, we are contributing to a productive dialogue between all those interested in improving the situation of youth and young people in different countries and world regions and so with, to generate conditions for states, civil societies and politics to give young people a better future.

Part 1:
Youth and the Future:
Growing Up in the Context of
Globalization and Social Change

1.1 Growing Up in the Context of Globalization and Social Change: Present and Future of Youth and Challenges for Youth Research and Youth Policies

René Bendit

Introduction

According to authors like Giddens (1995) Beck (1992, 2000, 2001, 1996), Blossfeld et al. (2005) and many others, (s. also the contribution of W. Hornstein in chap.1.2 in this volume), globalization can be defined and characterized by the combined action and effects of different macro-structural processes of economic, technological and societal change namely, the increasing internationalization of markets, with the consequence of an 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. Secondly, globalization can be defined also by an increasing competition between different regional industry and services locations and welfare states. As a consequence of this and with the objective of attracting more national and international investments to that locations, a progressive diminishment of taxation levels for enterprises going parallel to economic privatization of public enterprises and to de-regulation processes of labour markets can be observed in most countries. As a consequence, the market assumes more and more the role of a central regulating instance in society.

Further, globalization is also characterized by a sort of acceleration of international links and networks between enterprises, states and persons, due to the explosive development of new information and communication technologies and as a result of it, a stronger interdependence of economic and social interactions and exchanges (s. Castells, 1996; 1997; 1998; Castells et al., 2007). This intensification of communication networks goes together with the increasing relevance of worldwide inter-linked markets, with the consequence that local markets, become more and more influenced by political, economic, financial, social and military situations and crisis occurring in other world regions, generating more and more economic instability and volatility at the local level. Together with this, also scientific and technological innovations, new fashions and modes in consumerism as well as push and pull factors causing international and national migrations, can strongly influence markets, social processes and political decisions at local, regional or national levels. In most industrial and post-industrial societies, these tendencies

generate insecurities and uncertainties, that are reinforced by changes in the welfare state, for example by reductions in welfare benefits so that old securities also turn to become more and more fragile.

In all societies, increased educational and professional demands, together with existing economic and social inequalities linked to income, education, gender and ethnicity, contribute to reinforce and to generalize these insecurities. Their impact can be observed not only in economic life, for example in contractual relationships between entrepreneurs and employees, but also in intra-family and in inter-generational relationships. Furthermore, they induce changes in the systems of social benefits promised by different welfare states to their citizens, like those related to age and incapacity pensions; to unemployment and health benefits as well as to educational grants. One consequence of all these changes is a loss of confidence on the individual's side, especially with reference to the capacity and effectiveness of politics to balance successfully different problems and interests in society as well as with reference to the integration power of the state in many societal areas.

In addition to this, changes observed in the power relationships between different actors at the labour market are an important influencing factor of insecurities and uncertainties. It can be observed worldwide, that those actors with stronger negotiation power tend to transfer market risks to those weaker groups, mostly employees and workers, and specially to those persons that are not yet or enough integrated into the labour market, like for example young people (e.g. first job seekers; "practitioners"; "volunteers", etc.), woman after motherhood periods or those persons working at the edges of the labour market or being employed in insecure jobs.

Summing up, while the combined effects of the macro-structural trends 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 groups of the population, in others it has led also, to an increase of poverty, unemployment and insecurity for different social groups. In less central societies, especially in developing countries, 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).

Globalization thus is tightly related to unexpected contradictory, positive and negative effects and market developments as a result of the accelerated changes in world economy. These changes make the predictability of future economic and social developments more difficult, a fact that leads to the mentioned uncertainties and insecurities in work and social life.

For all social actors it becomes more difficult to make rational choice decisions, especially those associated to 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 return to be increasingly important param-

ters for the individuals' orientation in life. At the same time, since taking long term, strategic decisions becomes more difficult, especially for young people, many of them rather prefer very short-term plans for the future or do not make plans at all.

International comparative research on different topics linking globalization and social change has shown further, that changes induced by globalization processes do not lead necessarily to similar effects in different societies (s. Globalife-Project, 1999-2005). Since globalizing factors are confronted in different countries with different economic contexts and with strongly rooted institutional structures, not only linked to labour market regulations or different existing welfare systems but also to differences prevailing norms and values, they become "filtered" in a special way, giving the globalization process a specific character in each country. Even if the existing institutions change as a result of the impact of globalization, they continue to have a central relevance in societal processes linked to economy, culture and socialization (op. cit. p. 2). But even if this is truth, it is also clear, that these processes have enormous consequences on the life course for all members of society and especially for young people during their transition processes from education to work and to adult life.

Under consideration of these features and characteristics of globalization processes, it is the main aim of the present chapter to describe and to analyse, how life courses and particularly youth life and youth transitions to adulthood in modern and post- modern societies are being affected and transformed by the processes associated to globalization and economic and social modernization.

1. Growing Up in the Context of Globalization and Social Change: Effects on Young People's Transitions to Adulthood

When thinking on social change in the context of globalization, we refer to it as modernization and as the shift from industrial to "knowledge societies", with flexibilization and individualization as their most noticeable characteristics (Giddens, 1984, 1990; Toffler, 1991; Beck, 1992; Sennett, 1998; Bauman, 2000; 2004; Rodrigues, 2002).

All together, the economic and social trends mentioned above have intensified both individualization and existing social inequality in both, post-modern societies, but especially inside the so called developing countries of the "third world". Here, extreme inequalities in the distribution of wealth have deepened the gap between rich and poor and so also the economic and social vulnerability of large groups of the population, especially of children, woman and young people. Such tendencies manifest themselves first of all

with reference to education, to vocational and professional training, to entrance into the labour market and employment status, in people's participation in society and finally in poverty and exclusion.

Individualization – biografization and youth trajectories

Youth research has shown, that for the individual, the changes induced by modernization processes, have important implications. They generate a number of new demands, like for example, to constantly take individual *decisions* while outcomes remain uncertain; to stand and to resist increasing labour market *competition* (Lianos et al., 2002); to reconcile *fragmented life spheres*: family, work, peers, education, etc.; to maintain a *sense of coherence* within fragmented lives (*identity work*) (Antonovsky, 1987; Giddens, 1991; Keupp et al., 1999; Bauman, 2004). Further on, such changes demand from young people also to produce *biographical continuity* while temporal horizons between past, present and future and between life phases are being blurred (Leccardi, 2003) and finally, they demand from young people to assume *self-responsibility* for their own career by lifelong learning (Field, 2000) and increasingly for social security by individual provisions.

This demands suggest a clear impact of social changes on the individuals' quality of life, not only due to the increase of demands but especially through the uncertainty of how to meet them and how to reconcile between contradictory demands and needs.

Biografization or pre-determined trajectories?

While the life course of individuals in almost all present societies remain dependent on life course institutions, individualization also means that reproduction in post-modern societies, as well as in the "modernized poles" inside developing countries, occurs more and more through individual decisions, although class, education, gender and ethnicity still distribute resources and opportunities unequally. Those with higher status and more resources choose individualized trajectories and shape them according to their own interests ("*Biografization*"). Those with lower social status and a lack of resources and opportunities – this is the case of the majority of young people in developing countries – tend to be forced into atypical *trajectories* and are restricted to adaptive reactions in order to cope with exclusion or marginalization. But in more developed societies, however, social inequality no longer restricts to differences in social status but even so, it is also connected to risks of social exclusion (Castel, 1995; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).