NATIONAL CASE STUDY - ANALYSIS REPORT FOR THE NETHERLANDS

YOYO WORKPACKAGE 6

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Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

This national case study report has been written within the context of the 5th Framework Project "*Youth Policy and Participation. Potentials of participation and informal learning in young people's transitions to the labour market. A comparative analysis in ten European regions*" (YOYO). As a part of this research project, during the last one and a half years we have conducted interviews with disengaged young people, agency workers and experts who have been involved in three particular transitions from school to work programmes. These case studies involved a youth project (*Cityteam*), a vocational training scheme (*Center Parcs*) and a service (*Starters Service Center Almere / SSCA*)[1].

In this final interview report, the outcomes of all previous interview rounds in the Netherlands are analysed in relation to each other. The joint Working Papers 1 (*Youth transitions, youth policy and participation*), 2 (*How to avoid cooling out?*) and 3 (*Joint analysis report on case study agencies*) will also be used for this purpose. The remainder of this report is structured in the following way: in Chapter 2, the context of youth transitions, education- and employment trajectories, and the role of youth policy (discourses) in the Netherlands are discussed. In Chapter 3, the sample of the interviewed young people is described and an overview of transition steps of our project participants is presented, accompanied by a number of typical biographical portraits. In Chapter 4, the biographical orientations, motivational turning points and expectations of the young interviewees and their experiences with institutions before entering the case studies are analysed. In Chapter 5, the three case studies are examined with regard to the concepts of participation, motivation and learning and the relationship between them. This chapter will bring together the views of project workers, external experts and project participants on these matters and discusses issues of success and failure with regard to the case studies. In Chapter 6, political and policy recommendations are made.

2. INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF YOUTH TRANSITIONS

2.1 Educational system and dominant types of trajectories

The Dutch educational system[2] consists of three levels: *primary* education is for pupils that are aged between 4 and 12 years. Pupils in the age between 12 and 16-18 years are engaged in *secondary* education, after which senior secondary vocational education or a *tertiary* type of education follows (1 to 5 years). Full-time participation in education is compulsory up until the age of 16 and part-time up to the year of turning 17.

The main educational routes from the secondary level onwards are:

- Pre-vocational education for pupils aged 12-16 years → senior secondary vocational education (including dual trajectories; 1 to 4 years).
- Junior higher general secondary education for pupils in the age of 12-17 years → higher professional education (4 to 5 years).
- Pre-university education for pupils in the age of 12-18 years → university education (3 to 5 years).

Differentiation takes place from secondary education onwards but a final choice for a type or level of secondary education is generally delayed until after a one to three-year 'bridging period'. The most important type of secondary education is the pre-vocational one, with about 50% of all third-year pupils. A further 20% of all third-year pupils attend higher general education and 20% attend pre-university education. Another 10% follow types of special secondary education, which provides extra support to pupils with problems involving learning, behaviour, etc. (CBS 2003).

A growing majority of secondary education pupils - especially girls - follow direct educational routes (50% to 70%). Small to large minorities of pupils continue with alternative types of education (up to 30%, for example from higher general secondary education to senior vocational or pre-university education instead of higher professional education) or leave fulltime education (on average 17%) temporarily or permanently. According to the latest

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[2] In the Netherlands, a considerable majority of pupils attend *private* schools. These are managed by associations or foundations on the basis of denominational or non-denominational principles but are *publicly funded*. Most of them are either of Protestant or Roman-Catholic denomination, while the number of schools of Islamic denomination is increasing, especially in primary education. In addition, there are non-denominational schools that provide education according to specific pedagogical principles, for example Montessori schools. Although private schools may impose admission criteria, in practice most of them pursue non-restrictive admission policies. In contrast with primary and secondary education institutions, most of the higher education institutions are publicly managed. The costs of education are for the largest part paid by public funding. Pupils, students or parents pay the remainder: school costs (books, etc.), a voluntary parental contribution and a tuition fee (from age 16 onwards). From the age 18 onwards, students receive a basic study grant and may lend further money in relation to the income of their parents (SCP 2002; Ministerie van OC&W website).

estimations, about 40% of the early school-leavers return to education within a number of years, of which not more than 50% will eventually obtain a diploma (CBS 2001 & 2003; SCP 2000 & 2001).

The Dutch educational system allows for horizontal as well as vertical mobility and thus offers a 'way out' after early differentiation within secondary education. However, these detours mostly follow existing divisions between general and vocational education and have decreased in importance during the last decade, mainly because of restrictions imposed by educational policy makers for reasons of cost reduction (SCP 2002). The most important 'stacking-up' route at the moment involves the path from senior secondary to higher professional education (20% in 2000). All types of post-compulsory, follow-up education catch up substantial shares of students who have not followed fulltime education the year before (for example 30% of the influx in higher professional education in 2000) (CBS 2003). Higher professional and university education used to be undifferentiated but will become more stratified in the future because of the introduction of the bachelor (3 to 4 years) / master (1 to 2 years) system.

In terms of Esping-Andersen's typology for welfare models, the Dutch educational system appears to be changing from a *hybrid* model (a mix of social-democratic, liberal and corporatist ideal types) to a more *corporatist* one (Esping-Andersen 1990; SCP 2002). While the enrolment in vocational courses decreased up to the 1990s in favour of general education, the participation in vocational types of education recently appears to be on the rise again. Former educational policy was particularly aimed at a rise in participation in general education and a transfer to higher education. Recent reforms, in particular the merging of lower general secondary education with pre-vocational education into a broad pre-vocational course and the decreasing possibilities for switching and stacking up diplomas within general education, have shifted the attention to a rising attainment of vocational qualifications at the middle level. Consequently, it is expected that the growth of higher education will level off in the coming years (SCP 2002).

2.2 Transitions from school to work and position on the labour market

Hannan et al. (1999) typify the Dutch transition from school to work model as being *tightly coupled* and with *collinear linkage*, in other words education and training are occupation-specific and industry driven and the definition of skill standards has been developed in agreement with social partners and at all levels (Bjørnåvold 2000).

Consequently, there is relatively little within-labour market competition for the same occupational positions among those with different levels and types of educational qualifications (in contrast to more internal labour markets as for instance in the United States).

At present, the median age at which a young person enters the full-time labour market stands at the age of 21 in the case of boys and 19 in the case of girls (SCP 2001). However, more and more pupils and especially students are taking on *part-time* jobs during their educational careers: in 2001, almost 60% of the school-going young people between 15 and 24 years of age were participating in paid work less than 12 hours a week. Often, jobs are in retail and catering services and in general require elementary or at most middle level skills. Only about 10% of the occupations held by – full- or part-time - employed young people require high or academic skill levels (CBS 2003).

Young people usually work on the basis of *temporary employment contracts*. Up to more than a half of all young people's contracts in 2001 were of a temporary nature (CBS 2003), but it appears that this high figure is above all the consequence of the flexible jobs that especially school-going young people hold. If one looks only at those young people who are active on the full-time labour market, the rate of steady contracts rises with age to almost the same levels of that of their adult, 25 to 64 year old counterparts (slightly more than 80%): from about 50% (15 to 17 year olds) to around 75% (18 to 24 year old) (figures for 2001; CBS 2003, SCP 2001).

Between 1994 and 2001, the average time that was needed to find a first 'fitting' job after having left daytime education dropped from 9 to 5 months. However, as the Dutch labour market situation has worsened recently, the job search time is increasing and youth unemployment rates are going up again. The latter rate (the unemployment rate among 15 to 24 year-olds) has risen 3 percent points in one year and now stands at 10%, twice as high as the overall unemployment rate (CBS website; CBS 2003).

2.3 Groups at risk

The expansion of daytime educational participation during the last few decades has meant that an *increasing number* of young people follow *increasingly longer* trajectories, both in compulsory and post-compulsory education. During the 1990s, the participation among 16 to 19 year-olds increased from 68% to 72% (SCP 2002). Especially the participation of females has grown, and today their educational involvement has almost caught up with – and sometimes even surpassed - that of males. However, substantial gender differences with regard to study subjects and type of education – general education / 'soft' subjects (relatively

many young women) versus vocational education / 'hard' subjects (relatively many young men) - remain in place. Moreover, females – especially young single mothers - still participate less on the labour market, have a greater chance of getting unemployed, cover a smaller range of professions and get paid less in relation to males. Women also predominantly work in part-time jobs and still tend to quit working after having a second child (Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra 2000; CBS 1999).

Class-specific differences are persistent as well: children whose parents have low levels of educational attainment (in general from a lower class background) still tend to leave school relatively early and generally do not make it through tertiary education. They also more often choose and follow lower forms of vocational education and training than middle- and higher-class youth (Hustinx 1998).

The number of students of a foreign (non-western European) background in secondary education has increased strongly in time and has stabilised over the past few years. In 1994/95, approximately 8% of secondary school students belonged to a cultural minority (both parents of non-west European origin). Students of non-Dutch origin are disproportionately found at the lower levels of education (55% of those enrolled in pre-vocational education in 1994/95 were of non-Dutch origin). The participation of non-Dutch youngsters - especially in the case of Turkish and Moroccan youngsters - is considerably lower that that of their Dutch counterparts while youngsters from Surinam participate in education at roughly the same level as Dutch youth. Among young people from the Antilles, a relatively lower educational participation at a young age goes together with a relatively higher participation at a higher age (Tesser et al. 1999). Regarding the educational participation at a higher age and more upper levels of (tertiary) education (age category of 20-24 year olds), second generation youth are still lagging behind Dutch youth. Illegal young asylum-seekers and young migrants are required to follow education up to the age of 18, including the right to finish school after that age (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur & Wetenschappen website).

Although in comparison with 1980 the absolute number of early school leavers has halved, this is mainly the consequence of a strong decrease in the absolute number of students in secondary education. The rate of students who leave education early varies from 17% (for lower general secondary education) to 35% (pre-vocational education and middle-level vocational education) (Sinkeldam 1996; Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur & Wetenschappen 1996; CBS press release, internet-site). Obtaining a secondary education diploma seems to be especially problematic in the big cities of the urbanized, western part of the Netherlands, where the early school-leaver rates lie around 25% - thus with only 75% obtaining their

secondary education diploma. It has also been assessed that about 42% of young people do not obtain the required minimal 'Primary Starting Qualification' level, e.g. the minimum of education somebody should have accumulated in order to be prepared for the labour market and be able to develop further during his or hers professional career. This level is comparable to a diploma of higher general secondary education, pre-university education or two years of middle-level vocational education. The share of young people who leave education *without any diploma at all*, i.e. the young people who do not return to school or fail to obtain a diploma after enrolling again after having left school early, remains roughly unchanged at 10% since the 1980s (Hövels et al. 1999; Van Tilborg & Spit 1998).

Rates of labour market participation according to gender and ethnicity show at the one hand a relatively stable rate of participation among Dutch males and females, and at the other hand a lower but rapid increase of participation among non-Dutch males and females. The variation in unemployment rates between males and females for young age groups are relatively small, but unemployment rates among non-Dutch youth remain up to twice as high as that of their Dutch counterparts (Tesser et al. 2001; CBS 2003).

2.4 Policy discourses and strategies and the role of youth policy

Up to the 1970s, youth policy was general in nature, aiming to shape young people morally and culturally by offering guided leisure activities. Since then, emphasis has been put on dealing with specific (disadvantaged) problem youth. Today, attention seems to shift backwards towards a more general approach again, increasing the opportunities for personal development and the participation of young people in local activities. Much attention is paid to the *prevention* of early school leaving, the loss of paid work, youth delinquency and problematic family situations. A more direct involvement of the family in youth affairs is promoted for example by direct family support or by offering pedagogical courses for families (NIZW 2001; SCP 2003).

The shift in general youth policy has been accompanied by a policy of decentralisation. Municipalities have become more in charge in dealing with these issues and the domains that are related to these, for instance welfare, youth health care, sports, labour market intermediation, parts of educational policy, etc. are for a large part the responsibility of local public authorities. *JIP*'s (Youth Information Points), to provide young people advice and information on all kinds of subjects, are set up in more and more municipalities. The national government limits itself to the co-ordination of sectoral youth policies (educational policy, labour market policy, etc.). To promote further co-operation and co-ordination between

different policy layers, an agreement between local, regional and national public agencies was signed in 1999, the *BANS* (New Style Policy Agreement) (NIZW 2001).

However, local authorities still appear to have problems with developing and implementing an integral and locality-specific youth policy; tenets and problem definitions are often too broad and incoherent with regard to content (SCP 1999). The same goes for young people who participate in unemployment projects. They are often faced with a multitude of problems and only since recent times local unemployment agencies are putting more emphasis on interlinked, holistic counselling and the collaboration of institutions, (involving for instance social affairs, the education department, the department of justice, housing agencies, etc.).

With regard to participation policies, much emphasis has lately been laid on youth with problematic or disadvantaged backgrounds. In these cases, it is thought that involvement and active participation in social life will encourage problem-solving abilities and will prevent marginalisation of young people at risk. Paradoxically however, it appears that the young people who are in the most riskful situations often are limited in their participation choices. While it is certainly the case that new ways of thinking in relation to, for example, youth unemployment programs, are present in the methods used, transition policies with regard to problem groups are often narrowed down to the choice of either being in (fulltime) education or training, or having paid employment. These projects for early school-leavers and unemployed young people are also meant to save public costs on the long term (Integration Through Training 2001; INPART 2000).

In Annex 1, an overview is given of the most important local and national transition policies.

3. SAMPLE DESCRIPTION AND TYPES OF TRAJECTORIES

3.1 Breakdown of disengaged interviewee group: size, age, gender, education, etc.

The group of disengaged interviewees totalled 32 young people. During the first interview round (WP2), 26 persons were interviewed and during the second interview round (WP5), 18 participants. Of the latter group, 12 young people were interviewed a second time. Because of dropout, 6 new participants were brought in to maintain the size of the sample. These were interviewed once. The *Cityteam* project provided 15 interviewees, the *Center Parcs* project 10 interviewees and the *SSCA* project 7 interviewees.

The participants were between the ages of 16 and 27, most of them being around the ages of 19 and 21. The youngest participants were found at *Cityteam* (16 to 23 years of age). The age ranges of the other two projects were 19 to 24 years (*Center Parcs*) and 17 to 27 years (*SSCA*).

The total sample contained equal numbers of males and females (16 each). The most evenly distributed project with regard to gender was *Cityteam*, with 7 males and 8 females. In the other sub-samples, females (*Center Parcs*) or males (*SSCA*) were over-represented.

Most of the interviewees had either a lower secondary education diploma (mostly pre-vocational education) or had successfully finished middle level vocational training. In general, the females had obtained higher levels of education than the males. *Cityteam* participants displayed the lowest qualification levels (at most lower secondary education), while most of the *Center Parcs* participants finished middle level vocational training successfully. *SSCA* participants generally finished either lower or upper general secondary education, but in one case, an SSCA participant was still attending higher education, another had graduated. A large share of the participants had left education early, especially in the case of *Cityteam*. Of four participants (all from *Cityteam*), the educational level could not be determined, but was in all probability low.

Because we were often tied to the availability of respondents at a particular point in time, we were not always able to get a good mix of respondents per project - especially with regard to gender and ethnic background. Overall however, the proportion of males and females is even (but with an over-representation of males within the *SSCA* case study) and fairly even with regard to ethnic background (but with an under-representation of minority participants within the Center Parcs and SSCA case studies). In total, seven out of thirty-two young people originated from a non-Dutch background: K. and F. (Moroccan), D. and E. (Antillean), B. (part Indonesian), C. (part Surinamese) and L. (part Brazilian).

In Annex 2, an overview is given of the sample according to project, gender, age, educational attainment, interview types, interview dates and current status.

3.2 Transition steps

In the following table, the education and employment experiences of the participants have been clustered:

Table 1: Education and employment trajectories of participants up to entering projects

	Male	Female
Trajectories driven by life events or crises	5	6
Trajectories driven by choice uncertainty	1	4
Trajectories driven by communicative work-values	2	5
Trajectories driven by materialistic work-values	5	-
Trajectories driven by expressive work-values	3	1

When we analysed the transitions of our participants up to entering one of the programmes, we felt it was impossible to discern trajectories purely based on the types and number of transitions (yoyo, linear, etc.). Most of the interviewees had more or less experienced complex transitions before entering one of the projects, with numerous shifts between jobs, education, etc. Instead we tried to 'catch' their outlook on work values within this classification of transition steps.

While the young people in the category of *trajectories driven by life events or crises* could perhaps be put in a number of other cells, we decided to place them in this particular category because up until entering one of the case studies, their trajectories were very much *recently* shaped by these occurrences. These events are characterised by disruptive moments or significant life events, as for instance running away from home, teasing, criminal careers, early parenthood, etc. and they happened mostly during the period of secondary education. A small number of them have experienced a period of social and psychological problems and depressions and in a few other cases, participants had to quit a particular education or job because of health problems. In general, their transition experiences have been negative and often they perceived a lack of institutional support and had problematic family backgrounds. In time, it might be expected that the 'life event' group will move on to other categories fitting their labour market values, mostly involving normal biographical plans of early labour market entrance and swift financial independence or work involving communicative aspects.

The important factor in the *choice-uncertainty trajectories* in shaping this type of trajectory is that these young people have had severe difficulties with choosing a type of education, a profession, etc. They went from one type of education or job to another before entering the project and did not know what they wanted to do with regard to an occupational career. Institutional transitional support seemed to exist but often the choice for education or occupation was felt to come too soon during their educational career. The support of the family was in general better than in the case of the young people in the first category.

Trajectories driven by social and communicative work values represent education and work routes in which communicative and social skills were considered important. The

participants in this category were mostly female and they often followed educational types leading to service and care jobs. In general, they said that they did not have many difficulties during their transitions and they perceived the amount of family support to be sufficient.

The participants in the category of *trajectories driven by materialistic work values* were all male and their main motive in pursuing a career of self-employment was to make money. This was also reflected in their prior jobs. Institutional support was perceived to be lacking or only slightly relevant, family support either sufficient or almost absent. A number of participants categorised elsewhere would perhaps also fit this category, at least with regard to their work values and extrinsic motivation, but their trajectories had not much crystallised yet up until now.

Much more so than in the other cases, the category of *trajectories driven by expressive work values* involved young people were intrinsically motivated and tried to build up, or already followed, 'life plan' routes, in which more or less creative ambitions could be expressed. These were considered to be more important than issues as for instance income. Their opinions about the institutional support they received were various, from negative to positive experiences, the amount of family support were felt to be relatively high.

3.3 Biographical portraits

Transition steps driven by critical life events (Female, 17 years of age at the time of the first interview, Cityteam Zoetermeer)

D. was born on the island Curacao (Dutch Antilles) and lived there with her father and her grandparents. When her father left for the Netherlands, she stayed in Curacao to help her grandmother to do household work. Her mother already lived in the Netherlands, with her stepfather and stepbrother, and when there was enough money, she came over too. Her mother and stepfather brought her up since then. They moved a couple of times while being in Holland, all around the country before finally settling in Zoetermeer. After finishing basic education, D. enters pre-vocational education. "I have dyslexia, because my father took me away from school and that's why I didn't make it through grades 2 and 3". She received a recommendation for junior general secondary education but because of her dyslexia it was thought that it would be better to start with pre-vocational education. She did receive extra tutoring at her primary school but in secondary education, she did not anymore. She felt ashamed and that is why nobody else knew about her dyslexia; "I was scared that they would laugh at me". During the third year of her study she dropped out, ran away from home and stayed at her boyfriend's apartment for four months. According to her, she especially ran away from school because of a teacher, with whom she always had trouble. Through counselling of a school inspector she eventually entered Cityteam, because "I have to do something, otherwise I'll go crazy". When finished here, she wants to continue with pre-vocational education, in the direction of hairstyling.

Transition steps driven by choice confusion (Female, 21 years of age at the time of the first interview, Center Parcs)

S. finished higher general secondary education with a one-year delay because she repeated a school year; "It didn't go well then, you know, lots of truancy…all kinds of other things on my mind". During school she only had "vague ideas" about what to do. "We got job tests and then something rolled out of which I thought: what the hell should I do with this?". After graduation, she slips into a year-long depression, "I spent a long time being down: what should I do? I didn't fancy school at all anymore. But if I had known what I really liked, I would have continued. But I just didn't know. I spent a long time at home, looking at job-offers and I just got more and more insecure". After a long time she thought she had found something she liked: a make-up course. "So I did that for a year, graduated and all, but didn't really do anything with it, only a few loose assignments". Halfway during the course she started to work again, a seasonal job at an amusement park. "That looked nice, but it was badly organised, the contract and all. Did finish the season though, but after that, again: what now?" After that she discovered Center Parcs and decided "I will just have a go at it and see what happens". Although she did not count on it, she was hired, "and then I thought: what should I do with this? Would I still like it? But I did go, and although in the beginning I was still very insecure, I really enjoy it now". The Center Parcs retail programme also made her think about starting her own shop and she is planning to do a course for self-starters.

Transition steps driven by social and communicative work values (Female, 22 years of age at the time of the first interview, Center Parcs)

P. spent her secondary education at the LEAO (lower economic and administrative education). In the third year of this course she had to choose a professional path and decided to do the sales direction. Her choice for the LEAO was made because of her doubts whether she could handle junior general secondary education. In retrospect, she thought she would have done all right after all. After graduating, she continued directly with the same direction at the MBO (middle level vocational education) and eventually obtained her diploma. She enjoyed her days at school, especially because of the nice atmosphere. She started working at her uncle's bakery. Next, she got a job at a car rental service, through a girlfriend. Although she likes it there, she did not stay too long. "I wanted something more serious, so I went to work at an office". Unfortunately, while the office work itself was ok, she did not like her boss and her colleagues, so she quit her job, took a vacation and spent another six months at her uncle's bakery before entering the Center Parcs programme. She applied for the training course because she already knew the Center Parcs resorts from previous holidays, "I liked the company already before, because of the way they were dealing with people. I really wanted a job but didn't know which kind. I liked everything really: catering, sales, entertainment". She decided to do the sales training because of the alternating activities and the atmosphere. "The most important things for me are that you go to your work happily and that you have nice colleagues, the fact that you can have a career is of side-importance to me". The training can be combined very well with her free time, which is mostly spent on the care for the horse she owns. This is very important to her and she puts a lot of time in it.

Transition steps driven by materialistic work values (Male, 23 years of age at the time of the first interview, SSCA)

W. did not finish junior general secondary education entirely but he did obtain most of the individual subject certificates. Not really knowing what to do after leaving secondary education, he enrolled into a security personnel course but quit very soon after starting. Subsequently, he applied for a dual training at a butchers shop and stayed on for three years before leaving without a diploma. Next, he left for Austria for about six months, to work as a bartender and when he came back, he became a bartender and manager at an amusement centre for a while. Through the mediation of his partner, he got a job offer to work as a telesales supervisor in air conditioning equipment at the same firm were his partner worked. He regards "practical work experience as being more important than having a diploma", and "there are similar aged people as me who have studied and earn less money". In the meantime he and his partner developed the idea to start their own firm, a theme restaurant. The restaurant idea did not materialise in the end but instead they started a flower shop together. They both quit their former jobs. "We have the idea to work very hard for ten, fifteen years and then we want to have the money in…and then settle down".

Transition steps driven by expressive work values: (Female, 19 years of age at the time of the first interview, SSCA)

From a very young age onwards, since she was three years old, M. has been dancing actively: classic ballet, jazz dance, etc. She followed pre-vocational education, with hairdressing as her main subject, but she did not like school. "I was always more busy with dancing than with learning". She tried to enrol in various professional dancing academies but this did not work out. While continuing with national and international dance contests (performing very well, first salsa, then Irish dancing) and after obtaining her diploma, she started working at an animal asylum centre. After two weeks, she quit and worked as a photographer - she followed an in-firm photography course - on a local tourist boat for a while. Next, she picked up jobs in the catering and café business through mediation of a temporary employment agency. Dancing continued to be the most important activity in her life however, and she considered a move to Ireland to continue with her Irish dancing career. Nevertheless, she started working at a call-centre, "to give my feet the necessary rest", and applied for a place at the police academy. "You always have to have something at the side if things don't work out". She finally decided to pursue a career in Irish dancing and teaching and she starts up her own Irish dancing school. Before doing this full-time, she kept the call-centre job at the side, "just in case". She plans to start a second dancing school in the near future and keeps the option open to move to Ireland. "I would like to remain dancing and teaching until I am 80, 90 or a 100 years old. I just would like to continue as long as possible". Other issues (relationships, becoming a mother perhaps) are relatively unimportant to her.

We encountered the *trajectories driven by life events or crises* relatively often among the young *Cityteam* participants while *choice-confusion trajectories* were found in both Cityteam and *Center Parcs* participants. In some cases, these participants too encountered life events, but as they were in general older than those in the first group and had already been able to shape alternative routes of education and employment. *Trajectories driven by social and communicative work values* were especially found among female *Center Parcs* participants and the participants in the category of *trajectories driven by materialistic work*

values were mostly *SSCA* males. Finally, all the participants in the category *trajectories driven by expressive work values* originated from the *SSCA* programme.

4. BIOGRAPHIC ORIENTATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE BEFORE PROJECT ENTRY

In this chapter we present a typology that involves a classification on the basis of the project participants' labour market orientations, primarily in terms of their meaning of work and their attitudes towards work-related domains. Secondly, we present an overview of the participants' perceptions of transition problems in relation to their experiences with institutions. We decided to analyse the latter two together because we felt that these aspects were best dealt with in an inclusive manner, as transitional problems always exist within institutional settings, be it school, labour market, family, peers or others.

4.1 Biographical orientations: meaning of work and work-related domains

In establishing the labour market orientations of our interviewees, we decided to look at them from a *career* point of view. A substantial number of the participants used the term 'making a career' to describe their work orientations and their (future) transitions on the labour market, indicating that they felt the necessity of planning, that they were active agents in this or, at the other hand, felt the lack of agency.

With regards to the importance of certain work characteristics, we found that the aspects of *enjoyment in working* or an *interesting job* were more or less important for all of our participants. We therefore decided not to include this aspect in the following categorisation. For a part, this is also the case for the aspect of *work climate*, but in a number of participants' cases, the emphasis on social aspects of work was of such an importance, that we chose to present this orientation as a separate category. Moreover, we acknowledge the fact that some of the orientations may overlap with each other or could be merged. However, this would be at the expense of the level of differentiation (according roughly to gender, educational level and class), which we tried to achieve.

'Wage worker habitus'

In this biggest group we found young people, mostly boys but also girls, from the Cityteam and Center Parcs case studies. They are often extrinsically, instrumentally motivated and aim for early financial autonomy. In some extreme cases, males want a quick fulfilment of consumer needs, acquire material goods (house, car, etc.) and status. All look for a steady employment for life – what Heinz coined (2003) 'wage worker habitus'. They represent a traditional working class biographical model. The females in this group more or less strive for

the same independence as the males do. Males as well as females have a more or less closed outlook to the future, but with no concrete future plans apart from 'doing something' in this or that direction, mostly relatively traditional vocational occupations. When J. (Cityteam – 18, male) thinks about work, he bluntly mentions that he *sees money* and D. (Cityteam – 19, female) understands work to be *having an income*. G. (Cityteam – 17, female) holds the opinion that *if you don't work you will not have any money either and you can't do nice things*. A longer-term idea of 'careering' is not (yet) existing, neither a more realistic knowledge of their abilities in terms of education and chances on the labour market. Learning and school are considered not to be of big importance, they favour practice over theory or just consider school and learning as 'a waste of time'. Again J.: *School? I haven't learned anything from that really*. According to P. (Cityteam – 18, male), his lousy transition from school to work is the consequence of too much attention being paid to theory, while in the end practice matters most: *You learn much more in practice*[3]. All do feel the necessity of having a diploma though. C. (Center Parcs – 21, female) tells us: *I was at school because you needed to, in order to get somewhere*. However, they often still miss the qualifications and social skills to expect more than temporary, low-paid and low-qualified jobs. Often they have dropped out of secondary education and for many of them, working is *labouring*, after which 'real' life begins, during their free time. Y. (Center Parcs – 19, male) puts it like this: *Just rendering services to a boss, carrying out orders for the person I get my money from.*

Open or uncertain orientation:

In this category we find both males and especially females from either Cityteam or Center Parcs. They are generally better educated than the young people in the former group. This category represents young people who either do not have a clear labour market career orientation yet (in a number of case because they have difficulty choosing a profession or a follow-up education) or who experienced a disruption in their original plans due to specific life events (school dropout, disability, illness, depression, jail, etc.) and are now working out new options. For a large part they have normal biographical orientations, but their career outlook is seriously hampered by a felt lack of 'agency'. Most of them do want to have a career but often they find themselves in a situation of feeling helpless and not able to take the necessary steps, while others state that they need to get ready again to go on; before thinking about the future they feel that they first have to get their lives in order again. They have a very

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[3] A recent article in a Dutch newspaper discussed the problem of vocational training being too 'schoolish' and that participants do want to learn but as much possible in practice, by quoting a dual trajectory supervisor: *dual trajectory participants only play truant on schooldays* NRC Handelsblad, 30-10-03).

- and sometimes extreme - open employment outlook. P. (Center Parcs – 22, female) states that she never had a clear idea about which education or what profession she would like to do. *I was sixteen and then you have to begin making choices, what direction do you want to go? I have never known.* S. (Center Parcs – 21, female) pushed the decision for one or the other occupation forward all the time. *And then, suddenly, you have a diploma.*

Communicative orientation

This group covers predominantly young females who are generally orientated towards communicative work and a good working climate; they do not necessarily strive for a particular occupational career. D. (female - Center Parcs - 21): *If I enjoy myself, it is fine. I am not the kind of person who feels he has to climb up professionally.* If they do not like it somewhere anymore, they will leave and look for another job. B. (Center Parcs - 24, female) thinks that *Atmosphere is really very important.* In the back of their minds these females take into account the option or wish of becoming a part-time housewife or mother later on, having a part-time job at the side. In that sense they have a semi-open employment outlook. They represent partly modernised female biographies and originate mainly from the Center Parcs study, but some also from Cityteam, and all are in generally a bit older. They are relatively well educated (at least finished a middle-level vocational course or higher levels of secondary education), but that is considered to be a thing from the past, they do not have any desire to carry on with learning. In most cases, they already had made the final transition to the labour market and had had one or more longer-term jobs. They exhibit a mix of both intrinsic (social and communication aspects) and extrinsic motivation (steady income and job, fixed working hours, etc.). For C. (Center Parcs – 21, female), this means *dealing with people... Money is in itself not very important.* This group overlaps partly with the young people in the first category, in that female incomes are considered to be more and more common and of importance, either as an extra salary within a household or by providing individual financial autonomy.

'Making money' orientation

In this group we find a few young males from the SSCA case study. The labour market orientation of these young people evolves around building up their own firm and to be their own boss. Some always knew that they would like to have their own firm; others have rolled into it as an alternative to a regular job. Some of them oppose to a regular job because of the pay, the hierarchical organisation or lack of influence, they want to do it 'my way'.

Often they have planned their future rather carefully towards this goal. Learning is viewed upon pragmatically. Having or making money as a status symbol we find here too, but in this group these motives are far more embedded in a life plan than in the first category of 'instant gratification'. For M. (SSCA - 18, male), *the most important motive is to make money*. Again we find a mix of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation towards work, but the extrinsic drive is dominant. W. (SSCA – 23, male): *We have the plan to work really hard for ten, fifteen years and then it should be 'finished'. Then we want to be 'loaded' and then nicely sit down.*

Expressive orientation

This final group contains SSCA young people who see - or wish for - their work to be foremost a vehicle of personal development or as an ultimate expression of their hobby. M. (SSCA – 19, female) stood out most. She started up an Irish dancing school, and has the idea that *real work* is something still to come in the future: *I just love it...the music and all these steps! (..) I just go for it...for two hundred percent!* These young people are above all intrinsically motivated (or at least more intrinsically then extrinsically) and orientated towards career challenges or the materialisation of a childhood dream. D. (SSCA – 23, male) said: *already when I was a little boy, I wanted to have a fishmonger's shop. And at the jumble sale, I was there early to check out the other stands to buy cheap things and sell them afterwards for more. I had always liked that sort of thing.* The goals they have set for themselves are often very clear and can best be reached through self-employment. Others keep their options open and regard having an own firm more important than a specific occupation. They are flexible and will look for something else to do if a project will not work out. They do not necessarily have a higher education but learning through practice throughout their career is considered important. M. (SSCA – 19, female) for instance has linked learning to all the things that are connected with her dance school business: *You just have to do everything yourself...and I learn from that every day again and again... And it also gets better every time.*

4.2 Perception of transition problems and experiences with institutions

In the following table we present an overview of how the participants perceived their transitional problems in terms of the duality between biographical (individual, internal) and institutional (systemic, social, external) causes.

Biographical factors	Institutional factors
Self-pressure to make educational choices Uncertainty about what subjects or occupation to choose Stress about individual responsibility to choose	School system enforces early choices None or unfitting counselling Lack of information about occupations, structure of labour market, etc.
Life events and crises (disability, depression, etc.)	
Hate / dislike of learning Hate / dislike of school Focus on early labour market entrance Practice more important than theory	Misfit theory and practice Formal curriculum Bad relationship with teacher(s) and / or peers (f.e. teasing) Bad school climate No institutional incentives for further learning
Learning problems (f.e. dyslexia) Behavioural, social, emotional problems 'Too young' (to make choices, bad behaviour) Extreme deviant behaviour (criminal, etc.)	None or insufficient support from significant others (school, parents, peers, etc.) Disbelief of teachers or other gatekeepers of competences of young people because of age
Dissatisfaction with (too low) level of qualifications	No supply of (proper) jobs through (private or public) employment agencies

The perception of transition problems among our participants may be roughly summed up in the following themes:

Problems of choosing an education and occupation

For those who do not have a clear occupational wish early on, choosing school subjects, a type of follow-up education or a type of occupational career are considered to be very stressful moments, not in the least because in line with modern-day choice-biographical notions, it is perceived as their own individual responsibility to choose, and to choose wisely. W. (SSCA – 23, male) told us: *At home, I have cried my heart out because (I didn't know - WP) which subjects I should drop…I really didn't know what I wanted to be*. G. (Cityteam – 17, female) perceived the choice for a certain pre-vocational training as: *You just pick a direction and if you have chosen, you can't turn back.*

The prime institutional factor for this problem is considered to be that the educational system forces one to choose too early during the school career. Biographical factors that play a role here are a felt lack of agency, as if one is 'hurled' for the first time in life into a situation of important choice making without knowing how. Societal factors, especially a lower social family background (often aiming at an early labour market entrance) also play a role. Gender issues do not seem to be important.

Among some of the participants, subsequent frustration and de-motivation led to early school leaving and even into a period of depression. In other cases, the attitude towards the remaining school years and a forced choice was ambivalent and after obtaining a qualification, another educational or occupational career was pursued.

Focus on (early) labour market entrance / employment centred / 'practice versus theory'

Transition problems are the consequence of the fact that school or having an education are perceived – especially by boys - as not being important at all and as a 'blockade' to having a job and earning money and be financially autonomous as soon as possible. Educational institutions – at least as they have encountered them - do not relate to a particular person's life world. We found de-motivation, behavioural and authority problems. Consequently, young people tend to leave school early.

Much related to this issue – among boys and girls alike - is the strong feeling that the educational system is too 'theoretical' and does not offer enough 'practice', in particular in the case of vocational training, in which most of our participants spent their education. A large discrepancy is felt between needs and offerings, and it is more than likely that this perception will have pushed young people prematurely out of education. At the same time, among some there is an awareness of the necessity of having at least a minimum qualification to enhance chances on the labour market – and thus trying to finish an education after all - or keeping motivation to follow a programme more tailored to their needs, with more emphasis on practical training and in a different educational setting. When D. (Center Parcs – 21, female) obtained her diploma, her teachers said that she could do HAVO (middle level general secondary education) now, but I didn't want to, then I would spend eight years in school and I wanted to work*. That regular schooling offers too little practical relevance and does not relate to someone's interests was also put forward by M. (SSCA – 18, male). Already during pre-university education he was trying to start his own business:* I am not someone who enjoys learning, especially because secondary education did not relate to my interests…entrepreneuring is just absent in secondary education*.

Lack of support and information

In general, institutional support is considered to be very inadequate, and it is viewed negatively. At the same time it is felt that support is important in managing successful education to work transitions and social conflicts that may arise. The combination of experiencing problems and a lack of support – especially from the school (external factors) -

were mentioned as being important reasons to leave school early. K. (Center Parcs – 19, female) for instance, had problems with her teachers, especially with her German teacher: *I just didn't get on with her. I understand that you have to talk German in class, but not from the start (..) And if I don't understand something, just explain it to me…And that didn't go too well*. She wanted to get away from school as soon as possible and start working; *I was just so fed up with it*. D. (Cityteam – 19, female) complained about teasing and teacher problems: *It was like: sort it out for yourself, very bad!* She talked with her parents and her teachers but this lead to nowhere. Once in a while she really needed help *and then it was said that I should ask my classmates, while at the same time I was fighting with them*. Finally she decided: *I choose for myself and I will look for other ways to work on my future*.

However, it seems at least a bit unclear whether respondents are simply not aware of the availability of information and counselling services or that they feel there was not enough, or not well focused on someone's specific situation. Formally, schools are obligated to, and do offer information and counselling. Overall however, the broad perception among almost all of the participants was that there is none available or that it is inflexible, outdated and does not fit young people's needs and wishes. Largely, this is considered to be an outside, external problem. R. (Center Parcs – 22, male) said: *I was kind of interested in design but I didn't follow math (..) This guy gave me these folders* (on getting an education in design – WP) *with math A and B, that you should have followed that. So I read it, very nice but a bit technical (..) and I think, apparently that man doesn't have my profile before him. So I see him once more and say to him, I can't do that (...)…Never got any feedback*. In the case of M. (SSCA – 19, female), it even went that far that she was dissuaded and not taken seriously by her school counsellor in pursuing the only thing she really enjoyed, to become professionally involved in dancing: *He said to me, no, you won't get far with that dancing…put it out of your head because you don't have the ability for it. Look for something else*.

This leads us to the conclusion that the supply of information and counselling appear to takes up a minor role within institutions, at least in the perception of young people that is, while the need for it is very high.

4.3 Turning points and motivational careers up to entering projects

In the 'Cooling out Report' (YOYO Work Package 2; Du Bois-Reymond et al. 2002, see also Du Bois-Reymond & Stauber 2003) the idea of turning points in trajectories was introduced, i.e. conditions and actions in and through which young people establish a new relationship between individual biographical agency and societal structures, for example the

educational system or the labour market. These turning points may either be negative (initiating a disengagement process) or positive (initiating an engagement process). Over a longer period of time these periods of either engagement or disengagement evolve into specific motivational careers, connected to each other through turning points.

In the following, we analyse these issues in relation to the three different case studies.

Cityteam

The *Cityteam* participants entered the project on their own account – be it with or without support of family, peers etc. - or were counselled towards it by a transition agency (involving the school, the unemployment office or other types of agencies). Some participants were looking actively for a way to shape their educational or occupational futures and felt that Cityteam could perhaps be able to provide this. They came to know about Cityteam for example through flyers, peers, family, etc., or though the mediation of local agencies. F. (Cityteam - 19, female) for instance, wanted to start a new education after a period of psychological problems and living in a shelter. She thought she should *be ready* to start and hoped to accomplish that through Cityteam, *because here you learn how to organise, you are thrown back onto yourself.*

All young people had negative experiences related to failure in education (school climate, 'theory versus practice', difficulties in educational choices, etc.) and in lesser instances related to labour market problems (unemployment, irregular and temporary jobs, not knowing what kind of occupational career to pursue, etc.) or other related life events (running away, broken family, criminal offences, health problems, etc.). R. (Cityteam, 20, male) worked after his release from prison as a baker, as a carpenter, in catering and in shipping. In general, these were jobs that were short-lived, either because he was sent away or he himself did not show up anymore, due to a bad working climate. D. (Cityteam – 19, female) quit her stewardess education because she was teased at her school and decided: *I choose for myself and will just look for other ways to work on my future*, first by doing courses at other agencies, then she came to Cityteam, as was suggested by her mother.

These kinds of circumstances lead to shorter or longer periods of disengagement, after which the respondents entered Cityteam. However, their transitions did not always constitute positive turning points for them, at least not in the beginning. Some young people's motivation was found to be ambivalent, especially when they had not entered Cityteam on an entirely voluntary basis and were more or less forced to do so, for example those who were on social benefits and had to follow re-integration trajectories. Exactly what kind of pressure was

exerted - soft or hard – was difficult to establish. J. (Cityteam – 18, male) was pushed by his parents to enter Cityteam, they could not stand it anymore that he was home all the time and doing nothing. He was very negative about Cityteam when we interviewed him for the first time. In most cases however, becoming involved in Cityteam meant a fresh start and the participants were highly motivated. D. (Cityteam – 17, female) for instance, entered Cityteam and wanted to re-enter school again after having ran way from home. She entered Cityteam because of the support of her mother and a school inspector. At that point in time, she had high hopes and was very enthusiastic, she *couldn't wait until Monday starts (..). Now I always tell at home what has happened today*. In school you are told: *Now get your books and start learning. You don't get any explaining. Here you have team coaches who help you if you don't understand something.*

Center Parcs

In contrast to Cityteam, the Center Parcs participants all entered the programme as employees: they had to apply for it, had to do a job interview and were eventually hired as employees. From our interviews it became clear that their prime motivation lay in the fact that they were looking for a job or wanted to switch jobs. D. (Center Parcs - 21, female) wanted to work with handicapped people: *I did look for it, but I didn't come across something which was my the type of group I wanted and the number of hours I wanted to work. Here, there are many things that appeal to me*. The fact that a lot of the participants found the project by chance, for example by surfing on the internet, shows that these young people were already motivated to find alternative 'transition possibilities'. In general they were less disengaged than the Cityteam participants. For some it meant primarily a career opportunity after a number of other jobs that had not fulfil their needs, in some other cases it meant an opportunity to finally enter a proper job and get an education 'thrown in' at the side – having dropped out of school earlier and having had only petty jobs for a while. B. (Center Parcs – 21, male): *I got kicked out of school because he had a bad influence on other students*. He came across Center Parcs and was hired: *I just wanted to work with people (..). I was very, very glad with it! I didn't believe it at first actually*" and regarded it as *my first and final chance. I never want to feel useless again.*

The participants viewed the fact that they could obtain a national and European qualification as well as positive, for one thing because some of them left school early without having obtained a diploma. Either way, most of them had negative experiences with earlier school-based vocational training, which did not turn out to be what they had expected. B.

(Center Parcs – 24, female) saw Center Parcs as *a new challenge*. Having worked with children for a while, she got *fed up*. R. (Center Parcs – 22, male), who found the application through internet, got *a good feeling* when visiting an open job interview day and enjoyed the informal and positive atmosphere. K. (Center Parcs – 19, female) was very proud to have applied for the job totally on her own account. After having been in a disappointing office job, *I just felt that that I wanted to follow another education. And then I saw this job. I did it all by myself. And that is something of which I am very proud!*

SSCA

The SSCA participants can for the most part be considered as being their own 'agents', fulfilling their ambition to start their own firm. As in the other two cases, the SSCA participants too had their share of negative experiences with regard to education and employment and involved agencies that did not want or could not help, or a family and school climate that was not supportive in becoming self-employed. However, in their particular cases, the participants – even more so than in the case of a number of Center Parcs participants – were already highly motivated. They did not 'break down' – as for example in the Cityteam case study - and seemed to have transformed these negative experiences into a strategy of becoming independent and having the freedom to do it their own way.

They seem to have incorporated 'alternative transition plans' into their biography, which are linked to their motivational careers, in other words they have developed a 'career identity' (Meijers 1998). Most of the SSCA respondents recall that they had always wanted to start their own business or perceived it as more or less logical step to make a job out of their hobbies. According to himself, M. (SSCA – 18, male) has *always been busy with taking initiatives (..) for a while I had a football newspaper for which I actively searched for subscribers. Those sorts of things… No standard job like working in a supermarket or something*. He doesn't know any people from his family background or amongst his friends that have the same 'entrepreneurial spirit' as he has: *Above all, I notice that it emerged from myself*.

5. CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

5.1 Selection of case studies and interviewees, instrument and methodology

The three case studies - *Cityteam*, *Center Parcs* and *SSCA* - were selected because we wanted to present transition programmes that offered alternative ways to promote participation and integration and offer other means of learning than just formal ones.

We did not want to analyse case studies that were experimental in the sense that they were entirely situational and totally unrelated to existing transition institutions: two out of three case studies are more or less part of the regular Dutch transition system (see also Chapter 2 of this report) but signify new ways of dealing with young people who are most at risk of social exclusion (*Cityteam*) or provide alternative transition possibilities for young people who are less at risk but cannot cope with the standard vocational offers (*Center Parcs*). The third case study, *SSCA*, is not part of existing public / private transition institutions and aims to promote self-employment as an option for wage employment. In the near future however, *SSCA* also wants to focus on the re-integration of socially excluded (young) people through self-employment and thus will become more integrated in the more regular Dutch transition system as well. Besides, we wanted to take into account urban versus rural differences, with *Cityteam* representing the former, *Center Parcs* representing the latter and *SSCA* taking a place in between.

Cityteam operates at the crossroads of youth work (combating social exclusion), career counselling and the re-integration in education or work, and may be regarded as an example of independent transition institutions and public / private partnership, the latter occurring more and more often in the Netherlands. *Cityteam* is very locally orientated, reflecting the dominant perspective within recent youth and transition / re-integration policies. Participation, non-formal and informal learning take up important positions within the Cityteam programme, as does self-motivation, but its outlook remains implicitly focussed on returning to a form of education or employment – as is the case with regular re-integration agencies. The target group of Cityteam consists of a mix of young people with different transition backgrounds: most of them experienced riskful transitions (school dropouts, low qualified, unemployed, etc. but also – a smaller number of young people who are less at risk but felt they needed a time out to make their minds up about what transition steps to take and hoped to find this out through the project. Most of the time, the participants are relatively young and have at most a secondary qualification. The share of the first group of young people has

increased lately, due to the fact that Cityteam has become more involved in providing programmes for publicly funded re-integration trajectories.

The *Center Parcs* training – albeit non-formal education plays an overriding role in the programme delivery - is essentially part of the Dutch vocational educational system. The training couples new ways of obtaining a nationally and internationally accepted qualification (considered to be a continuing asset of paramount importance within the transition from education to work in the Netherlands) to a flexible labour local / regional market-orientated co-operation between private and public parties. There is no specific target group involved in the Center Parcs project but in practice it picks up young people who cannot cope with regular vocational settings or young people who would still like to obtain a qualification after having dropped out of school. Of major importance is the fact that the training takes place within a situation of paid employment, i.e. the participants are above all employees. They are in general a bit older and higher educated than in the case of Cityteam.

The *SSCA* project is very locally orientated towards the promotion of self-employment as a viable alternative to wage employment or receiving social benefits. Of the three case studies, *SSCA* is the project that is the least connected to existing transition arrangements and the most in recognising informal learning and self-motivation as important prerequisites of a successful transition to the labour market. There is no specific target group for which the SSCA aims; in principle every good idea will be suffice to get support. For now, SSCA attracts young people who are already very motivated to start their own firm, and they are in general higher educated than the participants in the other two projects. In the future, the project will co-operate more with publicly funded re-integration programmes, which will in all probability raise the influx of potential self-starters from more riskful backgrounds.

Initially, contact with the case studies took place by telephone and sending additional information on the YOYO project. Afterwards, a meeting was arranged with those in charge and further information was given on YOYO. When a positive agreement was reached, those who were in charge asked the potential respondents if they wanted to co-operate. After that stage, appointments were made to interview the respondents for the first time, either individually (*SSCA* and *Center Parcs*), or sometimes as a couple (*SSCA* respondents who started a company together) and through smaller or larger focus groups (*Cityteam*).

In both the 1st and 2nd round, the interviews were structured around the thematic dimensions as they had been laid down in the interview schedules after the Lisbon and Palermo meetings. The 1st round interview themes covered the experiences of the participants up to entering the programmes, the 2nd round themes covered the experiences of the

participants during and, where applicable, after leaving the programmes. Based on these dimensions, we produced semi-open questionnaires. If necessary, we adapted both the manner of questioning and the type of questions to the respondents at hand. We used the opportunity of the 2nd interview round to complete information on choices and trajectories up to the present.

The interviews were conducted by one (Wim Plug) or two researchers (Wim Plug together with Anne-Marie Roordink or Manuela du Bois-Reymond). The 1st round of *Cityteam* interviews took place at the various Cityteam centres in Utrecht, Zoetermeer and Rotterdam during the period of December 2001 and March 2002. The Utrecht locality was housed in a relatively new building, the other two centres were located in an old re-allocated school building (Rotterdam) and a prefab 'emergency' building (Zoetermeer), both housing also other neighbourhood activities. In most cases, focus group interviews were conducted (2 to 4 respondents per interview) and in one case, an individual interview was conducted. The 2nd round of interviews was carried out at the participants' homes during March - August 2003.

The 1st round of *Center Parcs* interviews took place in a private training and congressional centre in Flevoland, nearby the then to be re-opened Center Parcs resort 'De Eemhof' - for which these young people were trained to work. During two training days at that centre in the period February - March 2002, we took them out of their 'classroom' and interviewed them individually. The 2nd round of interviewing, in the period March – July 2003, was carried out at the then freshly opened resort and took place in the park's premises, for example in a storage room of one of the shops or in the park restaurant.

Both rounds of *SSCA* interviews took place at the respondents' homes or places of business, all located in the city of Almere. This city nearby Amsterdam can be regarded as somewhat of a 'boomtown', a relatively new town which is not more than forty years old and is located in a province that used to be part of the IJsselmeer lake. Most of the interviews were conducted individually but when the participants were engaged in the same start-up, the interviews were conducted with two participants at the same time. The 1st round of interviews took place in May 2002; the 2nd round of interviews took place during January – March 2003.

The interviews took place in an atmosphere of goodwill, co-operation, and curiosity but sometimes also a bit of suspicion, especially in the case of Cityteam. Generally, the interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. The protocols we developed from the

interviews were not drawn up as literal transcripts but as coherent summaries of up to 15 pages, structuring the information around the themes and inserting relevant citations.

5.2 Methodological reflections

During the 1st round of Cityteam interviewing, we experienced that conducting focus group interviews was not always appropriate. As our aim of the 1st round of interviews was to find out more about individual transitional histories, focus group interviewing was not fitting. In a number of cases, because of a focus group approach, information on individual participants' transitional histories remained vague and superficial and there was no space to go deeper into someone's life history because of the group dynamics of the group interview. That is why we stepped away from focus group interviews later on and subsequently used them only in cases where the respondents clearly had a relationship with each other, for instance when interviewees were involved in the same business start-up (*SSCA*).

Organising the 2nd round of interviews proved to be more difficult and a number of new participants had to be interviewed to replace sample dropouts. Dropout was especially high in the case of *Cityteam*. Although during the 1st round the Cityteam participants assured us that they would not mind to be interviewed again, it was more difficult to find them back and persuade them to take part than in the other two case studies. Given the often-problematic background of many of these young people (family, housing, social and emotional problems, etc.), this was to be expected up to a certain point. Therefore, the Cityteam coaches were asked to help with making contact and facilitate the interview meetings wherever possible. We also used financial incentives (a cd token). Through them and if available, we received contact-addresses and phone numbers. Several telephone rounds were carried out and letters were sent around to the participants' postal addresses, but mostly without success. Participants had moved, refused to be interviewed again, did not appear at a scheduled interview session or just did not reply at all. Given the difficulty to re-locate and re-interview *Cityteam* participants, only two out of an original total of ten of the participants have been interviewed a second time. In some cases, recent but minimal information could be obtained through team coaches (see transition steps table).

In retrospect it appeared that already during the first interview round some participants were somewhat pushed to take part, through soft pressure exercised by the coaches. They argued that our research was important for *Cityteam* and used this to convince participants to take part in the interviews. This is not to say that the participants did not enjoy the interview once they had agreed to it, but when the young people left *Cityteam* (whether they completed

the project or not), the will and necessity to participate fell. There was also the problem of *trust*: coming from the university, in some cases made the young people suspicious and the distance between both parties appeared to be greater than expected.

In the case of *Center Parcs*, we also had difficulties to re-locate the group of 1st interviewees. While originally eight of our participants took part in the programme, in between the interview rounds five participants had left the project. According to the Center Parcs training management, two participants accepted another job and of the other three the temporary contracts were terminated after a year (apparently because of work-related problems). The search for these early-leavers was seriously hampered by a lack of up-to-date address information on our side and by a slight lack of willingness among the Center Parcs management to release information, probably because it feared negative exposure for the company. Consequently, we contacted the Helicon trainer in charge of the project's educational content. Through him, we were able to obtain some addresses and phone numbers, but except for one participant (who was still working at *Center Parcs*), none of the ex-participants could be found. Addresses turned out to be out of date or wrong and our telephone calls appeared to be ineffective. To compensate for two absentees, two recent female trainees were (individually) interviewed instead. In their cases we gathered 'first interview information' by asking questions about their transition decisions in retrospect.

In contrast to the *Cityteam* and *Center Parcs* programmes, in the *SSCA* case we were able to trace back all the ex-participants and they all agreed to participate in the follow-up interview. This could be regarded as remarkable: the most highly motivated group was the easiest to find back again and willing to co-operate again. All participants were still self-employed, although two of them changed their original business idea and another was thinking about terminating his current business and perhaps try another direction.

5.3 Youth workers and expert interviews

We interviewed youth workers and experts from all the three projects during the period of May 2002 – September 2002. In all, fifteen persons were interviewed, eight for Cityteam, five for Center Parcs and two for SSCA. We took as much as possible into account the different functional levels of the interviewees. Although we sometimes changed the questionnaire according to the level and type of expertise, the covered themes remained basically the same. See the Dutch Expert Interview Report (Plug & Du Bois-Reymond 2002) for an overview of these themes. The interviews were conducted during the period of December 2001 and October 2002. The protocols we developed from the interviews were

drawn up as coherent summaries of up to 15 pages, structuring the information around the themes and inserting relevant citations.

In the case of *Cityteam*, with its relatively flat organisation, the respondents reflected the levels of both inside and outside the organisation, with the local coaches at the base of the hierarchy and the director and the manager in charge of the coaches at the top. We also interviewed officials from local authorities (a counsellor and the director of a local - former public, now privatised - youth consultancy) and the private sector (FORTIS bank and Timberland clothing company). Apart from one interview – which we conducted by e-mail - we interviewed the remainder respondents at their respective places of work.

The *Center Parcs* respondents reflected both the lower and higher levels of the two involved organisations, Center Parcs being a private firm and Helicon being an educational institution. Two expert interviewees were in charge of developing, organising and managing training programs of their respective organisations. The other three translated these educational curricula into practice and were working directly with the project participants. The interviews were mostly conducted at the different places of work of the respondents; one interview was conducted in a café.

In the case of *SSCA*, given the small size of the service, we only interviewed those experts who were involved directly in the project (in total, SSCA only employs four people; one director and three consultants). These respondents were the director of the agency and one of the consultants. The interviews took place at the SSCA agency in Almere.

For an overview of the youth worker and expert interviewees, see Annex 3.

5.4 Case study 1: Cityteam

5.4.1 Description

Cityteam is an independent (i.e. not organised by public authorities) organisation loosely based on the American program 'City Year', whereby young people do voluntary work for nine months in their neighbourhood and are supported in this by local businesses. In 1996, this idea has been picked up in the Netherlands and was translated to the Dutch situation. At the moment, *Cityteam* operates in two Dutch towns: Utrecht and Zoetermeer; all in the western, most urbanised part of the Netherlands. A second location has just been opened in Utrecht. The Rotterdam location has been closed down during the course of our research, due to local funding problems related to the local liberalisation of the re-integration market. *Cityteam* is funded partially by public agencies and partly by private businesses. Public funding occurs through the taking in of young people who have been put forward by

public agencies, for example the local unemployment service. The private sponsors are regional, national and sometimes multinational companies, of which FORTIS bank and the clothing company Timberland are the best known. The private sponsors give grants, organise workshops together with the Cityteam coaches and provide voluntary work options, both for the Cityteam participants and their own personnel.

The underlying concept of youth and transition with regard to Cityteam could be described as departing from the failure of existing institutional arrangements (school, employment agency, regular training projects) to offer within-institutional and transitional support to individual young people. In the words of an Utrecht team-coach (Cityteam, coach, female): *The experiences with public agencies and their way of working are mainly negative. Often their procedures do not connect with (the situations of - WP) young people.* These young people could either be youth with for example motivational problems, or those who need specific assistance, i.e. young people who have more serious social and psychological problems, problematical backgrounds, etc. and who find themselves in negative situations which need to be solved (for example financial problems; homelessness).

Within their respective localities, *Cityteam* centres are embedded in a neighbourhood area, from which they draw their participants and on which their activities are focussed upon. The project provides participants with three types of possible programs involving coaching, career counselling workshops and possibilities of training, voluntary work and internships within programmes lasting up to nine months. Cityteam is also used when other programs appear to have failed. In the shortest, three-month program, young people participate in small ongoing voluntary projects, for instance organising activities for school-going children (organising theme-workshops, giving gym classes, etc.) and improving the physical look of the neighbourhood (fixing fences, painting, removing graffiti, etc.). In the six- and nine-month program, this trajectory is extended with a three- to six-month period of internship within companies, to gain work experience and build up a curriculum vita. By doing these things, participants are supposed to get a more clearer picture of what they want to do (either education, work or both), become more socially aware, get a more realistic idea of work, set goals and become motivated. Along the way they get coached and counselled, individually and through in-group sessions. The management book by S. R. Covey, 'The seven qualities of effective leadership', takes up an important place within Cityteam counselling and the workshops, touching upon issues of self-responsibility, agency, goal planning, mutual dependency, etc.

Recruitment takes place through local flyering, a low-threshold walk-in and a network of formal and informal referral sources, for example officials who deal with early school-leavers. Enrolment occurs in principle on a voluntary basis, so there is no compulsion from official instances, contrasting with regular youth unemployment programs in the Netherlands. However, funding difficulties have recently forced Cityteam to incorporate more publicly transferred participants than they did before. Cityteam then receives money to provide these young people with a trajectory of training and counselling, which in practice serves as pre-program before entering other trajectories of subsides work, schooling, etc.

The transferred participants share the commonality of receiving some sort of a social or unemployment benefit. The young people who have entered Cityteam voluntarily and are not tied to a public agency do not receive any benefits but receive a small compensation grant for their voluntary activities. In general, Cityteam picks up relatively young participants (< 20) from both sexes and from various ethnic backgrounds, who have left leave secondary school or middle level vocational education early and who are unemployed or on other forms of welfare. Cityteam also picks up so-called 'crisis youth', for example young people who are homeless or have committed criminal offences and need to be re-integrated.

5.4.2 Analysis

5.4.2.1 Participation and motivation

To establish the concepts and experiences of participation within each project, we made use of the list of participation approaches in the YOYO Expert Report (WP3, Cuconato et al. 2003, p.32). These are:

- Participation as attendance of project and choice (passive involvement through voluntary attending and offer to be actively involved)
- Participation as a community approach (participatory activities within, and directed towards influencing social context around the project location).
- Participation in project-related decision making (active influences and involvement in decisions concerning activities within project).
- Participation as a biographical dimension (active decision-making with regard to own life in general and one's transitions in particular).

In the case of Cityteam, all participatory approaches are relevant. Cityteam aims at preventing young people from getting even more disengaged than they already are. From our expert interviews – but also visible in our group of respondents – it became clear that

Cityteam is catching up so-called 'crisis youth' or young people with more complex social and psychological problems and young people who find themselves in a social exclusionary 'status zer0' situation (no contact with official instances). Cityteam therefore also assumes the task of keeping young people off the street or to get them out of their homes and provide them with day care or day activities (participation as attendance of project and as choice).

Simultaneously, participation is understood in terms of maintaining liveability, social contacts and becoming more conscious about your social surroundings (participation as a community approach). This type of participation is pursued through the offering of voluntary work projects in the direct environment of a Cityteam location, for instance helping out at schools and at a children's farm, organising activities at a home for the elderly or tidying up neighbourhood public spaces or buildings. These activities are also considered to be helpful in building up a local network, which may support participants in finding work, be more involved in community affairs, etc.

Cityteam considers the issue of participation of young people also in terms of more than only having a job or being in school, although this is their final objective. The road to successful participation is in first instance sought in personal and inter-personal (social) attitudinal changes and skills, as pre-requisites of successful participation and transitions, now and in the future. Within this biographical perspective, learning to know what you want, setting realistic goals and being able to act (pro-activity) upon that, are considered more important than a quick and sometimes forced obtainment of hard skills. Involvement in voluntary work projects and trying out a particular occupation for six months and taking part in counselling sessions and workshops all serve this purpose. Learning how to organise activities, carry these out (doing) yourself and organise your future with regard to education, work and other activities or situations form an integral part of the Cityteam curriculum.

Strongly related to the issue of participation is the promotion of self-motivation, intrinsically (for instance meaningfulness; what do I like and what do I want to do?) as well as extrinsically (realistic goal-attainment; how do I get there?). Cityteam starts from the conception that their participants lack motivation, perceive a lack of agency and are at some point of 'disengagement'. Self-motivation and agency (the ability to actively influence and change situations) are regarded as key-factors in the process of re-engagement.

Participation is a two-way street in the sense that Cityteam uses a number of participatory instruments to accomplish re-engagement or further engagement. Among these instruments are voluntary work, (career) counselling, internee ships and workshops given by the private sector (to find out more about the demands and the possibilities of working and

having a job). Through the counselling sessions and the workshops, the participants are pointed out issues of (the freedom to have) self-responsibility, bringing out the positive experiences instead of the negative ones, the particular qualities that someone holds and to become conscious that they do can influence matters that concern them.

Cityteam thus focuses especially on changing individual attitudes and promoting individual agency while trying to bring down barriers and to solve the negative effects of problems that obstruct progress. In the broadest sense of the word, Cityteam tries to promote a choice-biography among its participants, fitting their capabilities (inducing realistic prospects) while taking into account their backgrounds and present situations.

In contrast to existing training arrangements for 'stranded' young people, Cityteam does not want to push participants into a particular profession or type of education in advance. It should be their own choice, and if one needs 'trial and error time', it is given to them. The relationship between coach and participant in Cityteam may be regarded as relatively symmetrical, i.e. there is relatively little hierarchy whereby Cityteam coaches enforce decisions with regard to education and work upon participants. Accordingly: *in existing arrangements (formal public transition agencies – WP), if a young person comes in, it is already clear that he will become a painter. I think that is nonsense. A young person should decide for him- or herself what he or she would like to become* (Cityteam, director, male).

The problem of getting a job, choosing the appropriate education and developing a career outlook, etc. is handled in an individualised life course perspective. Participants should take steps and set goals on their own while taking into account realism and a 'step-by-step' attitude. Cityteam offers a clear pathway to reach those goals: via a 'plan of stages', with every stage accompanied by workshops. To begin with career counselling which focuses on orientation (for example voluntary work), followed by an internee ship, then again a career-counselling period, leading eventually to a deliberate choice for further education or work.

5.4.2.2 Learning

An important pre-requisite for the proper functioning of Cityteam groups is considered to be a diverse composition of the group of participants. At the intake sessions, applicants sometimes are refused because they do not fit the present group of participants or do not apply for the right reasons (for example when forced by official institutions).

Ideally, it is Cityteam policy that the groups should be as diverse as possible with regard to the backgrounds and situations of the participants. There is the hope that a good balance within the group will have a positive (peer-learning) influence on the participants, for

instance by showing how other young people deal with certain problems. The workshops and voluntary work meetings, jointly organised by Cityteam and private firms as FORTIS bank and Timberland, serve a similar purpose (for both parties involved): exchanging different backgrounds and situations in the hope that this will trigger positive attitudinal changes among the Cityteam participants.

Cityteam especially aims at learning soft skills: consciousness, communication, agency, motivation, self-responsibility, etc. These are acquired through counselling and workshops. For example, if a participant needs a language course, a behavioural therapy or an internee place, Cityteam does not offer this itself but will make arrangements for them, but only after the participant in question will ask for it, again from the point of view of self-responsibility; *If they look for it themselves they will also feel more responsible and they will be more inclined to stay and to hang on* (Cityteam, director, male). And: *If somebody wants to work or go to school, what is expected of me? Can you be there in time? No? What can you do to improve that? These kinds of little things, very elementary things. It is about losing excess baggage and becoming conscious that that you do have a lot of influence if you take on the right things and not the things you do not have influence on* (Cityteam, local youth consultant, female); *It is about learning those sorts of things and not about learning Dutch (...). They do not learn technical skills or theory but we are teaching them how to live* (Cityteam, former coach and program manager, female).

By contrast, hard skills (diploma, occupational skills, etc.) do not play an important role in Cityteam's concept of learning. This does not mean however that the participants should not enrol into education or find a job after having attended Cityteam, but the focus of Cityteam is especially on learning to know one's own strong and weak points, and to provide the participants with the necessary skills to make the right choices for themselves. As a Cityteam coach told us, the most important aims of the project are *to make young people aware of their possibilities to choose and to promote their confidence* (Cityteam, coach, male)

Learning is encouraged by non-formal settings of counselling, voluntary work and gaining work experience as an internee. The program is designed to provide as much diversity as possible: *Diversity in itself makes you learn: meeting other people, whether a child, a young person, an elderly person, someone from a private firm* (Cityteam, former coach and program manager, female). Attention is also paid to the positive influence of having a network and the ability to use it. According to the director of Cityteam: *I notice that it can be of great value. But you have to have the ability to do that, networking. I think that a lot of our participants do not realise that. They do not realise how big their network actually is and how*

positive that can be (...). The first step towards education or towards a job is often made via via (Cityteam, director, male).

5.4.2.3 Expectations and experiences of the participants

This section covers the expectations and the experiences in relation to the positive and negative aspects of the projects, as seen by the participants We will focus on, at the one hand, the content of the project, and at the other hand the methods used and the internal and context in which the project functions. We have decided to discuss the latter two issues (project methods and project context) together because we found it was very difficult to distinguish between them, in the sense that method and context were very overlapping.

When we first spoke to the interviewees, at the start of the project or during their stay, their expectations and experiences were on the whole positive to very positive and they were very keen to participate. Overall, the group of participants hoped that Cityteam would help them to settle down within more or less normal biographical terms (a place to stay for yourself, a steady job, an income, financial security, marriage, children perhaps) in a few years or 'in a while'. Some respondents hoped to find out what they wanted to do with regard to choosing a particular direction of education, training or work. They viewed it as a period of 'self-reflection' or a 'time out'. Other Cityteam participants had a clear dream and ambition but thought they should be ready for it, as they had experienced negative transition situations before and wanted to feel confident and well prepared to take these steps. Still others had a background of having been in jail, having run away, had dropped out of school, had been unemployed or unfit to work and wanted to make a new start. In all cases, the participants were trying to get themselves 'in line' for a next educational or professional step they already knew they wanted to take or wanted to find out about. Cityteam allowed the participants to experiment with internships, experience voluntary work, do workshops, etc. Ideally, they were guided towards a situation of a self-motivated choice for work or a type of education.

Project content

Positive experiences of the participants referred to the fact that Cityteam helped them to become more aware of both their qualities and their shortcomings in relation to a successful transition and to help them find their way. They told us that these gains were mostly on the personal level, as for example becoming more self-confident. Besides, they acquired transitional skills in the sense of getting more self-responsible to arrange transitional matters, as for instance choosing an education or occupation, taking care of debts, applying for a job or

living space, etc. A female participant told us: *my mentality has changed totally, I have learned a lot* (D. – Cityteam – 19, female). Another female participant expressed her feelings about Cityteam in this way: *they help you overcome barriers, over which you never dared to go. (...) Maybe the barrier is set a bit too high, but they take care of lowering it, so that you can take the step* (L. – Cityteam – 18, female). The voluntary work options and the possibility of an internee ship were considered to be very helpful and served as eye openers to them in finding out what they did and did not want to do with regard to education and work. This was particularly the case for young people who wanted to 'work with people', as most of the voluntary work options had a strong social, communal facet (cleaning up neighbourhoods, helping out at schools, etc.).

Participants' *negative experiences* concerned the fact that Cityteam could not always provide the participatory projects they had promised the participants. In a few cases, participation was hampered by the fact that there were no voluntary work options available for a period of time or started far too late during their stay. According to a number of participants, this turned Cityteam into a day care centre where you could only hang around and do nothing. This annoyed them because they had been promised to do certain activities.

Other negative opinions referred to the other side of the coin of the social work orientated voluntary work options: some participants were not interested in doing this type of voluntary work and wanted to have more and other options.

Project methods and context

Positive experiences of the participants in this regard evolved around aspects of peer learning, 'learning by doing', the informal setting of the project, participation is voluntary and through providing positive instead of negative feedback by the coaches. The mixed group method (putting together young people with various backgrounds and type and seriousness of problems) was viewed positively upon because participants came into contact with other young people, in particular those with transition problems. This led to various forms of peer learning: they could identify with each other, made friendships, gave support and they could learn from other participants how to deal with certain problems. The workshops served in part a similar function: getting to know other young people in different situations and learning from that experience.

'Learning by doing' meant that the participants had to carry out practical activities as organising, presenting, being responsible for the project space, etc. This showed them that they too could be responsible and get things done, and in effect they became more motivated

to act and, in doing so, develop agency. These methods were always accompanied by positive support by the coaches instead of negative focus on their lack of abilities.

On the *negative side*, we found that participants could be distracted and irritated by the focus on peer learning, especially when certain persons did not fit the group or acted disruptively. The project staff was sometimes criticised because they did not take enough action, for example by throwing out a participant.

Relationship between project staff and participants

Some participants perceived positively the personal relationships they acquired with the coaches, suggesting trust and empathy as a basis for participation and motivation and as a reason to stay in touch after having left the project.

However, certain coaches and participants could not get along together or participants felt that coaches could not sufficiently relate to their life histories or situations. For a few participants this was exactly the reason to enter social work themselves by enrolling into that type of education after participating, but in doing so, changed negative experiences into self-motivation.

5.4.2.4 Factors of success and failure

Participants

From the point of view of the participants, success meant pre-dominantly that Cityteam provided them with the tools and the protected environment to get their lives in order. Generally, participants aimed for a normal biographical life course: enrolling into an education, getting a job, settling down, etc. and to 'normalise' their lives (again).

Failure meant to them that Cityteam could not always provide for their needs or could not always present clear-cut solutions to their problems. This appeared to be especially the case with participants who needed more professional help than could be offered by the staff, who on the whole had little professional knowledge and experience to deal with these young people.

Project staff, experts and funders

The project staff of Cityteam views success of Cityteam in 'realistically optimistic' terms: *Coaches need to find pleasure in participants moving a millimetre and should not expect that they walk miles during their stay* (Cityteam – former coach and program manager,

female). Although one could argue that this remark reflects a deficiency-orientated approach with regard to the participants among the coaching staff, we assume that it more expresses the fact that a number of the participants indeed have more serious personal social and psychological problems than only transition difficulties related to a lack of regular institutional support. A *positive* aspect of Cityteam that is mentioned by the coaches is that according to them many ex-participants stay in contact. Although there is no protocol for follow-up monitoring after participants have left Cityteam, *young people sometimes tend to walk in by themselves, they get called up once in a while and they get told they can always return to Cityteam if that would be necessary*, says one of the Cityteam coaches (Cityteam – coach, female). It seems however that this is mostly the case when there have been close personal relationships between coaches and participants. In that regard, the optimistic evaluation of the Cityteam staff in that most of the ex-participants stay in contact, was not in all respects justified. Most of the first round interviewees had left the project after or before completing the project and could not be found again or did not want to participate anymore in a second round of interviews. However, one could argue that Cityteam remains at least in contact with young people who would otherwise become or stay undetected to transition agencies.

Project staff and experts share a number of concerns that could affect the functioning of Cityteam adversely or even threaten Cityteam's survival in the long run. These issues refer predominantly to the funding of Cityteam and the inflow of participants. In principle Cityteam tries to offer a 'safe haven' for participants who want to find out what they really want to do or who need to become ready to make follow-up steps. However, Cityteam's funding is related for a growing part to their efforts in getting young people back into education or work and this means that Cityteam will more and more become part of the official re-integration system, which it does not want to. There is a pre-occupation of *back to school, back to school* among agencies and a consultant from the referral agency told us: *I would rather use Cityteam for that, as a short trajectory of looking back: what has happened lately, not talking about work or school for a while; a pause (and then - WP) what do I actually want to do, what am I going to do and what do I need for that. And then to take those steps* (Cityteam, local youth consultant, female).

Furthermore, lately Cityteam especially catches young people who are often 'problematic cases' at the bottom end of the barrel: participants who exhibit too complex behavioural, psychological or other acute situational problems (for example homelessness), and the peer learning method has come under strain because of a concentration of 'problem

youth'. According to the Cityteam officials, this produces a difficult working climate. Cityteam functions more and more as *a last safety net for young people who already have fallen through everything else. When every other trajectory has failed, only then they enter Cityteam* (Cityteam, local youth consultant, female).

In the case of Cityteam, the following funders play a role: private firms, municipalities and non-profit organisations. All funders expect that the local coaches present outflow figures: *That is what we get settled upon, from the public agencies which send us participants; that is how I judge my own people too*, according to the Cityteam director (Cityteam, director, male). The figures are considered to be *actually quite good* (Cityteam local youth consultant, female).

For the private firms involved, success lies in the fact that they motivate Cityteam participants as well as their own employees to look further than their own life-worlds and experience that there are other transitions and attitudes possible. Besides, it generates free publicity for the firm.

Researchers

From our point of view, it appears that Cityteam is a bit crammed between its original concept of a 'time-out' period and space for young people who just need to get re-motivated in order to get themselves on the right track, and the needs of young people with more serious, multiple social and psychological problems. The latter group appears to need more specific and other professional attention than often can be dealt with in this context.

Besides, it also seems that Cityteam is being slowly incorporated in the system of existing transitional arrangements. Increasingly, they become dependent on scarce public funding while having to compete with other programmes due to privatisation tendencies in this sector. At the same time, in return for that money they have to offer far more regular integration trajectories than before and have to focus on particular risk groups instead of young people in general. This withholds Cityteam from carrying out its original ideas about offering a low-threshold programme for everybody who needs transitional help.

5.5 Case study 2: Center Parcs

5.5.1 Description

This particular case study is a vocational training program which has been jointly developed, organised and carried out by the Center Parcs holiday resort company, which is an (inter-) nationally operating holiday resort business and Helicon, a regional institution for

vocational education located in the rural, southwest part of the Netherlands. The project provides on-the job training and periodical courses for young people who have been hired to work in one of the Center Parcs resorts, in particular in the areas of swimming pool and shop management of holiday resort 'De Eemhof' in the province of Flevoland. The training itself takes place on the premises and nearby in a training centre.

Center Parcs and Helicon provide an alternative route to obtaining a qualification, especially important for those young people who were attracted to learning a profession and obtaining a (vocational) diploma but appeared to be frustrated with existing educational arrangements and institutions. In this way, a number of young people who already had a 'distaste for regular learning' were re-motivated: offering a job, having an education, obtaining a formal qualification through learning ready-to-use competences instead of 'facts' and the possibility of career advancement within the Center Parcs organisation. *These so-called drop-outs, who would not want to back to school anymore…often there is nothing wrong with them with regard to working; they are just tired of the school system. And we can use these (young) people very well (..). They often have the stigma of 'do-ers' but they are people who just want to work and not spend more than an hour at school* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs manager, female).

Center Parcs developed and organised training courses since 1994, but these only led to firm-specific certificates. For reasons of improving the service quality, as an instrument to recruit new personnel and to commit further the personnel already employed, the idea took root to develop and carry out a totally new course. For the swimming pool management, a partner was found in Helicon, a public institution for middle-level vocational training. Helicon develops new training courses in the recreational sector because of the shrinking demand for traditional agricultural training while expanding their educational territory to private businesses. The director of Helicon describes their importance for the private sector as follows: *we make employees more flexible; they come to learn the whole firm. What we want is that they are competent to serve the whole sector in which a firm operates and not only be competent with regard to their specific job* (Center Parcs – Helicon director, male).

In the developed programme, learning is (far) more related to workplace practices than existing apprenticeship and vocational education arrangements in the Netherlands. The training bears resemblance to regular dual training offers (the Beroepsbegeleidende Leerweg (BBL); Vocation Accompanying Pathway)) in which four days are spent on the job and one in class, but the class part also takes place within the working environment. Furthermore, it leads

the participants to obtaining an at the national and European levels certified qualification in swimming pool management, the first official diploma - apprenticeship level (EU level 2) - in this line of work. In co-operation with Center Parcs, the Helicon vocational training institution has thus developed a new type of qualification while using new ways of obtaining it.

The programmes under examination (swimming pool management and retail) are paid by Center Parcs and, in the case of the swimming pool assistant course, set up by Helicon to comply with national qualification standards. The trainings are set up and for the most part carried out by the public educational institution Helicon and not the private firm Center Parcs. The course itself is thus a public offering and not a private one.

The Helicon / Center Parcs training program starts from the idea that contemporary youth transitions from school to work do not necessarily have to occur via existing educational and inflexible institutional arrangements and has found the participants to prove that point. In their view, qualifications can also be obtained via alternative ways, taking into account young people's dissatisfaction with regular educational arrangements, which do not seem to match their demands. Moreover, the training program reflects also a wider development in (vocational) learning and training, in which emphasis is much more on learning competences which are applicable to an economic sector as a whole, which in turn appears to be a consequence of higher rates of change with regard to functions and tasks within all kinds of economic sectors nowadays.

The participants of the Center Parcs / Helicon training program were by and large better educated and originated from less riskful backgrounds than the Cityteam participants. Participants of the program had various backgrounds but mostly of Dutch origin. There were young people with a history of personal problems, young people without a secondary education diploma, young people who were previously unemployed and 'job-switchers', i.e. young people who got stuck on the labour market and wanted to make a career change. In general, the young people in this case study were slightly older than those in the Cityteam project, approximately between their late teens and mid-twenties.

At present, the swimming pool assistant training has been stopped after the completion of the first year. Although a new first year course has been started recently, it is unclear whether the programme will be continued in the near future and those who have finished the first year can continue with the course.

5.5.2 Analysis

5.5.2.1 Participation and motivation

Participation plays a less important role in the case of Center Parcs than in the case of Cityteam and formally evolves at most around the possibility of participants influencing the decision-making in the area of teaching methods. Participation is not an explicit goal of the programme, at least not in the eyes of the Center Parcs management. In contrast, participation in terms of decision-making and responsibility does play a role among the teaching staff. The trainees are encouraged by the trainers to participate in the evaluation of the educational themes, during and after the course. If criticisms of students are founded, it is a realistic option to take it into account for follow-up courses, teaching materials and methods, and it does not clash with the end terms of the training, themes are adapted. For the trainer from Helicon for instance, the integration of participatory elements into his courses goes even further and relate it to biographical change: *In general, these people absolutely do not feel that they participate in society; they do not think that they really are a part of their (working and living - WP) environment (..). Real participation begins when you give people responsibility*. According to him, 'high-risk' young people need quite a long time to embrace the idea of participation. *Everybody sort of knows that this is the problem (...). If you are able to get that message through during the training, I think that afterwards people will participate in the way everybody would want to* (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male).

The intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of participants is fostered through the alternative ways (in relation to existing vocational training arrangements) of teaching and the teaching context. The classes are small (more attention) with relative little hierarchy between teacher and student, use is made of modern media (for example television games) and the content of the course can be put in practice straight away. Besides, there is room for discussing more broad subjects relating to politics and society in general than only the course material. One of the Center Parcs trainers: *I think it is the ultimate way of teaching because it is very relaxed. You can pay more attention to them and they notice it. Plus you can translate theory directly into practice. You only have to walk two minutes and you are at the place of work* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, female).

Training is free of charge, which appears to be an important extrinsic motivational factor as well. The participants are employees who get paid for their regular job and *only have to bring a passport photo* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, male). Attending the course does not oblige former students to continue working at Center Parcs afterwards. The Helicon trainer: *In no way whatsoever. I would not want that. Also with the idea that a public*

education, it should not do that. You should try and keep that pure (..). It is the government that offers the training, an independent institution and not a private company (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male).

Self-motivation (intrinsic) and group-responsibility (extrinsic) are explicitly promoted. Participants are not punished when homework is not finished, *because they do it for themselves and they know that (...). And because it is voluntary to participate, you can also say: listen, you don't want to? You don't have to on my account. You are here for yourself. If you don't want to participate, just say so and quit* (Center Parcs - Center Parcs trainer, female). She sees participation in the Center Parcs training above all in terms of *being yourself. That they can value their own worth, that they can also show to be social* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, female). The trainer from Helicon sees that, along the way, *among a lot of participants, the motivation changes from career to personal motives* (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male). According to him, de-motivated students experience problems on the personal level. Apparently however, these problems are in general not long-lasting and he is able to deal with that quite flexibly. The motivation to continue the training is also promoted through the participation of other, often older working staff during the training period (inter-generational learning) and postponing the diploma ceremonies until the last person has past his or hers exam (referring to the retail course, which was already running for some time – WP).

This does not mean that there are no motivational problems: *In general, people are motivated in the beginning. During the course this could become less, for example through unexpected situations, because people get disappointed after a while, because they haven't been in a learning process for some time, etc. I can mention a hundred reasons for not doing your homework. But I have as a motto that we have started off together and we will finish together. There is no one who quits half way.* She gives extra tutoring and attention, and more trainers experience that you develop *ties of trust during the training* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, female).

That some people will not make it to the end is something which remains in the back of the trainer's heads, *but I honestly can confirm that all participants of the retail course have passed their exam up until now* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, female). According to the Center Parcs staff there is little dropout in all Center Parcs courses. One of the Center Parcs trainers thinks this has to do *firstly with the fact that they already have an employer. If I don't like a school, I can easily go to another one. But I don't only quit school (training –*

WP) here, but I also walk away from an employer and a job (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, male).

5.5.2.2 Learning

The learning approach in the case of Center Parcs is in three ways different from existing vocational arrangements: in method (work place terminology, group learning, use of media, etc.), content (focus on competences, lifelong learning, social as well as technical skills) and context (non-formal, practice-based).

Alternative ways of (group) learning involve the use of current affairs, news papers, television programmes, films, personal experiences of the participants and board games: (At the training ground – WP) *we have this life-size 'Trivial Pursuit' board game, involving questions regarding the training. So, participants are playing a board game but in the meantime…* They (the participants – WP) also use the concept of a Dutch debating show as a method for discussing educational themes. *They are not aware that they are learning* (Center Parcs - Center Parcs trainer, male). Politics are also sometimes a point of discussion, *because politicians make the rules with which they (the participants – WP) have to work with in shops, the swimming pool, etc.* (Center Parcs - Center Parcs trainer, female). Moreover, the course content fits the participants' learning demands because *everything that is written on paper reflects their life-world. You use the same terms as they do at the working place* (Center Parcs - Helicon trainer, male).

Another Center Parcs trainer regards the group pressure or extrinsic motivation still in another way to be important. One could regard this as a form of peer learning in which participants hold each other responsible: *Participants punish each other. Because you are in the same group during work time, and someone has not finished their duties, he or she harms the group* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs trainer, male).

Learning is as much possible carried out within the context of the ordinary, day to day working situation. The 'contact-days', i.e. the days on which education within the class-room take place, only take up one day in two or three weeks, and is far less than any existing regular work-based vocational training or apprenticeship courses. The Helicon director describes learning in the case of Center Parcs as a method being *one hundred percent based on contextual learning* (Center Parcs – Helicon director, male). The knowledge the participants learn during these contact-days has to be used during the next few working weeks through assignments. As an example of this contextual or practice-based learning, together

with the focus to learn competences, he mentions the topic of learning about dangerous substances: *You are dealing with laws and rules regarding dangerous substances in the area of swimming pools, but the application of these rules change constantly. We then said that they (the participants – WP) should not just be taught anymore that some substances are hazardous, but they ought to learn to read the labels. We teach them not the laws (in the traditional sense of knowing them by heart – WP) but to read the laws and regulations and interpret them* (Center Parcs – Helicon director, male).

The importance of this type of learning was also backed up by the Helicon trainer we interviewed in saying that there are also almost *no definitive answers: where they do can be given, it is the practical circumstance that determines it.* He even goes a step further by introducing the necessity of learning broader skills, as for instance in the areas of communication and conflict handling, and related to that, motivation and enjoying work: *Knowledge is only one facet of your skills; it is complex. In what way do you communicate for example? That could already give you a false start in relation to liking your job or not* (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male).

The trainers of both Helicon and Center Parcs look at learning pre-dominantly from the point of view of the participants: *You see that people (participants – WP) flourish, you see that they have a lot of hidden capacities but have never been challenged before*, and one of his main reasons to enter the educational sector, was his will to *look at learning in the sense of learning to enjoy work* (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male).

In contrast, the higher management of Helicon and Center Parcs, in the shape of the director of Helicon and the Center Parcs manager in charge of training, see the concept of learning both from the demand side of the participants as well as from the demands of firms and regular educational institutions: *Generally they (the participants – WP) know the things they should do very well, but not why it is important. If they become conscious of that, they will get more intrinsically motivated, plus that they will think along with the firm at hand*. The idea of practice-based learning would fit the modern learning needs (flexibility, lifelong learning, competences) of both private firms and learners best, according to him: *One should develop fewer diplomas that could be interpreted wider* (Center Parcs - Helicon director, male). A similar voice is expressed by the manager in charge of Center Parcs training, who also sees the advantage of being a firm instead of an educational institution: *Because we are not a traditional educational institution, we can use very creative teaching methods* and *we*

can be faster and more flexible than regular schools (Center Parcs – Center Parcs manager, female).

5.5.2.3 Expectations and experiences of the participants

Most of these young people had already spent some time on the labour market and the programme therefore served more as a career switch to them. The work they did before didn't motivate them anymore, appeared to be a dead-end street, didn't fulfil its promises, etc. Expectations often referred to learning practical things, operating procedures, etc. in other words, learning a profession: *First aid, water management, the functioning of the sauna, that's what I hope to learn here*, said a female participant (B. - Center Parcs – 24, female).

For some other respondents, the possibility of building up a career was important. A male participant thought he would still be at Center Parcs in three years, and would not have picked up his previous study. He hoped that he would enjoy himself there and that he would have the feeling that he could make a career, *being a team leader, that is my goal now (..) but it could just be that there aren't any possibilities for that (..) or that I don't have the baggage for it (..) but I expect that I want to and will do it* (R. - Center Parcs – 22, male).

A smaller number of participants saw the Center Parcs programme as a possibility to regain motivation after failure and considered it to be a *last chance to obtain a diploma* after all: *for me this is my first or last chance. I don't want to be without prospects again* (B. - Center Parcs – 21, male).

Project content

With regard to *positive* experiences, the participants particularly valued Center Parcs' focus on working while at the same time learning an occupation. Besides, the participants were interested in both the retail and swimming pool training because it fitted their occupational and learning interests, for instance working with people, learning in practice, a job that involves sports, the 'always a holiday' working climate, etc. The fact that they enjoyed the job itself and the working climate, clearly motivated them to do their best at the training course. A male participant: *It has already been a long time since I enjoyed working (..) I have to learn, I just have to be sure to get accepted (...) that I will pass these tests – I am really motivated* (Y. - Center Parcs – 19, male).

The interviewees did not have any negative experiences with regard to the programme's content, which may have to do with the fact that they consciously chose to do this profession.

Project methods and context

With regard to Center Parcs' learning methods and the context in which learning took place, the participants referred *positively* to the possibility of obtaining a qualification while working, the non-formal learning climate (predominantly located directly at the work place), the relatively informal and personal relationships between students and teachers, the collegiality between participants (team spirit) and the use of alternative learning methods such as games, various media and subjects that had a meaning to their life-worlds. Besides, many of them knew Center Parcs from earlier visits: they had good memories about earlier holidays spent there and this was an important reason to apply for the job in the first case.

For some of the participants, attending the training course meant a first time that they felt that they were able to obtain a diploma: *I was at a diploma ceremony and there was this 27-year old girl who told me that this was the first diploma she received since her swimming diploma. That is what I call success: giving someone confidence, that you have motivated someone* (Center Parcs – Center Parcs manager, female).

For other participants it meant that they expanded their existing vocational qualifications and to arrive at more occupational options. In all cases however, the over-riding plus point was the fact that they did not have to return to the school benches. It fitted their demands at that time: working and learning, but under their conditions.

On the *negative* side, participants mentioned that they still had to perform certain learning tasks within the training course, as for instance, writing papers and taking written exams. In general, the participants would like to have stuck to an even higher level of practice based training, and doing as many things possible in practice, for example by doing oral exams or work floor assessments.

Relationship between project staff and participants

Center Parcs explicitly promoted the idea that the company is a 'family', a professional community in which working relationships can be 'warm', 'personal' and without too much organisational hierarchy (although it was certainly there, but only more informal).

However, the staff of the organising institutions were on the whole concerned with the demand side from the point of view of Center Parcs (the quality of the personnel, etc.), while the trainers were mostly concerned with what effects the training had on the participants personally: *Whether the participant will obtain that diploma or not, is not really the first priority. But there are high expectations among the students, 'If I obtain that diploma, I will be more self-confident'* (Center Parcs – Helicon trainer, male). The trainees hope that the participants become more independent, more autonomous and gain self-confidence. The participants viewed this personal attention of the trainers as very positive in relation to earlier experiences with education and jobs.

5.5.2.4 Factors of success and failure

Participants

Working at Center Parcs meant 'everyday a holiday' for the participants. The informal working and non-formal learning climate seems to be the prime factors in the success of this programme. Success also meant for the participants the possibility of obtaining a qualification – sometimes for the first time - while having a job and within a very practically orientated learning environment. This led to higher self-confidence about their learning abilities, motivation in, and enjoyment of their work.

At the same time, the fact that they had an employment contract and were foremost employees, the participants were also more or less tied in doing the training. Although voluntarity was one of the starting points of the programme, the participants could imagine that if they did not achieve a certain occupational level, it was difficult for them to stay on.

Project staff, experts and funders

With regard to the issue of success, the director of Helicon does see a number of problems related to the functioning of demand-driven vocational projects like the Center Parcs one. He regards the lack of flexibility of the existing vocational system as the most important. Helicon has solved this by implementing teaching timetables that do not last any longer than eight weeks, after which anything is possible again.

In principle, dropout rates are considered to be low by the organisers, but as we noticed during the second round of interviews, half of the participants had either left for another job or had been fired after a year. While having a contract and being an employee could have a positive effect on motivation and learning, this is the other side of the coin: if the

participants do not live up to the company's standards, they will be let go without any efforts of the trainers to further motivate them.

When we interviewed one of the remaining participants in the swimming pool assistance course, we discovered that the programme had been stopped after a year, much to the dissatisfaction of the interviewee in question. It is unclear up to this moment why exactly the course was discontinued. Possible explanations could lie in the funding area (less money for within-firm training due to the present economic recession) or a higher drop out rate than expected after the first year, after which it was not profitable anymore to continue with the second year. A conflict between Center Parcs and Helicon about the content and the method of the programme seems unlikely as we also found out that a new, first year course had just started.

Researchers

The collaboration between at the one hand an educational institution and at the other hand a private firm, seems to yield satisfying results. As Center Parcs is a private firm that needs to compete with other holiday resorts, the prime reason for this programme has of course been the lifting of the occupational standards of its personnel, in order to provide higher service levels to its customers. At the same time however, it has served those young people who have had difficulties to obtain a diploma in the regular way and thus raised their possibilities on the labour market. Moreover, the programme boosted motivation among its participants, at least in the sense of involvement and the enjoyment of work among the participants.

At the opposite, negative side of the coin remains the fact that these types of programmes may only work in exactly this type of environment: a large private firm having the financial possibilities and space to develop and execute such training. In other words, these trainings need a critical mass that smaller firms do not have.

5.6 Case study 3: Starters Service Centrum Almere (SSCA)

5.6.1 Description

SSCA is an experimental service set up about two years ago by a private agency (STEW) involved in training, re-integration trajectories and the offering of information and advice in the area of self-starting. The SSCA has been set up by this agency after a request from the local government of the town of Almere, located near to Amsterdam.

As the city of Almere has been built from scratch, twenty-five years ago, there appears to be a dynamic and opportunistic atmosphere that attracts above average numbers of entrepreneurs. Besides, Almere is a large 'sleeping suburb' with less local employment options than other major towns. Existing arrangements for starters, as for instance the Chamber of Commerce, were considered to be inadequate and to raise the longevity of new businesses and at the same time to promote entrepreneurship as an alternative to unemployment, salaried employment, etc., especially for (young) people at a long distance from the labour market.

Starting from the proposition that 'the supply of talented entrepreneurs is far bigger than the real number of people who start a company', SSCA's aim is to develop and expand the facilities and services for talented (young) starters from a relatively weak labour market position. In time, special services (the creation of a safe environment, intensive individual counselling and support, the possibility of 'agency shopping', etc.) should give these participants the proper context to become successfully self-employed. SSCA has no formal connections with any public agencies as the unemployment office or the Chamber of Commerce, the latter being the organisation that normally would provide help for self-starters.

Similar to the Center Parcs training, SSCA provides alternative routes to employment. The promotion of self-employment, accompanied by (learning) particular informal and formal skills, entrepreneurial qualities, agency, etc. fit neatly in today's given of individualised education to work transitions, yoyo-trajectories and the necessity to have the qualities to cope with this. The Almere project was at the time of picking out this particular case study still in an experimental phase and there was not a clear trajectory or structure yet which involved all the considered facilities and services. Recently, there have been plans to expand this experimental program to the rest of the province using an application for further funding under European EQUAL subsidies.

As SSCA does not aim to serve particular target groups, there is no special method involved for dealing with young people. Young people, in this case those who are under 30 years of age, are estimated to take up at least 25% of the total group of participants, according to the SSCA consultant we interviewed

Because of the fact that the SSCA has not totally been crystallised yet, the young people whom we interviewed represented mostly ones who already had more or less clear ideas about beginning their own firm and came, via via, into contact with the SSCA. For the most part they do not belong to a riskful group of young people. Our respondents – mostly

males – did come from various social-economic classes and educational backgrounds. The amount of help the applicants received (or needed to receive) could vary considerably. Examples of help that were mentioned by the respondents involved, among other things: drawing up a business plan, obtaining a subsidy, lending money, networking meetings, other courses, etc. The respondents were self-starters in the areas of internet, computers and software, an Irish dancing school, an ergo therapy practice and in hotel and catering services (later changed to a flower shop).

5.6.2 Analysis

5.6.2.1 Participation and motivation

The general concept of transitions behind SSCA, lies in the conviction of the organising parties that self-employment can be an alternative (but no wonder cure) for other forms of work or handling unemployment, early school-leaving, etc. *In America, it is quite normal to be an entrepreneur. I think that for young people, it also raises your status, (instead of doing - WP) a stupid job,* (SSCA – SSCA consultant, male). *You could couple the right to self-determination to (becoming self-employed - WP)* (SSCA – SSCA director, male).

Besides, *a big group of starters is evolving (...) because economically it is going worse, a lot of people are getting pushed out of companies: people on temporary contracts, temporary employment agencies* (SSCA – SSCA director, male). In that respect, he sees the agency as acting as a system of *communicating vessels*: offering help to people who want to improve their situation during times of economic prosperity and offering an alternative mode of participation to regular employment or unemployment during time of economic downturn.

Participation in the case of SSCA can be considered in three ways: providing help from a biographical perspective (self-confidence, considering the risk of starting an own firm, etc.), participation in the sense of making the proper decisions to get started (as a decision concept) and in the sense of building up a business community on the city of Almere (community concept).

In general, SSCA participants already had made a successful transition to become a starter. Seen in that way, they already exhibited attitudes of high motivation. They were active participators in their own transition trajectory and by no means in need of re-engagement or re-integration. According to the consultant of the agency, most participants had worked as wage employees and were looking for something for themselves because of all kinds of reasons: employment-related issues as for instance the working climate, to build up something

for yourself, but also *the nice car of the neighbour*, thus for reasons of status and making money. The SSCA could be seen as a facilitator that channels these intrinsic and extrinsic motivations into realistic prospects.

A successful transition to self-employment requires individualised help. Regular transition agencies appear to provide these services less than SSCA does, or not at all. The Chamber of Commerce, from which one would expect these kinds of services, rather looks after formal requirements and standardised issues, while SSCA provides *tailored services. My experiences (as an ex-entrepreneur - WP), which I share with a client, are of a totally different level and status than information about business laws or permits. Not to belittle, but it is a totally different story. It (the Chamber of Commerce - WP) has nothing to do with training or coaching* (SSCA – SSCA consultant, male). Moreover, regular agencies on the whole do not take young people who want to start up their own firm seriously.

An explicit motive to start up the SSCA agency was to build up and sustain a good local business environment, in order to promote local commercial activity, broaden the economic base of the town and extend the local labour market possibilities for Almere's inhabitants. In that sense, the SSCA can be seen as an attempt to promote community participation and liveability. In particular, the agency sees possibilities for participants coming from a situation of inactivity or living on befts.

5.6.2.2 Learning

In comparison with Cityteam and Center Parcs, the SSCA agency does not have a specific learning concept and does not offer an explicit learning trajectory. Instead, it can be regarded as a mediator and an identifier of informal skills, delivering the message to the participants that it is important to have a mix of network skills, communicative skills and practical skills to be successful in starting up an own firm, and recognising informal skills and learning, as long as their ideas are sound (even when these plans are not backed by formal qualifications). To accomplish that, learning methods may include informal (for example one to one sessions with a consultant) as well as formal ones (for example getting the necessary qualifications by following a course). In these regards, the SSCA agency stands out from the other two projects.

Again, as was the case with motivation and participation, most of the participants already had experience with informal learning, in the sense that they had found their way to the SSCA via via and had to develop their ideas about starting a firm and anticipating all

kinds of obstacles. This knowledge - or these competences - almost by definition cannot be acquired in regular educational settings. They regard the starting-up of a firm in first instance as *having an idea, having images about it (...), sort of an orientating, intuitive period (...). I explain to these people that you should take time for it. You have to grow towards it* (SSCA – SSCA consultant, male). Besides, SSCA tries to promote self-confidence and realism among its participants and, if necessary, to point out to participants the need for getting a particular qualification.

The most important factor in starting up one's own firm is considered to be the building up of a (local) network by the participants. SSCA actively promotes communication between existing and starting firms, for instance via their 'Life Club': a forum in which all starters can talk to and learn from each other, and which is held on a regular basis: *when we have a meeting, we always try to look for a firm which doesn't exists since long; just let them tell their story. In that way, the participants get information about a certain area. And if they are interested, they can ask for a visiting card and can go on with that firm; it works both ways* (SSCA – SSCA director, male).

There is no hierarchic teacher – student relationship but rather a 'participant driven' learning situation: the participant's input is the basis of the service and it is the SSCA consultants' job to help them to achieve that goal. The decisions related to these issues are always theirs (the participants) to take. Indeed, with their background experience and their knowledge about entrepreneuring, the consultants of SSCA have been hired especially because of their knowledge of the local business environment and therefore are closely related to the issue of participants trying to succeed with a business. In doing so, SSCA provides first-hand practical knowledge through experience, and the way in which this information is transferred, provides participants with trust in their own capabilities as well as in those of the agency.

5.6.2.3 Expectations and experiences of participants

From the interviews with young SSCA participants, it became clear that the amount of help that the applicants received (or needed to receive) could vary considerably. Examples of help that were mentioned by the respondents involved, among other things, drawing up a business plan, obtaining a subsidy, lending money, networking meetings, courses, etc. Additional experiences with the SSCA were mixed: we found positive, ambivalent but also sometimes negative ones, the latter relating to matters of flexibility of SSCA services for instance.

Project content

As has been mentioned earlier, respondents have had, and are getting help in starting up their businesses, but there exists no comprehensive 'trajectory'. Instead, the participants were forwarded by other instances or they knocked on the door of the SSCA themselves.

The service offers help in writing business proposals and tax matters but its main strength does not lie in its content but predominantly in the area of its particular methodical outlook and the local context in which it functions.

Project methods and context

In general, the participants appreciated the service of the SSCA agency in relation to existing institutional help because they were taken seriously, held a positive attitude and were discussing matters more or less as 'equals'. A SSCA participant: *This man was so enthusiastic; he liked it so much…He was even looking for a company space* (W. - SSCA – 23, male). Other participants were more ambivalent about the help they received from SSCA, as they had been able to track down information from other sources for which they did not need the service in the end. A participant on the use of internet: *there you just find the most information on business…even more than at the Chamber of Commerce.* (M. - SSCA – 18, male) But he did however get some help on, for example, tax matters.

More *positive aspects* of SSCA for the participants seemed to lie in the area of providing participants with self-confidence and getting feedback: *I think that if I maintain this attitude… you can get big. The only thing to do is to stay positive (...). Only then I became aware of how much it was going to take* and: *I wouldn't have come that far without them* (M. - SSCA – 19, female). Another participant told us that the service was useful in the sense of *confirming your ideas* (D. - SSCA – 27, male). Other participants: *Top service* (D. – SSCA – 23, male) and: *Already was happy that a professional would want to look at his ideas and give advice (...) It did help and I had a good start* (M. – SSCA – male, 18).

On the *negative side*, some participants were disappointed with the service because they did not get the help they had expected. Apparently, SSCA is not able yet to deliver the services or flexibility that some young self-starters need, for instance longer-term help or more flexibility in information and schedules. It could also be that some participants were already further in their development as self-starters and did not need the help of SSCA anymore. On the other hand, the need was expressed for a longer-term service, stretching out over a longer period and not only covering the start-up phase.

Relationship between project staff and participants

As there was no particular learning programme involved in SSCA, the participants only met the project staff when they needed their advice. These meetings could take place only once but also more than ten times. In comparison with the other two case studies, the role of the project staff is much more steered from the demand side of the participants. Likewise, the relationship between project staff and participant was at least symmetrical, in the sense that they were taken seriously and transition problems and options (in this case starting up a firm) were discussed on equal terms. The project staff originated from the local business community and their practical knowledge helped the participants to trust them.

5.6.2.4 Factors of success and failure

Participants

SSCA was a success from the participants' point of view because it offered tailored advice on a number of practical issues related to starting up one's own firm and provided a local network that could be utilised. Besides, it gave self-confidence to those young people who were uncertain about self-employment and who came from backgrounds not familiar with entrepreneuring, and motivated young people to continue and shape their life projects.

On the *negative* side, SSCA aims only for help during the start-up phase - while there is a demand for longer term advice - and is considered sometimes to be less flexible as had been expected, for example with regard to courses and the advice needed. The consultants are no that all-knowing in relation to participants' needs.

Project staff, experts and funders

The SSCA director mentions as *success* factors of the SSCA, *the low-threshold, the one-counter approach and the fact that we have a good (local) network,* from which the participants can benefit. The local perspective of SSCA is considered very important by him, in the sense that SSCA knows *what is going on in Almere, the development of the city heart, permits, company accommodation, etc.* (SSCA – SSCA director, male).

SSCA does not have the obligation to deliver a minimum number of successful starters to get its funds. Instead, the service has to make sure that a minimum number of potential starters at least come to see them for advice. The SSCA consultant estimates that at the moment their covering percentage (i.e. of all the starters in Almere - WP) lies about 90%,

while in their first year that figure was estimated at 40%. All in all, during their one and a half year of existence, about 600 people have been talked to.

Lately however, 'successful entrepreneuring' has come more under pressure: *Research shows that more and more starters tend to begin at a younger age and become less educated and less well prepared* (SSCA – SSCA director, male). Besides a flourishing economy in recent years with more people seizing the opportunity to start for themselves, this can be attributed to the fact that for a number of self-employed professions, the minimum entry level to practice a particular profession has gone down or has even been abolished in some cases. Consequently, in certain sectors one can start a firm much more easily nowadays and apparently this also attracts a lot of opportunists. *The chance that people do not make a good start could become bigger because of that* (SSCA – SSCA director, male). For the future, the SSCA director therefore considers to provide for school information courses on entrepreneuring.

The ultimate aim would be to offer participants a 'lifelong commitment': *that is what we would want; just like a bank, you want to have people 'in' for the rest of their lives. Offering something for each phase of a firm's cycle* (SSCA – SSCA director, male). For the moment however, most starters services only aim for certain segments of the market, for example Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, etc and only for a limited period of time.

Researchers

Starting one's own firm could be seen as an interesting alternative to regular employment, unemployment, etc. and could involve a transition which does not necessarily has to be coupled to regular educational settings. Although SSCA is still in an experimental phase and only aims at regular starters for the time being (i.e. not young people who experience transitional problems in particular), it could be argued that a low-threshold starters service would open up new possibilities of labour market integration for young people. However, impulsive behaviour and the wrong attitude seem to be the biggest problems of young people who want to start their own firm, according to the expert interviewees. While SSCA seems to mould those attitudes into more realistic proportions, it is certainly no wonder cure for every young person who is de-motivated by education or finds him or herself in a situation of disengagement. At this point in time, the service is most likely to help those young people who already possess certain 'entrepreneurial qualities'.

5.7 Overview of the concepts of participation, motivation and learning according to the case studies

In the following table we present an overview of the case studies according to the concepts of participation, motivation, learning and the relationship between the project workers and participants:

	Cityteam	Center Parcs	SSCA
Concept of participation (*)	Attendance of project and choice Project-related decision making Biographical dimension Community approach	Project-related decision making Biographical dimension Community approach	Project-related decision making Biographical dimension Community approach
Concept of motivation	Extrinsic (goal attainment) Intrinsic (biographical approach)	Extrinsic (goal attainment) Intrinsic (job satisfaction)	Extrinsic (goal attainment) Intrinsic (realisation of life-project)
Learning concepts	Social competences (soft skills) Biographical approach Self-help as main coping strategy	Occupational competences Soft and hard skills	Realising life-project Autonomy as main coping strategy
Relationship project workers - participants	Symmetrical; trust and empathy	Asymmetrical; trust and empathy	Symmetrical; trust

* We distinguished the following concepts of participation: (1) participation as attendance of project and choice (passive involvement through voluntary attending and offer to be actively involved), (2) participation as a community approach (participatory activities within, and directed towards influencing social context around the project location), (3) participation in project-related decision making (active influences and involvement in decisions concerning activities within project) and (4) participation as a biographical dimension (active decision-making with regard to own life in general and one's transitions in particular) (YOYO Expert Report WP3, Cuconato et al. 2003, p.32)

The concept of participation, in all its forms, plays the most important role and has the highest explicit relevance in the Cityteam case study. The other case studies do display more than one form of participation, but less so and much more in an implicit way. Participation as a community approach can include an internal (within the project) as well as an external part (outside a project), with Cityteam representing both features, Center Parcs the internal feature (project as a 'family') and SSCA the external feature (building a local business community)

All the case studies worked with motivational concepts, but Cityteam was the most explicit in trying to promote both intrinsic (biographical approach) and extrinsic motivation

(goal achievement). Center Parcs and SSCA aimed in first instance to promote extrinsic motivation, in the sense of trying to achieve outwardly orientated goals (learn an occupation through alternative methods or a successful start up of a firm), but also aimed implicitly for intrinsic motivation with regard to job satisfaction (Center Parcs) and helping participants to their life projects.

The participants of the SSCA case study were already far more motivated before making use of the service. In the case of Cityteam we found a mix of already self-motivated young people and those who needed to get re-motivated through the project (but were not beforehand), especially in the case of Cityteam. Having obtained a job foremost motivated the participants of Center Parcs.

With regard to learning concepts, both Cityteam and SSCA exhibited a mix of skills involving coping and autonomy strategies, while Center Parcs was more focused on 'occupational learning'. All the case studies used types of informal learning (group learning, generational learning, etc.) and learning took mostly place in non-formal learning environments.

Interestingly, apart from the Center Parcs case study, the Cityteam and SSCA projects do not apply a clear and explicit pedagogical approach with regard to participation and learning. Instead, they utilise various methods and practices and use these flexibly and pragmatically. It does not necessarily mean that they form a coherent methodology.

Finally, the relationship between project staff and participants was relatively symmetrical in the Cityteam and SSCA cases, with Center Parcs being slightly more hierarchical as the other ones. Personal attention – whether or not an explicit part of the projects methods - played a major role in creating trust between officials and participants. Empathy played a role only in Cityteam and Center Parcs.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

In this final chapter, we present a number of issues that have come to the forefront in researching the various projects and offer a number of broad observations and recommendations for further research and integrated transition policy development. We should however be cautious in doing so, because the case studies are different in their aims, methods and contents, and not least in the backgrounds of the young participants they attract.

As the recommendations will not exclusively be focused on the types of transition programmes of our specific cases, they will also be of interest to other European countries.

Funding and flexibility

In all three case studies, funding came from various sources: public and private (commercial as well as non-commercial) ones. Co-operation between funding partners and mixed funding models seem to be a pre-requisite to provide alternative ways of transitions for young people. The question arises if such co-operations should and could be extended to existing vocational arrangements or public transition services, as for instance re-integration programmes for unemployed young people and problem groups.

Short-term funding and switches in the target groups seriously hamper the long-term continuation of alternative transition projects. That is to say: new transition options do not receive support for a long enough period of time and if so only under strict terms, which discourage experiments with alternative methods and make use of previous experiences with successful projects. Moreover, due to privatisation tendencies, public transition agencies and projects have to compete for funding with each other. Projects do not get the time to prove their worth (or failure for that matter) and always face an uncertain future, which leads to stress among the project staff.

Education, employment and other related institutions, together with alternative transition agencies (of which our projects may be regarded as good examples) and voluntary work options should provide a network of different transition paths with low thresholds instead of forcing young people into rigid linear trajectories that can not be influenced. This will lower drop out among project participants and will motivate the most disengaged to remain in contact.

Offering young people some kind of financial support could provide an important incentive for vocational and other types of projects because it takes away the immediate necessity of having a job or having to obtain money from other sources. In this way, young people would get more room and time to make choices and reverse wrong decisions and situations.

Voluntary participation

Successful transition projects are based on voluntary entrance, stay and exit of the participants. For many young disengaged people who enter such projects it is their first experience in their educational career that they are allowed to make their own choices. In

doing so, they learn that own choices mean taking responsibility for their further transition path. It is the voluntary character of the projects that is the strongest motor for active participation and re-motivation for further learning or finding work (see YOYO wp2; Du Bois-Reymond et al. 2002 and YOYO WP3; Cuconato et al. 2003).

Renewing transition policies implies strengthening all features in projects that are based on voluntary participation.

Individualised support and relationships based on trust

We can definitely say that an individualised approach with regard to young people's transitions is a key factor in having success as an agency. We found this to be important especially in the cases of Cityteam and SSCA, but also in the caring attitude that was expressed by the Center Parcs trainers. In comparison with experiences in school, employment or with public agencies, the young people we interviewed regarded approaches that were tailored to their needs as refreshing and far more positive than they had experienced earlier.

An important factor for re-motivating disengaged young people is that participants can relate to their coaches and teachers in a trustful way. Transition policy should keep this in mind when setting up new projects. Our finding in this respect has also implications for the professional training of coaches.

New learning approaches

Our projects are examples of non-formal learning in biographically relevant environments. One of our main findings is that young people complain about the divide between theory and practice they experienced in school-based curricula and in traditional vocational training programmes (see YOYO WP2; Du Bois-Reymond et al., 2002 and YOYO WP3; Cuconato et al. 2003). In contrast, in all of our three cases this divide was diminished by an approach of learning by doing, using own experiences, learning more abstract matters through direct insight into their relevance for the solution of practical problems, etc.

Peer-learning plays an important role in all three projects – be it that participants learn from co-participants how to solve personal problems (Cityteam) or regain trust in their capacities through interaction with their peers in a new vocation (Center Parcs), or learn networking and make use of the experiences of peer self-starter (SSCA).

Educational and transition policies should seriously take these findings into account. Much de-motivation of young people originates already in schools with rigid learning regimes

which block further learning. Therefore there should be a better fit between educational and transition policies by closing the gap between vocational and general education (see also Walther & Stauber et al, 2002). There should also be more know-how in the school-curriculum about recent national and international developments in the labour market, in order to give better advice to students and counteract dropping out of regular educational courses.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: NATIONAL AND LOCAL YOUTH POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

National youth policies

General principles	The Dutch government has also pursued policies to raise educational levels and lower the number of school dropouts. These efforts are laid down in the concepts of the *Primary Starting Qualification* and *A Well Prepared Start* (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur & Wetenschappen 1993). The necessity to raise educational levels, and in particular the possession of a minimum qualification, arises from two concerns. Firstly, from the (demand) side of the Dutch labour system in general: the development of the knowledge-intensive Dutch economy and the higher educational demands resulting from that. In addition, society is increasingly facing the consequences of demographic developments (de-greening and ageing), so that an increasing appeal to the skilled potential in the current and future labour force will be needed. Secondly, seen from the perspective of the individual, the awareness of the increasing importance of a good qualification in order to contend on the labour market and to ensure career prospects.
General (secondary) education	The second phase of upper-secondary general education is being transformed according to the concept of the 'Study house', introducing new teaching methods to encourage students to work on their own and 'learn to learn'. Alongside it, subject profiles instead of free choice of subjects have been implemented. These should improve the transition from upper-secondary general education to higher education.
Vocational education	The WEB Act of 1996 has restructured vocational education into, at the one hand, more practical orientated trajectories towards employment and at the other hand, more school orientated trajectories towards higher vocational education. Alongside, national, standard qualification levels and requirements have been implemented, and attempts are made to introduce methods of assessing qualities of informal learning. Recently a new discussion has started among educationalists and politicians on the necessity of a national exam at the end of pre-vocational education, in order to reduce early school-leaving rates.
Higher education	Introduction of bachelor / master system at higher professional education and university levels (from 2002 onwards) to ensure better comparability of qualification levels of higher education with other European countries (Bologna Declaration, 1999).
(Un-) employment policies	The prime example of policies to combat youth unemployment during the 1990s was the *Youth Work Guarantee Act* (JWG). It offered an integral and 'no-escape' system approach to schooling, income and work, applying in principle to all young people between the ages of 16 and 27 (23 in practice) who where registered as being unemployed for longer than six months. Problems with the JWG have been numerous. Firstly, a relatively large number of potential young participants did not register at the unemployment office at all and therefore remained undetected. Secondly, the number of jobs was often inadequate to fulfil demands and often too simplistic and undemanding to provide young people with a minimum of motivation and acquirement of 'serious' skills. Thirdly, the original intention of creating one approach for one problematic group, evolved into a system with different categories for

	different groups (with more and less chances to get work) and also different income regimes, and processes of 'creaming'. Youngsters were excluded from the project - and benefits - if they did not comply with the rules and drop out problem have been severe. Since 1998, the JWG has been integrated into a new unemployment scheme, the WIW (*Act on the Mobilisation of Job-seekers*), which applies to all unemployed people. The specific youth element of the JWG has been largely put away with (Spies & Van Berkel 2000).
Research	Yearly studies are conducted by the *Central Bureau of Statistics* (CBS) and the *Social Cultural Planning Agency* (SCP) and cover a large number of themes relevant to young people (education, employment, housing, health, etc.).

Local youth policies

Culture	Youth participation through cultural activities (voluntary work for organising a pop concert, theatre festival, dance nights, etc.) has a long history. Local youth centres have often become cultural institutions over time, but are now forced to pay renewed attention to youth work related to problem groups.
Participation	In a number of municipalities, a local youth council has been installed which has a say in providing ideas for the provision of local, public leisure services, other participation activities or even in evaluating local youth welfare policy. It is unclear however in how far these councils have direct or indirect political influence.
Formal and non-formal education	-Introduction of the 'broad school', a network of facilities and services in and around the school (welfare, sports, family, police and childcare, etc.). It is targeted at improving the participation of children in society, education, recreation, etc., to take away any disadvantages and to increase social abilities. These projects have originated mostly from local initiatives, for example out of a demand for after-school day-care, but are actively supported by national agencies as well. -Regional monitoring systems for truants and early school leavers (since 1994), involving various actors and functioning according to a 'chain model', which follows a young person in his or hers further trajectory. -Additional funding for primary and secondary schools which have a disproportionate number of pupils coming from disadvantaged (lower-class) and ethnic minority milieus. This occurs on the basis of yearly counting.
Research and youth information	-Regularly, participatory youth studies are carried out, by young people and for young people. As they are experts of their own life-worlds, they are used by researchers as their assistants in constructing and carrying out youth research. Sometimes a local participation official has been appointed to provide information or to guard participation budgets. -Local *Youth Information Points* (JIP) in many municipalities. They are menat to be low-threshold centres for young people to ask for information on all kinds of subjects (health, work, education, housing, etc.)

ANNEX 2: DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE

Project / gender

	Male	*Female*	*Total:*
Cityteam	7	8	*15*
Center Parcs	3	7	*10*
SSCA	6	1	*7*
Total:	*16*	*16*	*32*

Project / age

Age	*16*	*17*	*18*	*19*	*20*	*21*	*22*	*23*	*24*	*(..)*	*27*	*Total:*
Cityteam	1	2	4	2	3		1	2				*15*
Center Parcs				2		5	2		1			*10*
SSCA			1	2		1		2			1	*7*
Total	*1*	*2*	*5*	*6*	*3*	*6*	*3*	*4*	*1*		*1*	*32*

Age / gender

Age❖	*Male*	*Female*	*Total:*
16		1	*1*
17		2	*2*
18	3	2	*5*
19	2	4	*6*
20	2	1	*3*
21	2	4	*6*
22	2	1	*3*
23	4		*4*
24		1	*1*
(-)			
27	1		*1*
Total:	*16*	*16*	*32*

- Ages refer to time of first interview.

Education / gender

Level of education	Male	Female	Total:
At most primary education°	4	3	7
Lower secondary level[1]	7	5	12
Higher secondary / compulsory level[2]	2	6	8
Higher education	1		1
Unknown	2	2	4
Total:	16	16	32

° Includes early school-leavers at the compulsory level and those still studying at compulsory level.
[1] Lower secondary level = successfully finished lower secondary education: includes early school-leavers at the higher levels and those still studying at higher levels.
[2] Successfully finished compulsory level of schooling: higher general secondary education, pre-university education or middle level vocational training.

Project / level of education

Level of education (diploma)	At most primary°	Lower secondary level[1]	Higher secondary / compulsory level[2]	Higher education	Unknown	Total:
Cityteam	5	6			4	15
Center Parcs	1	3	6			10
SSCA	1	3	2	1		7
Total:	7	12	8	1	4	28

° Includes early school-leavers at the compulsory level and those still studying at compulsory level.
[1] Lower secondary level = successfully finished lower secondary education: includes early school-leavers at the higher levels and those still studying at higher levels.
[2] Successfully finished compulsory level of schooling: higher general secondary education, pre-university education or middle level vocational training.

Type of interview and interview dates

Project # / name	Individual	Focus group	Date interview(s)	Male / Female	Age at time of first interview	Interviewers
Project 1: Cityteam						
F.		*	17-12-'01	F	19	WP, AMR
R.		*	17-12-'01	M	20	WP, AMR
S.		*	17-12-'01	M	22	WP, AMR
K.		*	17-12-'01	F	16	WP, AMR

D.		*	22-01-'02	F	19	WP, AMR
J.		*	22-01-'02 (1) 28-03-'03 (2)	M	18	WP, AMR WP
L.		*	22-01-'02 (1) 28-03-'03 (2)	F	20	WP, AMR WP
W.		*	22-01-'02	M	20	WP, AMR
P.		*	17-01-'02	M	18	WP, AMR
G.		*	17-01-'02	F	17	WP, AMR
D.	*		12-02-'02	F	17	WP, AMR
C.		*	**20-08-'03**	**F**	**18**	**WP**
L.		*	**20-08-'03**	**M**	**18**	**WP**
F.		*	**20-08-'03**	**F**	**23**	**WP**
E.		*	**20-08-'03**	**F**	**23**	**WP**
Project 2: Center Parcs						
B.	*		18-02-'02	F	24	WP, MdB
Y.	*		18-02-'02	M	19	WP, MdB
B.	*		18-02-'02	M	21	WP, MdB
R.	*		18-02-'02 (1) 22-07-'03 (2)	M	22	WP, MdB WP
K.	*		22-02-'02	F	19	WP, MdB
P.	*		22-02-'02 (1) 02-04-'03 (2)	F	22	WP, MdB WP
D.	*		22-02-'02	F	21	WP, MdB
C.	*		22-02-'02 (1) 18-03-'03 (2)	F	21	WP, MdB WP
S.	*		**18-03-'03**	**M**	**21**	**WP**
J.	*		**18-03-'03**	**M**	**21**	**WP**
Project 3: SSCA						
J.		*	13-05-'02 (1) 15-01-'03 (2)	M	21	WP, AMR WP, MdB
M.		*	13-05-'02 (1) 15-01-'03 (2)	M	19	WP, AMR WP, MdB
M.	*		13-05-'02 (1) 05-03-'03 (2)	M	18	WP, AMR WP, MdB
D.		*	15-05-'02 (1) 25-02-'03 (2)	M	23	WP, AMR WP, MdB
W.		*	15-05-'02 (1) 25-02-'03 (2)	M	23	WP, AMR WP, MdB
M.	*		07-05-'02 (1) 30-01-'03 (2)	F	19	WP, AMR WP, MdB
D.	*		06-05-'02 (1) 17-02-'03 (2)	M	27	WP, AMR WP, MdB

- **Bold** text refers to replacement of original participant due to sample drop out.
- (1) refers to date of first interview; (2) refers to date of second interview.

- (*) refers to interview type (individual / focus group) during second interview if different from first interview.
- Interviewers: Wim Plug (WP), Anne-Marie Roordink (AMR) and Manuela du Bois-Reymond (MdB).

Status of interviewees during second interview round (WP5)

	Still in programme	Dropped out	Left after completion	Unknown
Project 1: Cityteam				
F.				*
R				*
S.				*
K.				*
D.		*		
J.		*		
L.		*		
W.			*	
P.				*
G.				*
D.		*		
C.	*			
L.			*	
F.	*			
E.	*			
Project 2: Center Parcs				
B.		*		
Y.		*		
B.		*		
R.	*			
C.	*			
P.	*			
K.		*		
D.		*		
J.	*			
S.	*			
Project 3: SSCA				
J.			*	
M.			*	
M.			*	
D.			*	
W.			*	
M.			*	
D.			*	

ANNEX 3: PROJECT WORKER / EXPERT INTERVIEWS

Cityteam		
Name	*Position*	*Interviewers*
E. V.	Director of Cityteam.	WP
M. P.	Coach at Cityteam location Rotterdam.	WP, AMR
I. T.	Coach at Cityteam location Utrecht.	WP, AMR
C. O.	Former coach and program manager of Cityteam.	WP, AMR
R. V.	Youth consultant of former public youth consultancy TnW, municipality of Zoetermeer.	WP, MdB
F. D.	Director of former public youth consultancy agency TnW, municipality of Zoetermeer.	WP, MdB
P. A.	Manager at FORTIS banking and insurance company, in charge of private funding of Cityteam through FORTIS, Utrecht.	WP, MdB
M. D.	Sales assistant at the head office of the Timberland clothing company Europe (based in Belgium), also in charge of dealing with issues surrounding Timberlands' sponsorship of Cityteam.	WP (e-mail)
Center Parcs		
W. O.	Director of vocational training center; Helicon Helmond.	WP, MdB
C. H.	Manager in charge of trainers and coaches, Center Parcs.	WP
G. H.	Program / training co-ordinator; Helicon Helmond.	WP
J. H.	Trainer-coach Center Parcs (in the area of swimming pool assistance).	WP, MdB
M. H.	Trainer-coach Center Parcs (in the area of shop / retail assistance).	WP, MdB
Starters Service Centre Almere (SSCA)		
B. B.	Consultant SSCA, Almere.	WP, MdB
K. R.	Director SSCA, Almere.	WP, MdB

- Interviewers: Wim Plug (WP), Anne-Marie Roordink (AMR) and Manuela du Bois-Reymond (MdB).