Advising local networks of 3rd sector initiatives: job creation for (disadvantaged) young people in the area of social and youth services

coordinated by

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Executive Summary

During the period of the TSEP project (15.12.98 – 15.9.00) all 4 partners carried out their work plan in time and successfully regarding the project objectives, which had to be achieved (s. case studies 1-4). All partners created new networks with Third Sector (TS) organizations, all partners analysed these organizations respectively and the views of the professionals and the young people employed in these organisations during this period. With regard to young people involved, the planned number (65) was exceeded (145) although most jobs were limited in duration. The organisations and the young people have been encouraged to engage in self-evaluation Through elements of further training and the creation of new communication structures between the actors, an advanced level of consciousness of TS organisations - regarding potentials and abilities to create jobs - could be raised and developed.

Increased awareness of the necessity of a greater responsibility in TS organisations to act as job creators- and the persuasion of all TS organisations involved in the research process - can be regarded as one of the main results of the joint research process. This includes a detailed knowledge about the constraints TS organisations are confronted with in different systems, especially regarding the expected potentials to act as job creators. These external – and sometimes internal – barriers are especially relevant for Germany, Ireland and United Kingdom. Italy (but probably only the region of *Emilia Romagna*) shows a particular predisposition for TS organisations to represent conditions that are more favourable for job creation in many respects.

The main constraints generally are seen in the lack of official and societal recognition of the specific resources and the abilities of the Third Sector to raise and combine with other sectors in regard to social capital within communities; the lack of flexible financial instruments; and the lack of a legal framework allowing fiscal privileges. If there is to be change within the organisational structures of TS bodies then the gaining of knowledge about all these constraints has to be seen as an absolutely necessary precondition if they are to act as more independent organisations able to act as job creators.

Beyond these barriers we found that TS organisations dispose of important resources to enhance "employability" for unemployed (disadvantaged) young people in the sense of a multi-faceted, comprehensive support of subjectively relevant perspectives and competencies. But this kind of employability is different from the official discourse. In our context, it represents much more of a personal support given to young people. This kind of employability can only be achieved if young people are involved in "real" work and community experience, if they can contribute to socially useful activities and participate in subjective meaningful actions, and if they are personally supported by adults who believe in them and who represent different ways of allowing them to function as "adults". Being involved in such working and learning settings means to most of the young people concerned: a sense of being empowered, regaining motivation and self-consciousness, getting an idea about how to progress in high-risk transitions. These settings help to regain the so-called "intrinsic motivation" as one of the most important resources in pursuing personal and professional careers.

Therefore, it is vitally necessary to promote (i) awareness of the structural constraints impinging on the ability to effectively act as job creator and (ii) the need to increase consciousness about this different type of employability that TS organisations have to develop a different profile as regards young people.

1. Recommendations concerning the internal structure of TS organisations

communication between the professionals of different TS organizations have to be supported in order to promote consciousness regarding their potential as regards young people's empowerment, their "employability" and their potentials to act as job creators; these communication processes should be moderated by an external person or organisation in order to be experienced as structural support and promotion, to develop new strategies for agency;

joint further training revealed to be an appropriate means for such moderated communication:

self-evaluation is the prerequisite to enter these processes. We recommend that TS organizations give their employees enough space to do this;

Openness towards potential partners in the field of youth training and youth work (or towards other TS organisations) is of crucial importance as regards job creation. Sometimes it is as much or even more important than fund-raising. To be open as a partner in regional networks means: to be able to offer something, to listen to the concerns of the partners, to react on them, to act together in fruitful cooperation.

In order to be relevant for young people's concerns and to be attractive for them in their transition process, the decisive criteria for partnerships have to be young people's needs. In the long run the organizations themselves will benefit from this priority.

The networks developed by this project between research organisations, training and administrative institutions and child or youth work organizations revealed to be helpful to capitalize resources and to find new ways of funding and/or financing. These networks should proceed with their further plans of job creation and enlargement of regional schemes.

TS organizations have to be aware that they fulfil important tasks within the community. They should learn to use this as a good argument (e.g. for public project funding) without overemphasizing it by provoking too high expectations. E.g.: these organizations could act as job creators without being able to solve the problems of youth unemployment within a community.

TS organizations and their projects represent a safe space for young people but at the same time, they should prepare them for the realities of the labour market. This means: give young people responsibility for their own actions and their consequences, offer structured settings of work with clear work divisions, but also: pay them a proper wage, not a training allowance.

The TS organization must look at the labour market its participants are going into. What does 'confidence' mean in this context? What competencies will they need to survive? How can the project provide these competencies?

The transition from a TS organisation to further employment is a key threshold. This transition could be facilitated by effective partnerships with other TS organizations (see above), employers and employment service, e.g. in the concluding period of a limited employment project young people could be introduced to other working environments (and potential employers) through supervised work placements.

Young people doing jobs or stages within TS organizations need to be seen as 'employees' in any case. This status encourages their further participation in work and the experience helps their future job prospects. E.g. to be aware of rights and duties

during the job/the stage helps to raise their voices/to participate in future working contexts.

2. Recommendations concerning external issues necessary to enhance role as job creators

More official information about the already existing employment schemes - also regarding their positive effects - for a broader public recognition.

A political, scientific and public discussion about the potentials of the Third Sector organizations (e.g. organizing and distributing social capital as precondition of job creation) to foster official recognition.

Official acknowledgement of the limited jobs (certification) and if already given official recognition of the existing possibilities of further employment within the TS organization ie; "job-paths"

Recognition of the jobs as a part of a further apprenticeship, professional training and further career options within professional associations and trade corporations.

Financial playgrounds (das sind Spielplätze, ich schlage vor: scopes oder means) which allow "unusual" further employment on a flexible time basis.

Development of a legal framework which allows TS organizations to change their structure from a typical TS organization (which for example is not allowed to make any profits and traditionally don't foster economic objectives) to an intermediate organization which is able to combine social <u>and</u> economic objectives.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Project objectives

A. General objective

The overall objective is to create new opportunities of employment by advising local networks of initiatives in the 3rd sector in the area of social and youth services (e.g. youth work, youth policy, community work for young people).

Expected benefits for the 3rd sector organisations:

- * New experiences in the examination of the field of employment and work ,
- * self-confidence in being a labour market actor,
- * the possibility to enhance their own work by self-evaluation.

Expected benefits for the young people employed in the 3rd sector organisations:

- * employment in a field to which they often have a confident relationship already,
- * employment in a field, which is able to support them with their (potential) problems at work

B. Research objectives

- * Analysis of possible links between youth unemployment and the structures in the 3rd sector, in the context of social and youth services/young people in Europe.
- * Embedding regional reports in a wider European context (workshop); initiating an intercultural process in search for solutions and `best practices'.
- * Local reports analysing the structure of youth unemployment and 3rd sector activities; identification of problems.
- * Comparison of results in a wider European context.
- * Producing tools for self-evaluation.
- * Analysis of the process of self-evaluation.

C. Action objectives

- * To enable organisation in the 3rd sector to act as job creators.
- * To integrate about 65 disadvantaged young people into the labour market.

- * To create local networks of organisations in the area of social and youth services.
- * To advise responsibilities of the networks and to support them in developing new structures in the network.

1.2. Presentation of partners

- 1. IRIS (Institut für Regionale Innovation und Sozialforschung e.V., Tübingen, Germany
- 2. GENESIS srl, Bologna, Italy
- 3. Hope Street, International Arts, Training and Development, Liverpool, United Kingdom
- 4. University College Cork (UCC): Department for Applied Social Sciences, Cork, Ireland

For a more detailed description of the partners see the case study of each partner.

1.3. Presentation of overall approach

1.3.1. Common research approach

Within our first transnational meeting we developed a common research approach. The agreements found regarding research contents are:-

- a. a subject oriented approach: The term "disadvantaged" doesn't fit well to the real situation of young people. The term is more or less a label which stigmatises young people, and is not able to describe their situations and needs. It is necessary to develop other criteria describing the specific situation young people are involved in. Furthermore this means that the evaluation has to focus on the individual situations of unemployed young people.
- b. a redefinition of the term "unemployment": The definition of "unemployment" is dependant on regional, political and cultural contexts. Being unemployed means very different things in the four countries (involved in this project) and therefore isn't appropriate as a common term (e.g.: the high rates of youth/young adult unemployment in the Emilia Romagna need to be off-set against the high numbers staying in their parent's home; traditionally very high rates of unemployment in Liverpool, so that we can now speak about a "new level of normality". Full-time employment has very different connotations in a contemporary context. If we don't want to reproduce these old-fashioned and unobtainable notions of the full time job, then we have to think about "employment" in a new way.
- c. regarding "empowerment" as an important stakeholder (element) of job creation: The concept of "empowerment" has to be proved regarding the sustainable effects it causes
 - to improve socio-cultural competencies of young people as preconditions to get into the labour market
 - to inspire Third Sector (TS) organisations acting as a job creator.

1.3.2. Used methodology

a. Qualitative interviews with experts and young people

- b. Written questionnaires
- c. Self evaluation
- d. Video productions
- e. Regional further training
- f. Transnational partnerships
- g. Common transnational evaluation

1.4. Theoretical introduction: Struggling for autonomy and recognition within youth transitions

This chapter will deal with the increasing complexity and ambivalence of transitions between youth and adulthood, which has been a recurring feature of recent research concerned with the prolongation of the youth phase (Cavalli and Galland, 1995). In a rapidly changing world the transition into adulthood is not a single process. The transition is itself constituted by a whole spectrum of transitions taking place in various contexts, all of which follow their own rules, whilst creating their own sense of normality. In addition, such transitions are located in their own time and space; challenging individuals to negotiate their own paths. However, in public discourses as well as in research, the transition from youth to adulthood is often reduced to the transition between school and work (see Cohen and Ainley, 2000). These transitions are ambivalent insofar as they are characterised at one and the same time by cultural autonomy and prolonged dependency, notably with regard to housing and economic dependency. In what follows we will outline the structural demands of these new transitions, but instead of leaving our analysis there (as some youth research tends to do) we will go on to address the active ways in which young people relate to the structural constraints on their lives.

As a first step we will have a closer look at the different contexts of transitions between youth and adulthood and the processes of re-structuring that they represent. We will try to identify the main risks and demands deriving from these structural contexts. Secondly, we will focus on the solutions and strategies young men and women develop themselves: young women and men have to cope with this complexity individually, they are forced to find solutions for problems resulting from sometimes contradictory developments in different transitional settings, they have to be inventive in order to reconcile different levels of normality. Thirdly, we will outline what prerequisites young people need for making their solutions successful in the context of resources, competencies and learning environments. We will then conclude this section by presenting a hypothesis concerned with how far the third sector offers the potential to empower young people in coping with the sorts of transitional demands under discussion.

The de-standardisation and fragmentation of transitions

Various types of transitions occur in young people's lives, all of which share the characteristics of an individual balancing subjective aspirations within structural constraints: the transition to work, the transition to independence (from the family), the transition towards responsible and fulfilling partnerships and sexuality, the transition towards an individual lifestyle, and the transition towards citizenship. A horizontal objective, integral to all biographic transitions, is the construction of sexual and gender identity: what does it mean to become a man or woman?

The above transitions interact, often in a contradictory fashion, and the individual has to navigate and to negotiate them the best he or she can, notably in the context of family and intergenerational relationships, sexual and gender relations, education and training, the labour market- locally and regionally- as well as in cultural contexts and most importantly, in the context of youth cultures. Resources for negotiation and navigation differ significantly according to gender, social backgrounds and ethnic and cultural origins. From a theoretical point of view it is therefore important, notably in the context of post-modernism, that lines of social segmentation are regarded in relation to gender and ethnicity, social background and age, for instance (Bradley, 1996). Young people's biographies seem to be characterised, above all, by paradox. Young people have to cope with a situation in which they are both young and adult at the same time, but in different life contexts, or in which they are none of the above. They can indeed be said to live in a form of transitional purgatory. Many young people simply feel that they do not fit in. For instance, in their origin-culture, young Turkish females are regarded as adults much earlier than their German friends. In the dominant culture in which they live, however, they are treated as young people without any rights. This represents a source of considerable confusion and uncertainty. As Bauman (1995) argues this can be interpreted as a consequence of the fragmentation of individual biographies and social life (Bauman, 1995); a feature of contemporary life which is apparently especially pertinent to the everyday experiences of young people who have often been described as barometers of social change (Jones and Wallace, 1992).

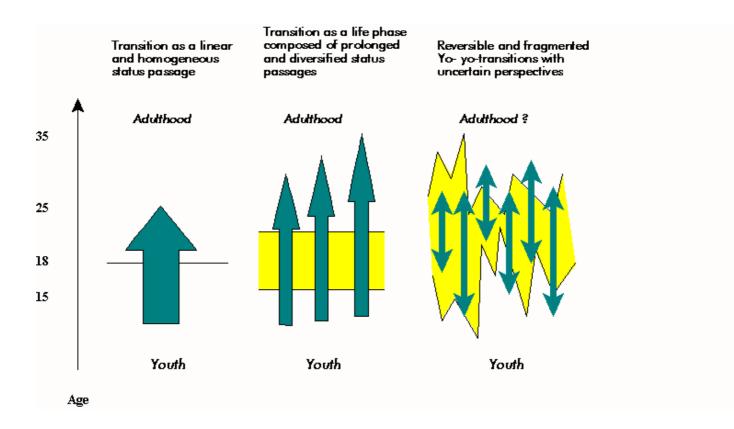
Perhaps the most important characteristic of youth transitions is that young people are obliged to develop appropriate and complimentary coping strategies which are sophisticated enough to cope with the contradictory nature of their own experiences:

"In other words, young people's lives seem to bounce back and forth like a yo-yo. These oscillatory and reversible movements suggest that what has happened is the "yo-yo-isation" of the transition to adulthood. As if young people had gone to live in the skies and migrated like birds" (Pais, 2000).

Transitions and life courses in general lose their linearity: they have no clear beginning and no clear ending any more, their borders are getting more and more hazy. The very legitimacy of notions of 'youth' and 'adulthood' have been undermined inasmuch as such transitions overlap with and undermine the life-phases we would traditionally associate with youth, adulthood and old age. Transitions no longer appear to represent secure and defined status passages. These status passages are no longer clear-cut and are often, in fact, reversed. Routes towards independence often have to be rejected because of unemployment, inappropriate educational choices or broken relationships (Walther et al., 1999).

Biographies and transitions *diversify* and *pluralize*. The linear and secure status passage model of 'youth' is superseded by a fragmented and reversible model and can therefore be conceptualised as a process of *de-standardisation*, as illustrated in figure 1:

Figure 1: The 'yo-yo-isation' of transitions between youth and adulthood



In order to avoid the limitations associated with the description of an overly rigidly youth phase, we will recycle the metaphor of the 'yo-yo' (Pais, 1996, Peters and Bois-Reymond, 1996), and in doing so we intend to highlight the particular character of de-standardised transitions. Such 'yo-yoing' is the end product of general processes of modernization which dissolve institutionalised assumptions of normality such as', regular work', 'family', 'male and female life courses', (which are themselves less and less useful as reliable points of reference for young people in the process of transition and biography construction). The promise of guaranteed stable occupations given by education and training have, in recent years, proved to be unrealistic, at least for a large proportion of young people whose social situation pre-structures the resources and opportunities they have available to them. Young people therefore appear to be experiencing 'old' trajectories of inequality alongside 'new' risks and opportunities. Sometimes a lack of social resources may provoke the (apparent) 'falling back' into traditional gender role models or, alternatively, nourish the wish to live a 'normal' life, which is still shared by a majority of young people. Young people endow the insecurities and possibilities associated with transitions, with their own meanings (Allatt and Yeandle, 1992; du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Walther, 2000). As a result new conventions may emerge: young people (and notably those in particular geographical areas) may actually expect not to secure a job and as such a perilous route into adulthood is normalised.

Risks and Demands in the Context of School-to-Work-Transitions

Transitions between school and work have for a long time been subject of both research and politics. The (reductive) concentration on this part of the transition derives from the constitution of modern societies as labour societies in which social integration highly

depends on gainful employment. In contrast to rather smooth transitions in the Fordist era, the contraction of labour markets since the 1970s and 1980s has exposed young people to risks of marginalization. In this respect four main patterns have been identified:

• the pressure on European labour markets caused by processes of technological rationalisation, neo-liberal shareholder value-structures and intensified global competition. the increased labour market participation of women due to the need of independent sources of income and cultural emancipation.

the structure of labour markets and welfare systems constructed as a means of protecting male breadwinners rather than young people entering the labour market.

the mismatch between competencies and qualifications provided by the education and training systems and the labour market due to modernization of production and the shift from the manufacturing to the service economy (Reich, 1993).

In Europe the effects of these trends have been visible by dramatically rising rates of youth unemployment. In most countries young people represent the largest age group of unemployed people. From a European point of view, however, we find remarkable differences: youth unemployment varies between 4% in Austria and as much as 40% in Spain. The picture diversifies even more if one looks at the social composition of unemployment. Whereas in some southern European countries the rates for young women are much higher than for men (e.g. Italy) we find the opposite in Great Britain (Roberts, 1995). These differences are influenced by general labour market performance in the respective countries, cultural patterns (e.g. regarding female employment), and by the actual constitution of particular transition systems. In Germany, for instance, youth unemployment has been always lower than the total unemployment rate because the dual apprenticeship system of employment training and education at school integrated a high percentage of young men and women in transition. In southern Europe, and also in Great Britain until the late 1970s, school leavers entered the labour market directly and were trained on the job. Since the end of full employment the youth labour market has been most affected by re-structuring (Pugliese, 1993; Roberts, 1995).

Table 1: Change of status of young people in Germany, Ireland, Italy, and the United Kingdom and in the European Union between 1987 (1990) and 1995 in %

	Germany		Irel	and It		Italy		United Kingdom		pean ion
	males	female	males	female	Males	female	males	female	males	Female
		S		S		S		S		S
Active										
1987	39,0	38,0	53,0	46,0	50,0	40,0	56,0	50,0	47,0	41,0
1995	33,0	32,0	43,0	36,0	41,0	30,0	50,0	43,0	38,0	33,0
Unemp	loyed									
1990	4,3	4,7	20,4	18,2	23,3	32,4	11,9	9,6	13,9	17,6
1995	8,9	8,7	20,7	17,9	29,1	38,7	18,0	13,3	20,1	23,2
In edu	In education or training									
1987	59,0	55,0	45,0	46,0	46,0	44,0	42,0	36,0	50,0	48,0
1995	65,0	61,0	54,0	48,0	52,0	56,0	47,0	44,0	58,0	58,0

Source: European Commission 1997a; 1998

Despite structural differences, the inherent difficulties in entering the labour market have led to an increase in educational participation across Europe. Not only have individuals stayed longer at school in order to expand their qualification profile, but governments have also actively introduced policies to make young people more "employable" (European Commission, 1997c). A major policy priority has focused on the implementation and/or development of vocational training systems, either as a part of the public school system or in different models of company-based apprenticeship systems. Alongside these 'mainstream' training opportunities, various schemes for "disadvantaged" young people have been designed. These policies start from the assumption that a certain percentage of young people fail in entering regular training and employment due to individual deficiencies, which have to be compensated in order that such young people are 'mature' or 'prepared' enough for participation in regular training programmes. However, the status of such schemes varies nationally as there are also examples (e.g. Italy, United Kingdom) in which participation in pre-vocational schemes leads to accredited partial qualifications which can be combined with further education or training (European Commission, 1997b).

European research has shown that integrative policies underlie institutional assumptions of normality (e.g. the legitimacy of individual aspirations, individual ascriptions of failure etc.) which, combined with their bureaucratic application, may actually lead to "misleading trajectories" (EGRIS, 2001). As a result, the criteria of eligibility for participation may have a too narrow (or too wide) definition of the target group. This leads to the exclusion of individuals. Schemes aimed at the compensation of individual deficiencies may well therefore have a negative impact insofar as they may actually encourage stigmatisation. They may well restrict individuals' liberty of choice; whilst providing measures, which apparently do little more than contain the superfluous labour force in order to 'clean-up' or 'massage' the unemployment statistics. Such policies often reproduce discourses of full employment, standard work arrangements and standard biographies which are simply unrealistic on a political, economic and a personal level. The transitional systems in which young people operate are therefore dominated by a series of in-built assumptions to which young people have to adapt or they will perish.

For young women and men the main new demands are to orientate themselves and to cope with the risk of personal failure. As such, most young people, should they have the opportunity, actively try to postpone their entrance into the labour market. This might involve continuing school education, the pursuit of alternative educational tracks or taking on additional forms of study or training courses. The postponement of labour market entrance depends, however, on important prerequisites. Such a postponement is simply not possible for those who do not have the necessary qualifications; for those who are lacking family support; or for those coming from a traditional background, which discourages individual choice making. In addition, young people may not have access to welfare provisions, either because such provisions are non-existent or because- as individuals- they are ineligible. And by postponing entrance into the labour market, young people take the risk of pursuing ,misleading trajectories' and of actually worsening their original position. There is considerable danger of young people pursuing inflexible transitions, by for instance, becoming over-specialised and focused on specific careers which may be too competitive to provide a realistic possibility of a secure future. Young people may also be forced to widen their geographical horizons. In addition they are often forced to seriously consider how to best balance family obligations against personal ones. Meeting these demands requires social, financial and educational resources, which are simply not available to many young people. There are major variations in terms of the resources young people can call upon in order to cope with the demands of risky transitions, which cannot be dealt with as straightforwardly as may have been the case in the past. The danger here is that a reasonably hassle-free transition may be taken for granted- both institutionally and by the more informal support mechanisms called upon by young people- when the demands placed on young people are in actual fact very different to what they may have been previously, in terms of parental experience, for example.

A particular concern is that in the above circumstances, young people are liable to be demotivated. Being realistic about his or her employment potential may result in young people lowering their aspirations in advance. Many young people with limited qualifications may therefore take anything they can get. A coping strategy might therefore involve shifting one's personal aspirations and expectations to other areas of life and by doing so replacing a subjective professional orientation with a mere 'job orientation'. For instance, a young person may aspire to work as a bar-person in a trendy bar or club. The ambiguity of such processes of adaptation is clear: it either may work out as the (only) appropriate way to preserve one's self-motivation, dignity and self-confidence. Alternatively, it may encourage a process of disintegration and/or marginalisation.

A key phrase here is that of 'individualization'. Economic and social change is such that failure in the transition to work has become a general risk, which has to be dealt with on an individual basis. This problem is sustained by institutions, which perceive young people as "carriers" of deficiencies, which 'cause' such problems. Getting used to a system in which young people are rarely respected and in which they are more often than not perceived to be troublesome will encourage a set of circumstances in which they individual conceives of counselling agencies or training opportunities in a negative light. In contrast, young people actually often feel pressured to accept specific options in order not to lose social benefits. More generally, the opportunities available to young people are simply not relevant to their everyday lives. The danger, therefore, is that a situation is created in which young people are obliged to accept the options on offer or their benefits will be cut.

The context of family and generation relationships

Families play an especially important role as arbiters of the transition process in general, but more specifically as part of the transition from the family of origin to an independent life. Under conditions of late modernity, transitions are related to and/or take place in the context of the family, which in recent years has become increasingly diverse. All over Europe young people are staying at home longer. But despite the continuing reliance of young people on the family of origin there are big differences between different contexts in Europe on the character of such reliance:

In southern Europe (Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Greece; to certain extent also Ireland) the convention is to stay at home until the individual starts his or her own family; this is enforced by a lack of welfare provisions for young people which serves to reproduce a culture of "familism."

In northern Europe (Great Britain, Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries) the convention (at least for working class young people) is to move out from the parent's home at 16 or 18 at the point at which young people would aspire to enter the labour market. Prolonged stay with the family of origin is enforced on young people who have decreasing access to labour market opportunities.

In some other countries with a corporatist welfare regime such as Germany, the situation falls somewhere in between. Culturally, transitions are closely associated with autonomous housing, which in practice means leaving one's parents home. However, welfare provisions are conditioned by prior contributions to the social insurance, i.e. regular employment. Individual access to the social assistance only starts from 27 years of age. Many young people are still dependent on their parent's support, a dependency not necessarily limited solely to economic support (see Dey and Morris, 1999; Bendit et al. 1999).

Staying longer at the family home is often viewed as a 'necessary evil' as far as many young people are concerned. But the relative harmony associated with living at home, which in some respects offers an easy option, may camouflage the reality, providing a buffer against the real world. Dependence on the family unit may therefore simply postpone the inevitable whilst serving to blind young people from the actuality of their circumstances. In particular, many commentators have identified significant gender differences in this context (du Bois-Reymond, 1995). Young men and young women living in their parents' home are likely to take on different responsibilities in the family home, leading in general to a clearer domestic role for young women. As such, young women's subjective experience of family life means that they are more liable to internalise domestic and caring responsibilities. In the case of divorce, for instance, the role of children very often change, and in most cases, it is the daughter, who is expected to give practical support as regards household and child-care but also on an emotional and psychological level. Young women often become sociopsychological clearing institutions for their single parents (Holland 1990; Stauber 1999). Young people may often, therefore, find themselves within the boundaries of the family. On the other hand, the suffocating nature of domestic responsibility has resulted in young females leaving the parental home earlier than their male counterparts who have much more freedom and personal space at home.

In considering the above discussion there is a considerable need to re-conceptualise intergenerational relationships both at a societal and an individual level. Above all, young people should not be assumed to be- or be portrayed as- autonomous agents. Despite the apparent freedoms of a so-called risk society and the ideological aspirations of an individualised society they are still very much dependant upon their parents. In these circumstances young people's aspirations for autonomy remain important. Young people are constantly confronted with dilemmas as to how to balance the inconsistencies and contradictions that exist between autonomy and dependence.

The context of gender relationships and sexuality

As we hinted above, transitions are differentiated according to gender. Particular social structures reproduce segmentation and hierarchies between men and women either in institutionalised contexts such as in school, labour market and welfare system, but also in non-institutional contexts in terms of peer and family relationships for instance (West and Zimmerman, 1987). But beyond this, transitions are inherently concerned with how to live as a man or a woman. This constitutes more than simply constructing a gendered identity. Questions of gender impinge upon all aspects of identity. The process of becoming a man or a woman is actually often influenced by a limited variety of images. Young people have few 'living examples' or role models to call upon as adequate points of reference. Those images that are available, notably through the media, tend to be one-dimensional and unrealistic. They appear to lie at two extremes: eg; between domesticity and 'girl power'. In these circumstances there is a danger that traditional gender roles are maintained and that young people are not exposed to the broader range of possibilities, which in itself is an important aspect of a successful transition (Böhnisch and Winter, 1993; Leccardi, 1996; Peters and du

Bois-Reymond, 1996; du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Stauber, 1999). The problem here is that the labour market and public institutions in general are still based on a traditional gender-specific standard biography. On the other hand the pressures on young people are significant. There are significant demands on young women and men alike to overcome gender hierarchies in school-to-work-transitions, and yet in reality there is very little chance that such autonomy will be realised. As far as sexuality is concerned, for instance, genuine questions remain taboo in an atmosphere in which young women *have* to appear sexually sophisticated. And yet teenage pregnancy remains a major problem throughout Europe. Meanwhile, young men are mostly concerned with the reconciliation of different, even contradictory demands: to fulfil the role of the 'new man', whilst simultaneously fitting in with traditional patterns of masculinity (for example amongst their male peers). The development of gender identity in the sense of becoming a 'right' (or normal) man or woman is getting more and more complex for both males and females.

Demands in the context of migration and ethnic minorities

Another important influence on the construction of many young people's identities is migration and ethnicity. Young people from migrant or minority backgrounds have particular difficulties in fitting in with the dominant culture. In contrast to the representatives of the dominant culture who *may* interact with other cultures if and when they want to, representatives of migrant and minority cultures constantly have to tackle the dominant culture (see Rommelspacher, 1992). To young migrants and members of ethnic minorities family and generational relationships represent a constant preoccupation. As far as so-called 'third-generation' migrants are concerned school-to-work transitions are influenced by a number of key questions: legal status (in the context of migration); the future perspectives of the family (between staying in the immigration country and returning to the country of origin; between orientating towards the dominant culture or to cling to diasporic contexts); low school qualifications (due to language problems and lack of family support), and by the ethnic segmentation of labour market and training system (due to discriminatory practices of both labour force recruitment and vocational guidance). The pressures on young migrants are such that the problems associated with conventional transitions are magnified.

Demands deriving from youth cultural contexts

It might well be argued that young people perceive the youth cultural contexts they are involved in as the most important aspects of their everyday lives. Young people's lifestyles represent an important way of belonging, of developing communal meaning,

"First, there is the simple selection of pre-existing items that can most easily be measured as consumption patterns. Next, tastes (and distastes) form a structure of habits and attitudes. Finally, stylisation refers to the process of active style production where values, meanings and artefacts are connected. These three dimensions of the way people orient themselves towards subcultures, genres or cultural arenas constitute a third way to discern vertical levels of lifestyles. Other levels and dimensions may also be constructed, pointing at the highly complex and flexible character of the lifestyle concept" (Fornäs, 1995, p. 109).

In the above context it is important to consider how far biographical perspectives and transitional decisions depend on criteria emerging from peer relationships and lifestyles. Peer relationships are particularly important given the ambiguities of "fitting in and sticking out" (Miles et al., 1998). Fashion and leisure are not trivial activities but provide an important background in which young people make key decisions about their futures. The demands on young people, which arise from youth cultural involvement, are twofold: they have to orientate themselves in the landscape of lifestyles that surround them, creating and

occupying a niche they consider as being integrative as well as individual. In this sense youth lifestyles therefore provide an arena within which young people can at least attempt to assert their own agency. This agency is a reflection of young people's broader relationship with social structures and the transition process in general (Miles, 2000).

All the above aspects of the transition process are significant. They are also mutually dependant. They interact with each other, they have to be coped with simultaneously, despite often contradicting each another, thus making transitions ever more problematic for young people. The relationships between these various domains are not necessarily synchronised which can, in itself, lead to frictions and asymmetry. There may, for example, be considerable demands on young people to consume in particular ways, and yet such demands may conflict with the resources provided by the parental support upon which young people are so dependant.

These aspects of re-structuring transitions can be summarised as de-standardisation in the sense that transitions are less and less predictable and increasingly risky in nature. At the same time however, de-standardisation and individualisation do not mean that individual transitions are only subject to individual decisions and agency. It is still undoubtedly the case that "...transitions are constituted by trajectories, and transitions are embedded in trajectories" (Hagestad, 1991, p. 23). This means that young people's access to spaces of action and resources are still structured by processes of social reproduction. This has been conceptualised as "structured individualization" (Evans and Heinz, 1994; Roberts et al., 1994). Apart from 'inherited' capital however, in the course of their transitions, young women and men increasingly depend on institutions of welfare and education. Due to the difficulties facing them at the stage when they might expect to enter the labour market, they are forced to participate in training and employment schemes, to use information and guidance facilities or to claim social benefits. This dependence puts them in the midst of a contradictory process of de-standardisation and institutionalisation (Beck, 1992). As on the one hand state institutions are based on more or less narrow assumptions regarding what constitutes the 'norm' (Böhnisch, 1994) and on the other upon bureaucratic procedures, young people in prolonged and fragmented yo-yo transitions may not fit into institutional criteria of eligibility. They may be too young or too old, unemployed for a too long or a too short time. There therefore exists what can be described as a "socio-political vacuum" (Müller, 1996) between youth and adulthood in which increasing numbers of young women and young men are trapped. As institutional support is often neither accessible nor appropriate to complex constellations of everyday life, young people have to 'invent' individual coping strategies. These necessarily do not fit into institutional logics and young people tend to be considered "undeserving" (clearly visible in the case of rights and responsibilities with regard to the acceptance of 'any' job versus the entitlement to unemployment benefit) or even deviant, as a result.

This leads us to a crucial point: transitions have to be analysed according to a *structural* dimension but at the same time, are negotiated actively between individuals and institutional and labour market gate-keepers (cf. Heinz, 1992). The mobilisation of labour markets; the decreasing employment guarantees provided by education and training; or the diversification of life conditions between autonomy and dependence on the one side, remain important. But so do the shifts occurring between youth and adulthood with regard to self-concepts, decision-taking, attitudes and lifestyles, in so far as they are bound to reflect structural transitions. There are clearly ambiguities and contradictions that link structure and agency. Whilst apparently increasingly autonomous- and despite impressions to the contrary-the scope for genuine choice is more and more constrained at the structural level.

Agency in Transition

Having identified the degree of agency in young people's lives as being especially important, this section will focus on two key prerequisites for agency: social space and social competencies. The fact that young people's transitions to adulthood are no longer straightforward or predictable means they are constantly confronted with fundamentally important existential questions: "What does this mean to me?" "Is this where I want to go?" Authors as Alheit (1995) and Böhnisch (1997) have referred to this as biographisation. Under conditions of individualisation, biographies have to be constructed individually and this requires particular knowledge and competencies. Not surprisingly, bur perhaps misleadingly, young women and men perceive themselves as being well informed, well oriented, and as having no real problems (Stauber, 1999). Here we can identify important gender differences: research on female socialisation and on young women's life plans has shown that girls and young women develop biographical consciousness and reflexivity very early on. Young women's life courses and trajectories in modern societies are structured by a fundamental contradiction. Culturally they are supposed, in theory at least, to have the same opportunities as men. In the relatively short period of two or three decades this has lead to the internalisation of work as being a self-evident part of female life by young women. This constitutes a relatively new normality for young women. In reality, however, this new normality is constantly threatened by restricted choices, lower income and limited support structures for reconciling work and family. Young women therefore are "experts of ambiguity". They are constantly having to address gender inequalities, while asserting themselves as human beings at all levels (Leccardi, 1996; Peters and du Bois-Reymonds, 1996; West and Zimmerman, 1987).

Precisely because there is an increasing tension between the reality of their living conditions and broader orientational demands, young people are obliged to find solutions. But this is easier said than done. In fact, young people are more likely to find "imaginary solutions" (Clarke et al., 1975; Helfferich, 1994); solutions which preserve agency and subjectivity, but which can only ultimately provide a symbolic means of transcending existing transitional conditions. Short term imaginary solutions can also, however, provide young people with a means for self-actualisation and are potentially motivationally important in facing up to the bigger problems.

At the very least, the sorts of 'solutions' young people pursue illustrate they are not simply passive recipients of structural change. They participate in education and training, they make decisions, whilst trying to keep their options open. And they engage in youth cultures in order to stylise and symbolise the decisions they take; as a means, in turn, of finding a place in society they consider as providing meaning. However, these 'solutions' do not always lead to social integration and can equally be one-dimensional or counter-productive. Young people may for instance feel insulated from broader structural conditions by partaking in a particular 'sub-cultural' lifestyle. But by doing so they may simply be prolonging their own exclusion.

Of particular concern here is the link between general social change and the need for identity work, which is most visible in transitions between youth and adulthood. Balancing equals agency and vice versa: agency shows itself in the balancing acts young people perform on a daily basis. Studies in youth research have shown that young people's life strategies can largely be characterised by a "step by step" or "wait and see" approach. They appear to want to negotiate and compromise with formal institutions, whilst keeping their

options open at the same time (Evans and Heinz, 1994; Pais, 1995; Buzzi et al., 1997; Walther, 2000). In this context, self-presentation and symbolic production provide an important means off asserting a person's self-identity. Strictly structurally oriented approaches to transitions should be avoided in so much as they underestimate the inventive agency of young women and men. However, balancing your identity implies more than symbolic production and self-presentation. Young people are actively reflexive;

"When identities - individual or collective, psychic, social or cultural - are mobilized and problematized, the ability and need to define oneself both increase. Reflexivity is intense in the life phase of adolescence and youth, where childhood is to be reworked into adulthood. It is also intensified among sub- or micro cultures, cultivating styles and forms of expression. And when epochal shifts are taking place, societal reflexivity is generally increased. In late modern youth culture, these focal points coincide" (Fornäs, 1995, p. 212).

Young people find themselves in a situation in which they are making everyday decisions that have long-term implications for their futures (Müller, 1996; Walther, 2000). There is indeed an argument for suggesting that post-modern identities are about actively avoiding commitment and stability (Bauman, 1995). Youth lifestyles often reflect the fragmented nature of both youth identities and the transitional systems in which such identities are constructed. Patchwork styles, for example, symbolise the need to avoid being fixed to one style, to one decision, to one biographic model. They illustrate the need to keep as many options as possible open, and of maintaining the capacity to react on changed situations, to stay flexible, to live what are in effect, patchwork biographies (Alheit, 1996).

Patch-worked as they are, lifestyles have become relevant for social integration in two primary senses:

- 1) Lifestyles are "individualised symbols of social reproduction" (Bourdieu, 1986; Neckel, 1991). Class divisions are arguably less clear-cut than they used to be. Lifestyles therefore represent an increasing important means of ascribing individuality. Individual identities are not, however, constructed individually. As Bourdieu (1986) points out, "... nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies" (p. 132).
- 2) Lifestyles provide a sense of belonging, meaning, and coherence. A lack of collective influence on an individual's lifestyles will intensify the need for a more ego-centred sense of identity. This project as a whole is concerned with strategies of social integration and learning in the context of the so-called third sector. This provides a useful arena in which to address the question of de-standardised transitions lifestyles. The sorts of transition and lifestyles settings we will present provide a means of creating what can be described as a 'sense of coherence' (Antonovsky, 1987). The third sector training programmes we will look at might therefore be said to provide modes of belonging and legitimate settings for the playing out of 'identity work' that can be shaped flexibly step-by-step according to individual needs: (cf. Keupp, 1997).

Research has shown that young adults perceive their life styles threatened by formal institutions as school, vocational counselling, training or social security - also if intended to provide support with regard to social integration. They prefer *informal* contexts and support relationships: family, friends, youth culture, and all contexts in which membership and participation can be negotiated and shaped individually. We do not want to equate identity work with individual involvement in informal contexts, but we want to say that *potentially*-and especially in youth transitions- informal contexts are an important means related to identity work, providing an important source of belonging, meaning, orientation, and

experimentation. We perceive informal contexts as underpinning the social arenas in which transitions take place and being closely linked to 'sociality' (Bauman, 1995), a term, which expresses the informal everyday-practice which actually creates society. It is clearly the case that social innovation and social transformation have to be located at least partly at the level of everyday agency. This is especially true in the case of young people whose agency continues to be underestimated.

In this perspective also the *third sector* can play an important role: *firstly*, the increase in employment in third sector can be seen as a diversification of entrance options to the labour market in general; secondly, individuals and especially young people in the third sector can make the experience to have something to give - without being subjected to either market rules or formal qualification regimentation; thirdly, tangentially the third sector is embedded in young people's life worlds or at least provides bridges of familiarity compared to the bureaucratic logics of state institutions; and fourthly, due to the lack of formalised structures, many third sector organisations are open for individually shaped forms of engagement and participation. The intention of this research is to begin to come to terms with some of the needs young people have in an ever changing world: the need to belong and to feel secure and in control of their own lives. It is for these reasons young people's orientations and practices have to be taken into account when researching youth transitions. They are not simply relevant in terms of the construction of individual identity, but also as social arenas that interface with transition systems. Unfortunately these areas remain undersupported in so far as they lack institutional recognition. The training mind-set is such that the acquisition of competencies or potential employment are key concerns. The less explicit benefits to be had from the training process are therefore neglected. Training agencies, understandably prioritise measurable outputs, but by doing so undermine the effectiveness and potential richness of the training they provide.

Dimensions of step-by-step transitions and biographical learning

In the above sections we have tried to highlight the fact that in recent years young people's transitions have become increasingly de-standardised. Young people's transitions are almost inevitably uncertain. In this context, the relationship between social integration and transitions in general, needs to be re-defined. Standardised institutional ways of channelling young peoples' transitions provide a systemic means of integration as Giddens (1984) notes. Such mechanisms represent societies' efforts to generalise rules and resources of social integration. In turn, in periods of social change rationalised forms of direct social integration are embedded in individuals' life worlds and everyday lives (Habermas, 1981). The general objective of the research project documented here can be understood as a search for social situations in which such rationalisation processes are located. In other words, the key question here is concerned with the extent to which learning processes and learning situations actually provide young people with the skills and competencies they need in a changing world, and to which they encounter entrance options to the labour market that do not alienate them from their individual aspirations and needs. There is a distinct possibility that more formal structured programmes are failing young people. What are the alternatives?

With reference to the concept of "empowerment" (Rappaport, 1984) we are concerned with the extent to which young women and young men are provided with resources, spaces, and opportunities to improve their coping strategies and to acquire the competencies they perceive to be necessary in this regard. According to du Bois-Reymond and Walther (1999) it is mainly young people with higher qualifications who receive acknowledgement for

informally acquired competencies, who realise their wider social value, and who try and even manage to integrate them in a strategic manner with formal qualifications. More generally the benefits of informal learning effects tend to be underestimated. As far as this project is concerned, it seems entirely plausible that the third sector constitutes an important space in which young people can experiment with forms of learning and working and to develop expressive styles and forms of self-representation at the same time. The rather open structure of TS organisations and activities allows them to make experiences with learning and contributing to community life at the same time in a step-by-step way - according to individual needs and subjective experiences of success and capability. Put in these terms, it comes near to what Peter Alheit defines as 'biographicity'.

"Biographicity means that we can redesign again and again, from scratch, the contours of our life within the specific contexts in which we (have to) spend it, and that we experience these contexts as 'shapeable' and designable" (Alheit, 1995, p. 65).

Based on the distinction of different ways of learning suggested by Finger (1988) Stroobants connects (1999) the concept of 'biographicity' to different perspectives individuals take towards society:

"When society is viewed as something new and unknown which one wants to make oneself familiar with, one learns to acquire new ways to adapt to society. When society is perceived as strange and threatening, one wants to define oneself in contrast with it, emancipating from it. When society is considered as different, a dynamic confrontation can come about wherein the individual can take up an active social role. This way of looking at the learning processes of people makes way for innovative learning based on how adults are able to and how they acquire new knowledge and competencies to - guide their lives, make innovations and participate in society (Manninen, 1998)" (Stroobants, 1999, p. 134).

Our hypothesis is that the third sector carries a high potential for young people in developing a sense of biographicity. Individual strengths and ideas are negotiated and realised in the community: - that is a 'real' context without measuring individual agency according to market exchange values or formal qualifications. This exchange between the individual and the community potentially leads to the very core of biographicity: it provides a context in which individual life histories can be legitimised. In this setting and in this social network young people are able to relate individual experiences and orientations to the local opportunity structure as regards, education, training and employment. In short, young people can reflect and develop their own biographies in a social context in which those biographies are accepted and nourished.

Self-confidence is a central aspect of personal motivation: the belief that by own action subjectively, relevant goals may be achieved (Heckhausen, 1990). Once again, the TS appears to constitute an excellent arena for encouraging such confidence. This, of course presupposes that young people are utterly committed to achieving such goals. In order to achieve such an aim, and in the context of projects we looked at in this study, we can see the advantages of participatory activities, where young people have influence on what is being done (and learned), and where they can reflect upon themselves as both workers and human beings; an experience which forms an important contrast to their daily life. Self-confidence is not something that either does or does not exist. It is the product of the process of practice and learning. Such process is potentially aggravated or even prevented by traditional (and arguably far too common) educational and training settings. It is therefore important to create more stimulating situations of practice and learning, where

this kind of indirect learning is facilitated. It is very important that young people are provided with settings, which encourage them to have faith in themselves. This is not usually the case in systems that invest so much in a more formal mode of training. In short, as this report will go on to illustrate, the process of the training and the extent to which that process becomes personal to the individual consumer of that training is potentially far more important than any discrete measures of skill acquisition that far too often prioritise the needs of the trainer, while almost entirely forgetting the needs of those young people being trained.

In concluding this section it is worth reiterating the fact that this project is concerned with coming to terms the sorts of conditions that promote a more pragmatic and beneficial form of learning that has young people's needs (which will very often directly fulfil economic ones) at its core.

"How far different cultural settings allow a 'faith' in the coherence of everyday life through providing symbolic interpretations of existential questions is ... very important. But cognitive frames of meaning will not generate that faith without a corresponding level of underlying emotional commitment - whose origins ... are largely unconscious. Trust, hope and courage are all relevant to such commitment" (Giddens, 1991, p. 37).

Ontological security lies at the centre of the above argument. In a world of uncertainty young people will have considerable difficulty in 'finding themselves'. Youth training should play a key role in this process. TS activities and organisations potentially provide an arena diverse and stimulating enough to promote this sense of ontological security and to legitimise individual's identities. This is largely a question of confidence. In order to increase their self-confidence young people must:

- have the opportunity to experiment in an environment, which is both safe and supportive.
- have the opportunity to take responsibility for their own choices and actions in order that they can foster their own sense of ,'ontrol'.
- be commended for their strengths and competencies, which cannot, as such be taken for granted. Young people's achievements should not be assumed. Rather they should be celebrated.

In the next chapter empirical evidence will be presented as a means of assessing the potential of the Third Sector in the above theoretical context. Special attention will be paid to how far the kind activities and fields of practice themselves are empowering and to the role played by the *informal* nature of learning and working processes. What role do less formal training programmes actually play? Is it actually an exaggeration to claim that such training actively encourages young people as subjective authors, and thus as beneficiaries, of their own training?

2. CASE STUDIES

Table 2: Project Partners and Organizations involved

	GERMANY	IRELAND	ITALY	UNITED
Organizations involved	IRIS: coordination and research AGJF: representing and coordinating youth centres 14 youth work agencies	Department of Applied Social Studies (UCC): Coordination & Research TS organizations: Cork City Partnership (Community Outreach Drug Awareness Project), Gurranabrahe r Development Centre, St. Francis Training Centre, Clonakilty Traveller Women's	 Genesis: coordination and Research Cooperatives: Consorzio II Solco, Inacqua, Acquarello 	KINGDOM Hope St Ltd. 20 Youth and Community organizations, 5 schools, Brouhaha, Tobav State Theatre (Turkey). British council
Funding	EU TSEPEmployment	GroupEU TSEPGovernment	EU TSEP Local	EU TSEP British Council
	Service • Regional government	(employment schemes: <i>FAS</i>)	administrationRegional administrationOwn Sources	• Employment Service

Table 3: Research steps undertaken and individuals/organizations involved

	GERMANY	IRELAND	ITALY	UNITED KINGDOM
Young People	 Qualitative interviews with 4 males and 10 females Telephone interviews (after 1 year) 	 Focus groups, Qualitative interviews, Portfolio (self-evaluation) methodology with 4 males and 24 females 	Direct qualitative interviews with 5 males and 3 females	 Qualitative interviews with 4 males and 6 females. Diaries & individual reports. Action research project with 5 youth groups.
Organizations / Project Workers	 Questionnair es distributed to 40 member institutions of AGJF Expert interviews with 12 project workers and organisation responsibles 	 Questionnair es distributed to 20 professional placement organisations from UCC database Focus groups, qualitative interviews with 8 staff/workers from 5 agencies 	Direct qualitative interviews with 9 responsibles of organizations and with 9 young people members of the organisation	• Expert interviews with 5 youth workers, 3 SMEs (Theatre companies), 3 enabling agencies, 1 Theatre

Table 4: Development Activities and Outcomes, Dissemination

	GERMANY	IRELAND	ITALY	UNITED
Activities of training and develop-ment (capitalisation)	 Self- evaluation process with 9 organi- sations 2 regional seminaires 	Portfolio (action learning and reflection) raising young people's self-confidence, self-reflexivity and biographical progression.	Self-evaluation process with 8 young people and the responsibles of 4 cooperatives (Labor, Giovani Rilegatori, Inacqua, Acquarello)	 Research in the community workshops, Devised performances (Schools and community tour; 34 performances, 2000 audiences, Video and workpack, future tours) Income generation from above Placement model incorporated into mainstream Hope Street work
Job creation and/ or employa- bility	Developme nt and support of employability for 116 disadvanta ged young people through temporary subsidised jobs	 Mainly Employability Job creation in form of one temporary contract Extra-money paid to young people as incentive to collaborate on self-evaluation 	Development and support of employability for 8 disadvantaged or unemployed people through fixed-term employment	 5 full time jobs for 6 months, 3 full time jobs for 3 months, 4 freelance jobs Employability
Dissemi- nation	 2 publications in German journals 1 video tape 2 regional conference s conference proceeding s 	 Portfolio / personal journals of self-learning and evaluation (format adopted by a number of 3rd sector agencies). 2 workshops / seminars for project leaders. 	 Distribution of the Italian Final report to 20 associations of the Third Sector, to 10 Job Centers and to 10 Youth Information Centres Page on Genesis website 	 Video distributed to schools and community organisations Press and media Report to all research contributors, enabling agencies, employers and employment service

Table 5: Quantitative Aspects of Project Outcomes

	GERMANY	IRELAND	ITALY	UNITED
Jobs for young people*	116 full-time (28 hours/week) 12 – 24 months	10 temporary and part-time	 4 open contract s(2 full-time, 2 part-time); 1 fixed-term contract (part- time); 3 free lancers 	 S fulltime 6 months 3 fulltime 3 months 1 freelance 2 months
Additional professionals' jobs**	1 Freelancer (part-time), 1 Dependant worker (part- time)	1 supervisor/resear cher full time, temporary (1 year)	4 tutors (part- time)	4 freelancers (director, musical director, filmaker, researcher)
Cost per job***	Approx. 6.20 per hour	Approx. 8.95 per hour	Approx. 8.0 per hour 2.500.000 liras (1290, 47 Euro) ??	Approx. 9.60 per hour
Young people trained	116	10	8	 9 young people employed 50 young people as participants of drama workshops
Professionals supported****	35	8	4	4
3 rd sector organizations involved	15	4	4	13
Extra-funding attracted due to EU funding	None	5,130 (from UCC)	None	34,000 (British Council, Employment service, Brouhaha, ACME, Halton MBC)

^{*} each contracted engagement of unemployed young people whether full-time or part-time, whether fixed-term or unlimited has been accounted as job

^{**} new professional employment contracts in the TS organizations involved due to the TSEP project

^{***} monthly rate consisiting of wages subsidies + part of personnel related to support of young people / number of job-hours

**** by counselling, further training, conferences etc.

2.1. Case Study 1: Germany

2.1.1. Structure of the Third Sector in the national/regional perspective and its relation to young people's transitions to adulthood

As we already described at the Interim Report, in Germany the Third Sector shows a comparable structure throughout the whole country. This is because of the fact that there is a highly organized corporatist structure represented by 6 large "non-profit-conglomerates" which are affiliated to the larger international Non-profit-Organizations (Caritas, Diakonie, Rotes Kreuz, Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Zentrale Wohlfahrtsstelle der Jugend in Deutschland, Deutscher Partitätischer Wohlfahrtsverband). In this highly professionalized and publicly-financed area, the health and social services are mainly located. This also includes the area of child and youth work we have been concerned with within this project.

Although the whole sector has a growing economic relevance in Germany (this sector has the highest rate of new employment, the subsidiary principle is the economic basis of the biggest part of the sector public financing is the main source of revenue) the 3rd Sector in Germany is a relevant part of the infrastructure of civil society - in an international comparison the German Non-profit-sector, in relation to growth and size, occupies a middle position.

Following the results of the international comparison on the 3rd Sector carried out by the John-Hopkins-Project,² we can show that the areas of day care services; social support of families; hospitals and institutions for elder people; counselling for unemployed in Germany (Salamon et al. 1999) are on the increase. In contrast, mobile social services; institutions for old people without special care service; stationary institutions for children and youngsters, are decreasing. The highest rate of employees within the 3rd sector is to be found in the area of social and youth services (in 1995: 38,8%). However a further growth of demand is hindered by a highly developed corporatist structure and a constraint of public funding.

Especially within the area of social and youth services, there is a high demand of labour. This increasing demand has to be seen against the backdrop of demographical change (more and more older people and a drop in the birth rate), changing family structures and the higher employment rate of women. That means that we have a great demand of social services for elder people, childcare services and youth services. In conclusion there is clearly an increasing demand for work in this area.

Unfortunately this great demand of services and work corresponds with a lack of consciousness within TS organizations about their ability as a job creator. Additionally, this is augmented by the lack of specific programs of labour administration and few ministry of social and youth affairs initiatives to fund job creation in this area.

²The John-Hopkins-Project compared third sector systems within 8 countries (USA, UK, Sweden, Hungaria, Japan, France, Italy, Germany) during the first project phase (1990-1995). The Research focuses on a quantitative evaluation of socio-economic data and a qualitative evaluation of the historical and political foundations of third system within public sector.

Regional context

As already described (Ref: Interim report), there aren't so many regional differences regarding Third Sector. In other words **Baden-Württemberg** has the typical corporatist structure of welfare production, comparable to other regions in Germany. This often means that TS organizations are separated from the private and public sectors as regards institutional logic, financing (excepting the fact that the TS is depending on public funding) and networks. Rarely are there real cooperation between public institutions like the employment services and youth organizations or between private organizations and youth organizations concerning job creation or the support of employability for disadvantaged young people. Nevertheless recently there can be seen some changes related to an increasing political consciousness about the need of cooperation between government, Third Sector and Private Sector:

"It is an important societal and urgent political task to tackle youth unemployment with the help of active labour market and employment policies and the creation of sufficient formation possibilities. In common responsibility of "Bund, Land and Kommunen" the political framework has to be improved and resources have to be concentrated to this area, especially concerning the development of concepts and schemes supporting young disadvantaged people. … The cooperation between schools, youth work and economy (private sector) has to be improved in order to develop regional solutions" (Bericht der Enquetekommission 1999, pp 207/208).

This articulation of "political will" led to the development of a few new schemes such as; "Kooperation Jugendarbeit/Schule", "berufliche Integration von jungen Ausländerinnen und Ausländern sowie Aussiedlerinnen und Aussiedlern", "Jugendagenturen", "Jugendmedienzentren" und "Jugendfonds". These schemes intend to initiate cooperation between several actors of different sectors, but in fact they function like all other schemes before them: Some TS organizations get additional funding to develop an additional project and to create networks with the other sectors. All responsibility for the work has to be undertaken by the TS organizations, especially the task of convincing public institutions (e.g. labour services) and organizations within the private sector that cooperation will be sensitive to the needs of all partners. Against the backdrop of the fact that all these new sources of funding are limited and often given on a one-off basis, it is obvious that the Third Sector organizations are confronted with excessive demands. These conditions inhibit youth organizations to act as job creators. Neither can they guarantee sustainability.

Nevertheless we found a slightly improved situation because of two (older) schemes, which are supporting limited job creation and the support of employability in the area of child and youth work.

Our main partner, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Jugend- und Freizeitstätten, AGJF, (which represents more than 500 child and youth organisations) encouraged about 40 organisations to give disadvantaged unemployed young people a limited job or stage. Most of these jobs could be fully or partly financed by the scheme "Jugend – Arbeit – Zukunft" (Ministry of Socila and Youth Affairs, Baden-Württemberg) or by the scheme "Arbeiten und Lernen" (Employment Services).

These child and youth organizations were (and still are) in the position of being employers with the help of these programs. In some respect they have been enabled to act as job creators, although there are specific conditions that have to be fulfilled. For all that however, we recognized a big lack of consciousness being a job creator or provider and an almost complete lack of engagement to enlarge job creation activities.

Our part of the TSEP project was able to make a contribution to raising both consciousness and (some) activity related to the role of TS organizations, creating jobs and supporting employability.

The meaning of work in the child and youth work sector

In general there is an increasing official recognition of the value of social and youth work and especially of the voluntary work in this area. Alongside this new perspective there is still a hierarchy concerning the value of social and youth work compared to e.g. industrial work: the latter one is recognised as the more serious and "right" one. This may explain why the growing recognition doesn't automatically lead to more funding and support.

In the area of child and youth work we established and stated our "own, internal" meaning of work. In some cases (especially the "youth farms") the often-criticised division between paid worker and volunteers isn't as big as described. The organisations act as "large communities" which places paid workers, volunteers and unemployed young people with the overriding task of getting the daily work managed. Often the paid workers are highly dependant on the work of volunteers and unemployed young people and therefore they appreciate the value of them.

Looking at the meaning of work as regards content, child and youth work show a mixture of traditional attitudes to work; like punctuality and reliability and highly developed informal structures, which allow the creation of individual working. Moreover these structures are also informal learning structures, which can help young people learning how to work.

2.1.2. Presentation of local actors/networks and the employment opportunities available to young people

There has been cooperation on 2 levels:

1. Coordinating and organisational level: IRIS and AGJF (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Jugend- und Freizeitstätten Baden-Württemberg e.V.). IRIS had the task to manage and to undertake the research part, AGJF arranged the stages and jobs for the young people within the several organisations and provided (together with IRIS) further training for the young people and for the professionals of the organisations.

Description of the organisations:

IRIS: Research and development organisation. At the moment IRIS is managing 4 research projects funding by the EU and 2 research and development projects financed by national sources of funding. (for details, see: http://www.iris-egris.de/projekte). Apart from research, one of the major tasks of IRIS is to develop networks and new practical and institutional structures, related to youth work and the development of employment. Therefore IRIS often takes the role being a counselling organisation for regional actors and organisations.

AGJF: Umbrella organisation for 357 stakeholders made up of 520 child and youth organizations (public and private) in Baden-Württemberg. Main tasks: political

representation of the interests of child and youth work organisations on a regional and national level, counselling of all members and organisations regarding all legal, organisational and financial concerns, support by getting financing for all the organisations, arranging of stages and jobs for unemployed young people, further training for these young peoples, further training for professionals within child and youth work, for the professional discussion and publications.

2. Practical level: During the period of the TSEP project time, IRIS and AGJF cooperated with 40 organisations of child and youth work. All these organisations were asked to participate in doing the written questionnaires and had been invited to the two further training sessions related to the project objectives. The researcher doing interviews and the video film had visited 12 Organisations. To these organisations we had more intensive contacts and cooperation. They represent 4 areas of child and youth work: Childcare, youth farms, child and youth "active" playgrounds, and youth houses. These organizations are representative for all others. Therefore we focus all further descriptions on those.

The institutions are:

Jugendhaus Herrenberg
Jugendhaus Leonberg
Haus der Jugend Göppingen
Jugendhaus Murrhardt
Jugendhaus Crailsheim
Jugendfarm Riedenberg
Jugendfarm Freiberg
Jugendfarm Elsental
Aktivspielplatz Raitelsberg
Aktivspielplatz Musberg
Kinderhaus "Villa Kunterbunt"
Elterninitiative Rotebühlstraße Stuttgart
Kinderhaus "Rasselbande"

All these organisations are associations. They mainly work with professional workers and in most cases with volunteers. The size of the organisations are various: E.g. While the Jugendhaus "Murrhardt" is working with one professional and 10 young volunteers, the "Haus der Jugend aus "Göppingen" is managing their child and youth work with 21 professionals and 50 volunteers. The financing of all these organisations is a mixture of municipal, regional and state funding and some of their own resources (donations, fees etc.).

Table 6: "The repeated investigated TS organizations"

ORGANISAT ION	LEGAL STATUS	PAID EMPLOYEES	VOLUNTEER S	EMPLOYED AND PAYED YOUNG PEOPLE	FINANCING
JUGENDHA US HERRENBER G	Association	5	58	1	municipal funding, regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
HAUS DER JUGEND GÖPPINGEN	Association	21	50	2	80% municipal funding, 20% regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
JUGENDHA US LEONBERG	Association	10	40	2	municipal funding, regional, governmental sources of funding
JUGENDHA US MURRHARD T	Association	1	10	1	municipal funding, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
JUGENDHA US CRAILSHEI M	Association	3	15	8	municipal funding, regional, governmental employment services sources of funding, own incomes

ILICENIDEAD	Accodetics	T _E	10.15	1	700/
JUGENDFAR M FREIBERG	ASSOCIATION	5	10-15	1	70% municipal funding, 30% regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
JUGENDFAR M RIEDENBER G	Association	3	5	2	80% municipal funding, 20% regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
JUGENDFAR M ELSENTHAL	Association	4	10	1	municipal funding, regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
AKTIVSPIEL PLATZ MUSBERG	Association	3	2	2	municipal funding, regional, governmental sources of funding, own incomes
AKTIVSPIEL PLATZ RAITELSBE RG	Association	3	3	1	50% municipal funding, 50% own incomes
KINDERHAU S VILLA KUNTERBU NT	Association	2	10	2	municipal funding, regional, sources of funding, own incomes (fees)
ELTERNINIT IATIVE ROTEBÜHLS TRASSE	Association	6	30	1	municipal funding, regional sources of funding, own incomes (fees)
KINDERHAU S	Association	17	80	2	municipal funding,

RASSELBAN			regional,	
DE			sources	of
			funding,	own
			incomes	
			(fees)	

However, whilst all these organisations are doing child and youth work on a similar legal and financial level, they show some differences related to their concepts:

Jugendhaus

These organisations are the institutional embodiment of the social movements of the late sixties and early seventies. The ideology behind them means that young people need places and open spaces where they can meet each other without the control of adults. There they can spend their leisure time and they can get support for any of their life concerns if they want it. This highlights some of the most important principles of the German youth work system: namely, orientation on the needs and interests of the young people and the voluntary nature of the participation. Moreover the work done by the youth houses is usually oriented to the life scopes of the young people and to specific problems of their (professional) transitions.

Aktivspielplatz

At the end of the sixties in the bigger cities of Germany the concept of "Aktivspielplatz" (active playground) have been developed and realized, based on the model of the English adventure playgrounds. Against the backdrop of the analysis that modern lifestyles don't provide enough spaces and possibilities for children to develop their power and abilities through intensive playing, these playgrounds usually intend to provoke *independent* development of the children. Therefore this playgrounds especially provide various construction materials to encourage children to experiment with the materials, moreover there are "empty" spaces where the children can develop their play, sometimes there are animals which the children take care of or space for individual gardening, and usually there is a "house" for meetings and discussions. Important principles of the pedagogical work are participation of the children and freedom for the children to develop themselves, Also, the transparency of (working) structures, openness about the needs of children and young people, no fees for the visitors.

These playgrounds explicitly are for the children and young people of the next neighbourhood.

Jugendfarm

The concept of the Jugendfarm (youth farm) is close to the one of the "Aktivspielplatz". Both have been developed at the same time and do have the same ideological background. The difference between both consists in the fact that the youth farms are concentrating on providing a *natural* surrounding area for the children and young people. Therefore they want the children to learn how to handle animals and plants. The youth farms usually have all regional working animals (like rabbits, sheep, goats, horses) and regional plants and flowers. The children can chose their activities, whether to take care of an animal or to do their own gardening. Moreover there are other areas of activity depending on the interests of the children.

Another important facet of the youth farms is the therapeutic riding for disabled children and young people.

Especially on the youth farms you can find a big "farm family" of professional workers, volunteers and young people doing different stages. In one case most of these people are not only working but also living on the youth farm.

Kinderhaus

The Kinderhaus is an organisation for childcare for children from usually 1- (max.)10 years old. These can be seen as a private option/solution to the unsatisfying institutional childcare situation of Germany. The demand of women to go back to work has increased the demand of childcare. In order to get a situation where they are able to reconcile work and domestic/family work, parents – and especially women- started to found their own child care organisations. At the beginning they usually ran the organisations by themselves and at the same time they fought for municipal funding. Most of them have succeeded in getting official funding. Nevertheless parents often are working as volunteers in these organisations, doing mainly the administrative aspects of work within the projects.

The offers of these organisations are childcare in the daytime often combined with meals and special supports for the pupils (in doing homework).

Employment opportunities for young people: Numbers and types of beneficiaries and jobs created

Within the duration of the TSEP project, about 116 young unemployed people could be integrated into limited jobs (12 – 24 months jobs). The government of Baden-Württemberg financed these limited jobs. One young unemployed man got a job as a coordinator on a local level within the AGJF. This employee was paid by our TSEP project budget. All employees and the professionals of the organisations where the young people are employed got further training and counselling which was financed through the TSEP project budget.

Three young people could get a long-term job after these short-term jobs. 88% of all beneficiaries went back to school or found another job or got an apprenticeship. One important reason for this small amount of permanent jobs is the need of these organisations for <u>professional qualified</u> child or youth workers. The young people employed in these organisations had no professional education/formation/degree to be allowed to work within these organisations permanently (with one exception). About 30% of all these young people tried to get a professional education in youth work right after finishing the job at the child or youth organisations. Except for these professional barriers to further employment, most of the examined organisations are depending upon narrow public financing which doesn't allow the financing of additional workers.

The anticipated number of jobs created was 65.

2.1.3. Reasons for the investigation and training actions within the area of child- and youth work

Following an internal analysis of the AGJF in the past, the described schemes ("Jugend, Arbeit, Zukunft" and "Arbeiten und Lernen") had not been as successful as they potentially could have been. On the one hand the organizations gave disadvantaged young people limited jobs or stages where they could learn many things within informal learning settings. and which they could use as a "bridge" into formation and labour market (see below). On the other hand the organizations were not able to offer further professional options to the young people, even though they had ideas for job creation!

The reasons for this institutional lethargy are internal and external ones:

- There is hardly any consciousness concerning the potentials of TS organizations regarding the ability to combine labour market oriented tasks (job creation) with employment oriented tasks (like qualifications and the finding of jobs) and a broad social support of (disadvantaged) young people. This lack of consciousness can be seen in most of the TS organizations like the child and youth organizations, as well as by public and political authorities and private enterprises.
- As a consequence, there is a lack of political and societal recognition of the specific values and potentials of TS organizations. This ignorance ensures that innovative ideas won't be realized.
- Further constraints have to be seen in the context of inflexible and long-term financial arrangements and a legal framework, which could support the role of being a job creator.
- Moreover there are barriers regarding the fact that social and youth work usually has to insist on employees with a professional education. Professional educated people usually do paid work in this area, everybody can do voluntary work.

With the investigation and trainings funded by the TSEP program we intended to: raise consciousness; to reflect internal and external barriers; to discuss possible solutions; to support internal and external recognition of the potentials of child and youth work; and in general to improve the existing schemes. Furthermore at the end of the TSEP project we started to plan an enlargement of these schemes together with the cooperating organizations.

2.1.4. Methodology applied

We carried out 27 interviews with young people (4 males, 10 females) doing agency placement stages (limited jobs from one to max. 2 years) and with professionals (5 males, 8 females) of the child and youth organizations employing and taking care of the young people. Furthermore and one year after the 1st. inquiry, we carried out a second inquiry by phone, in which we asked the young people about their further job career.

In a next step we carried out written inquiries with 30 institutions of 3rd sector organizations working together with young unemployed people.

Within the 3rd. project period we encouraged the institutions doing self-evaluation. Therefore we sent 3 questionnaires to 32 organizations employing disadvantaged young people. One of the questionnaires was addressed to the coach of the several young people, one to the employee him- or herself, one to the whole team. These questionnaires mainly included items for self-reflection and the group were supposed to work on them for 8 to 10 weeks.

Additionally we offered 2 further trainings sessions to all organizations participating in the project. They took place on 12th of May and 7th of November (for details see "German" material package"). Besides that, all young people have been trained monthly by the AGJF. At the very end of the project we produced a videotape with 4 child and youth organizations presenting the assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of the jobs held by the professionals and young people.

2.1.5. The views of the young people

As regards their transitional position (ie: their school levels, their ages, their professional prospects) the group of interviewees was very heterogeneous, the scale included young males and females with secondary school (and therefore very low training prospects) as well as young males and females with A-levels. Their living conditions were also heterogeneous: partly they were living with their parents, partly they were living autonomously, and partly they were living in a youth aid institution. There were migrants of the first and of the second generation, there was one young man coming from eastern Germany, there is one young female who passed her last three years living on the street with her dogs. And also their outer and inner motives to undertake this work were very different. The young males and females we interviewed used these placement/stages as a "bridge" and a phase of orientation to a next step towards the world of labour, but they used it in very different ways; according to their educational levels and to their plans and prospects as regards training and jobs: some of them only wanted to close the gap between end of school and beginning of studies or civil services, some of them had a non-limited time to cover (for example, if they are waiting for a vocational training place or the allowance to study) and they wanted to pass this time in a sensible way, to some of them, the stage was the first contact with work, because they had started their "working life" with unemployment, to others, the stage meant a provisional alternative to a vocational training place or a place where they could land after having dropped out. Whatever their motives and their transitional pathways have been, to all of them these stages meant much more than only "bridges" over transitional gaps. Benefits derived from the interviews were:

- to experience own practical competencies and learning abilities respectively,
- to get professional orientation in a "secure space" (economically as well as on the level of legitimation towards parents and others),
- to have no problem of (self-)legitimation during this stage (which means a decrease of pressure),
- to make concrete experiences in one concrete professional field (which can be chosen within a range of possibilities),
- to get a space for orientation (as regards time, as regards ideas deriving from direct practical experiences,
- to get personal support from professionals who represent "another type of adults"
- to work in a "different atmosphere" (with flat hierarchies, with a lot of space for autonomy and self-responsibility, mainly in pedagogical settings)

The first five aspects probably could be found in all measures and training schemes, as far as they could be experienced as "making sense" within the own transitional biography. The last two aspects derived directly from the fact of being located in the "Third Sector". We therefore want to concentrate on these aspects:

TS institutions as we investigated them represent a working field for a special kind of pedagogue who has created a special kind of pedagogical setting. Most of them are the initiators of these institutions having founded them (together with colleagues) about 25 years ago, as one of the last effects of the anti-authoritarian movement in Western Germany. These pedagogues represent their "institutions" as believing in the value of such "open spaces" for kids and children. Indeed, these "youth-farms" and "adventure-playgrounds" offer different learning experiences to their young clients. Some of them developed special offers for handicapped kids (for example riding therapy). And indeed, the atmosphere of these places is special, (and may be influenced by the huts and common kitchens of the resistance-villages against nuclear power and nuclear weapons in the late seventies/early eighties.) Freedom is an important principle in the work with children, and

this is expressed in all aspects of their pedagogical activities, although there are sets of rules in every institution to be accepted by the kids. The interviews took place within their working environment and we had the opportunity to get a better impression of how these young males and females were involved in this atmosphere, which obviously had (got) some relevance to them (without adopting the old ideals). This was expressed by the comments they made on their work, on their contact to the smaller clients of these institutions, by the contact they had to their "trainers":

"It is completely different compared to my parents. I can orientate myself (on him??, and I have the feeling: it is o.k., it is all right. With my parents - this is much more the struggle between the generations, there are totally different values, and then the hassle begins.... I am just a person who delays eternally. In this respect, he (the trainer, B.S.) is totally different. He just grabs the things, even if it is embarrassing. With regard to this, I try to orientate a bit, but this is just my personal way..." (young male, 21).

"I don't know how to say: it is just this joy to live, she (the trainer, B.S.) expresses, so self-confident, she does her work in such a self-evident way, this impresses me much. She also has done so many things before..." (young female, 19).

We found that some of these very positive experiences of our interviewees were expressed explicitly and offer important hints on possibilities of communication between the generations - the latter being almost hidden by the discourse on "generations' struggle".

With regard to the analysis of our material (interview transcriptions, questionnaires), we tried to work with categories appropriate to express the ambivalences of young people's attitudes and feelings. For example: feeling "lost", without any orientation, and at the same time being open for different /new experiences which will provide "orientation". For example: being "nder pressure" (to take *any* decision), but at the same time using the stage as a possibility to do what they like to do. In our evaluation, we confronted these ambivalent feelings with the "hard facts" of their transitional pathways. The following headlines give a short impression of how we tried to realize this "synopsis" of inner aspects, feelings and attitudes and the "hard facts":

1. Starting positions of young males and females

(sensitivities in change, shifting not only within the group of interviewees, but also within one and the same person)

- Flashing/ changing sensitivities
- Absence of orientation versus: openness for new things
- (here we can observe big differences according to school levels and formal professional prospects).
- Planning the space of experiments
- Apathy versus: enjoying the experiment
- Hopelessness versus: belief in oneself
- To be under pressure versus: to take the liberty to make experiments

2. Profiles of transitional pathways

The stage within each transition has to be assessed as a successful "bridge" into further transition. As already described 88% of the 116 young participants went into formation/professional education (41%), into work (limited and unlimited jobs) 42% or back to school (5%), 12% were unemployed again or showed so many problems (especially drug problems) that they haven't been able to proceed with their professional career. Regarding the fact that most of these young people have had severe problems to manage within their

professional and personal lives, this percentage of successful transitions has to be judged as very high.

The phone inquiry we did one year after the interviews underlined this "message of success". The young people (10 persons) who were asked, generally were very satisfied about this year offering a "moratorium", about the experiences they had, about the things they learnt at work and for their life in general, and about the people they met in these organizations. All were very satisfied with the support they got on different levels during their time in the organisation: to experience a supportive atmosphere and the feeling of "being needed", doing something useful, the lack of pressure respectively a climate appropriate for orientation:

"It was a rather good transitional period" (male, 19 years),

"The job was just great" (female, 20 years).

All young people could embark in vocational training or study. Only one of ten was in a "waiting position": he works on a job and waits for an apprenticeship place in the same enterprise.

Learning experiences

The main learning experiences have been:

- To cope with difficulties in a new way, to dare to talk about it and to have good experiences in doing so
- To learn to work independently and to react spontaneously (according to the needs of pedagogical work), to achieve new competencies
- To understand respectively and to re-discover what is subjectively relevant
- To learn to divide work, to learn where to be responsible and where not
- Freedom as an element of pedagogical work
- Interdependencies between the learning of the children and own learning processes
- To own decisions, to take responsibility
- Acknowledgement work to do something which makes sense
- Learning experiences in the seminaries of the AGJF

The job in the context of gender relationships

All participating organizations offered a wide range of possible activities and experiences to the employed young people, which allowed them to choose activities on the other side of traditional gender role models. This openness is multifaceted:

on the one hand it allows them to connect to already established experiences, which are often oriented to traditional gender roles (e.g. care oriented working areas for the young women, handicraft oriented work for the young men). This often functions as a basis of trust into their own abilities, a necessary precondition for the development of responsibility and independence.

Furthermore, young women and men are allowed to refuse several activities because they don't want to demonstrate their emancipation (e.g. young women refuse to do physical hard work).

On the other hand this openness allows them to re-determine traditional gender roles, because everything is possible and the young people have often been oriented toward the division of work of the whole team, which more or less was a traditional one within many areas.

Nevertheless we found young women carrying out constructions of houses or young men taking care of babies and children.

5. The job in the context of intergenerational relationships

The professionals of the organizations were very important to the young people. They represented women and men with the experiences and authority of adults but without the controlling power of parents. The young people often talked about the professionals as positive role models, who have been very impressive:

"Well I can imagine having a lifestyle like hers later on. I don't know how to express myself, but she seems to be full of the joys of life, so self-confident, she's doing her work as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that impresses me...." (M3:Z240)

For the young people, the professionals are a mixture of friend, colleague, councillor, sister or brother, sometimes mother or father relating to the needs and/or problems the young men and women showed. In general the most important part of all relationships was the trusting relationship that the young people usually developed toward the professionals. This served as the basis for many learning situations within informal settings.

And the trusting relationship caused a special learning atmosphere in which:

- young people found another way to deal with difficulties and own weaknesses
- young people learned to work spontaneously and independently
- young people gained various competencies
- young people could detect "subjective relevancies"
- young people experienced the division of labour and responsibility
- young people got to know *freedom* as an important element of pedagogical work
- young people detected connections between their own life experiences and the learning of children
- young people got recognition (sometimes for the first time) of their activities
- young people got to know that their activities produced something "meaningful".

Summary

The young people working in these organisations are often described with the label "disadvantaged". The meanings underlying this label are: to drop-out of education or training, family or individual problems (like financial problems, unemployment, drug problems, etc.), gender and ethnic discrimination or structural barriers like an increasing lack of training vacancies.

But as described above, this label doesn't fit at all for general usage: apart from young people having specific difficult backgrounds, we also found young people with a high school level and obviously with no insurmountable individual problems. The real problem they have to deal with is not knowing what to do with their future. In other words they have a lack of professional and personal orientation.

In the German research field TS institutions consider certain working and learning settings as important for young people with insecure youth-to-work-transitions. The placement experiences our young interviewees had in these institutions opened up a space for orientation, they gave the possibility to regain self-esteem, to offer personal value and competences, and to achieve new competences. Learning takes place in a different way. Young people who up to now could not experience personal success, now have the possibility to do so. Most of them feel enabled to now go further on. If they cannot expect

to do so, it is because of low school levels. One of the biggest disadvantages of the highly formalized German transitional system is exactly by these low attainers, where an opportunity like this cannot improve their bad starting positions.

2.1.6. The views of the professionals of the organizations

As already said before, the organizations where the sample professionals are employed, are working in the fields of "day care for children", different services for children and young people, where they can spend their leisure time and youth work as part of community work. All professionals we interviewed and who were involved into the self-evaluation process were the coaches and tutors of the investigated young people.

1. Reasons for the employment

The reasons for these institutions to employ young "disadvantaged" people were very different: Some of them showed idealistic motives like giving young people a chance who haven't had any, others were seeking support in managing their daily work, others wanted to enlarge their offers for children and young people with the help of the young employees. Moreover some organisations emphasized the fact that the young employees have the function of becoming a "bridge" to the children/youngsters because they often were developing a closer relationship than the professionals themselves. Concerning young employees from another ethnic background, they stressed that difference was a valuable addition for the organisation in general.

Summarizing their motives of participation in these programs, the advantages were mutual:

- 1. There were organisational reasons: a lack of manpower, getting cheap manpower, enlarging the institutions' provision of services
- 2. There were strong idealistic and creative motives regarding the young men and women: offering young people the chance to get personal and professional orientation, giving them a moratorium "to cool down", empowering the young people to manage their own life again, etc.

On the one hand this idealistic approach is a survivor of the past anti-authoritarian movement and on the other hand it is partly a typical professional understanding of youth work in Germany.

The interviewees described their relationship to the young employees as an exchange: the young people were giving them their (wo) manpower, exchanging for a working place which is adapted to the needs and interests of the young people as far as possible.

Furthermore the organisations were offering:

- working on teams with almost equalized structures
- learning to work within protective working conditions
- support for further orientation concerning further education, formation and general individual problems
- development of socio-cultural competencies like communication skills, strategies to solve conflicts, teamwork
- development of work related skills like reliability, sense of responsibility, punctuality and moreover:
- skills like animal care, agricultural work, and handicraft/mechanical work
- combination of qualification and work.

The professionals have been asked to what extent the young women and men represented burden or benefits. The assessments showed all variations from burden, which led to a separation from the young man, or woman, to a tremendous benefit underlined with statements like "without her or him I don't know what to do, he or she is just a great support".

In general, the statements about real benefits dominated, with the cases where young people had to leave the organization rare (less than 5%).

2. The status of the young people

The status the young people have held, varied from an additional helper to a fully recognized employee, with almost all rights and duties. Smaller organizations were depending on the qualified cooperation of the young people to a certain degree especially. At the beginning of the job the young people always got a couple of weeks to get used to the work. In this time they could ask and experiment without expectations on them. After this period of time (usually 6 to 10 weeks) they often were confronted with a high expectation of the professionals. The young people should have been able to integrate themselves into the team and to take over some working areas, which had to be done independently. If at this point of time the young people failed in dealing with these expectations they usually got more counselling and support. But after about 3 months they should be able to fulfil these expectations more or less. The reasons for the organizations' decision to dismiss young people were:

- no way to get the young person integrated into the team,
- the young man or woman never came to work on time,
- the young man or woman mainly didn't do what they are supposed to do,
- the young man or woman abused some basic rules and with this the trust they've been given by the team (e.g. to borrow a horse without permission, to use drugs in front of the other children in the project).

3. Consequences of the expectations

The fact that the young people often virtually act like the professionals themselves caused ambivalent reactions by the professionals. They were aware that the status of the young people should consist of a combination of working and learning instead of a position/status, which was close to that of a regular employee. They often felt forced to extend young people this status because they were confronted with an increasing demand of services and a lack of personal and financial resources. Smaller organizations showed a higher pressure to involve the young people to a large extent than bigger organizations.

The professionals react on this situation in different ways:

- in some cases they tried to keep the young people from responsible working areas in order to protect them,
- in some cases they appreciated and accepted the great performance of the young people and offered them a lot of support for any of their concerns as a service in return for this.
- often the professionals complained about the lack of time they have to take care of the young men and women.

This latter reaction especially showed the ambivalence of the professionals in terms of high internal expectations about the quality and the extent of counselling and support, (which in the eyes of the professionals, couldn't be realized satisfactory.) On the contrary, the young people in question usually were satisfied with the received care, although they only defined very severe situations as those where they got counselling. They weren't aware of the wider debate here. Nevertheless this contrast highlighted- on the one hand -that the professionals often had the feeling that they should be engaged more in supporting the young people as a reward for their high levels of engagement. Moreover this complaint could be interpreted as a barrier reflecting problems around internal time management. On the other hand in many cases there seemed to be a real lack of time because the

professionals often took care of the young people in their leisure time. The paid and anticipated time for counselling (10 hours a month) wasn't enough to cover all the needs.

4. Meaning of the jobs for the young people

In the perspective of the professionals, the young people started the jobs with the motivation to gain some money and to have insurances. This first motivation changed during the first two months. The young women and men developed their own interests concerning the working areas they wanted to focus on and their quest for personal and professional orientation. This showed that the young people took their job as a moratorium to clarify all their personal and professional concerns.

Moreover most of the sample young people looked for a job, which seemed to be meaningful or in other words, they wanted to do something useful. Child- and youth work represented this in regard to a 'vocational' sense of labour for them.

For some young people the employment and more importantly the team as a "big social family on the job" supported and enabled them to get separated from the parental home. For others the team represented the only social support structure they've ever had. And for a few of them this support structure prevented them from a further disaster.

Regarding all the functions the job had for the young people, it is evident that for some of them this employment was probably one of the last chances to gain stability. Over and above that, this kind of job necessitated an emotional and psychological stabilization in order to start a professional career and to maintain it. Therefore it had a preventive effect.

5. Learning effects

All interviewees identified a lot of qualifications and competencies that the young people gained during the period of time they worked within the several organizations. There are recognized key or socio-cultural competencies like punctuality, reliability, (self)responsibility, self-assessment, communication skills, teamwork, dealing with conflicts etc. Over and above that the young people got professional competencies like pedagogical skills, agricultural skills, animal care, handicraft skills, organization of cultural events, new technology skills. The professionals pointed out that the working conditions of their organizations are very helpful in order to provide informal learning structures, which are embedded in any youth-cultural environment.

Besides that, the interviewees emphasized that most of the young women and men learned to deal with their problems and weaknesses and learned to assess which constraints were internal ones and which had to be seen as external structural barriers. Within this self-reflection process the young people gained self-assessment and self-confidence.

Although the professionals showed a high recognition and valuation of all these gained qualifications, they tended to devalue all these competencies with regard to labour market. They described the jobs they were able to offer as "half-hearted" because they aren't officially recognized as a part of any formal career path.

6. The attitudes toward gender issues

Most of the interviewees showed a theoretical knowledge/background about gender related issues. Related to their own working area, they identified in many cases a reproduction of

traditional work division, which in the perspective of the professionals is often copied by the young men and women. This self-critical assessment didn't lead to a change in the behaviour, except the fact that the young people were given complete freedom to choose their working areas.

Summary

In general the interviewed professionals (who were the coaches of the young people) were glad to employ unemployed young people. They appreciated this opportunity because they acknowledged more advantages than disadvantages in working together with these young men and women. They also were aware about the chances of the young people transported through this job and mostly they tried to enhancing these chances positively. Being used to getting some public money for their engagement, they usually didn't take an active part in keeping the young people after the period of time where the schemes paid for the young people. (Although they would like to do so in many cases) They did not identify any understanding of being a potential job provider. As already described (chapter 2.1.3.) the reasons therefore have to be seen as a lack of external and internal recognition of their specific abilities and potentials, a lack of time, a lack of financial and legal instruments which could help them in realizing existing ideas.

2.1.7. Self-evaluation

The objective "encouraging self evaluation" was not met completely. The organizations had been willing to be evaluated, but usually they didn't want to undertake self-evaluation because – as they mentioned – they had not enough time to do so.

Nevertheless 30 % of them did (joined) an undertaking of self-evaluation: They got standardized short questionnaires with questions which have been developed on the basis of a previous problem analysis of organisations and young people.

Furthermore the questions intended to support self-reflections by doing these questionnaires weekly over a period of time of at least 8 – 10 weeks. Evaluation criteria has been activity description, objectives of professionals regarding young people, objectives of the young people, positive and negative assessments, new developments, and self-assessment

Findings:

Professionals:

- Instead of doing pedagogical work many of young people did more cleaning and ,housework at the beginning of the job (pedagogical activities were additional ones), usually most of the young people agreed but they tried to get involved with pedagogical work as soon as possible.
- With respect to the young people, the professionals showed high expectations regarding moderating groups, understanding and fulfilling children's needs. Again this showed an ambiguity between potential learning and overburdening.
- It could be seen as a positive evaluation of young people's efficiency. As already described above, this offered relief because the professionals needed them in everyday work. Almost all young people were integrated into the teams.

- There was a change in work witnessed during this period (often due to a response to 'crisis', e.g. replacing professionals absent through illness). This often meant a tremendous increase in responsibility (less cleaning more pedagogical work).
- The time for counselling and coaching was not enough.
- There hadn't been recognized any negative aspects with regard to young people except of organisation related issues (difficulties with parents or staff changing jobs).
- The young people showed a supportive contribution to the team dynamics, the work of the young people usually meant a big relief for the whole team.

Young People:

- Usually the young people defined their work as multi-faceted (cleaning and housework
 has to be done...but they didn't like it), pedagogical work is preferred (experienced as a
 challenge) but additional. However there was no opportunity for young people to engage
 with strategic (careers) reasons: increased engagement and responsibility doesn't
 improve career, in Germany also in Third Sector, all careers requires 3 to 4 year
 qualifications (most of them requiring post-compulsory school certificates).
- Often young people chose unattractive work (cleaning or housework) to demonstrate competence and to receive recognition
- All young people identified tremendous learning effects in all fields of activity, from 57 valued weeks.
 29 weeks were beneficial in their perspective because of fulfilling experiences with children and youngsters in the organisations, 15 weeks had been valued as balanced, no negative weeks identified.
- Highlights for the young people had been: Successful activities; appreciation for doing unattractive work, valuing of process (learning, experience) per se depended on possibility of reflection afterwards.
- As recognised problems, the young people stated: Uncertainty, unmotivated kids, if 'own' activities don't work (importance of 'ownership' of tasks), not having enough scope, feeling of limited competencies, lack of recognition from outside.
- In their opinion, necessary positive conditions for them should be: Relationship with colleagues, transparent work relationships, recognition from colleagues and kids parents.
- The valuation of support was: they say they don't need so much support (as already described they do not take daily support seriously, they refer the question as relevant only to very difficult situations)
- Plans for the weeks to come (regarding the work in the organisations): lots of plans reflect high motivation and identification. Sometimes this high amount of individual plans caused disillusionment when they could not put it into practice.

Conclusions:

There was (and still is) a general lack of time for taking care of the young people. This often caused inflexible working structures with limited opportunities for the young people to experiment. (Within their allocated time). If this time was exceeded in some cases this caused excessive demands for the young people, who had to fill the gap. For the young people the situation turned into an immediate jump into new experiences and responsibilities. However whilst recognizing the burden and stress, the young people usually appreciated this as a chance to demonstrate their abilities.

Although the lack of time led to high expectations and to high-pressure, young people tried to deal with the pressure on different ways. Often they used the chance to make their mark, sometimes they tried to relieve the pressure on the professionals. The latter example can be interpreted as an additional increase in self-confidence. Nevertheless these potential opportunities are running parallel with real excessive demands. If the young people were

able to handle these demands they effectively fully integrated into the team as a member of the team with equal rights and duties. If they failed, in some cases the professionals tried to give them more support and more encouragement. All in all, professionals and young people valued the learning effects and on-the-job assistance as very positive. All participants- young people and professionals characterized the job as a "step-by step-process" of getting self-confidence and competencies.

On the second session of further training we discussed the results of these "pre-test" with the participants, offered them additional further training and encouraged them to do further self evaluation.

2.1.8. Final Discussion

Regarding the aspect of expected benefits for young people, the project results document a fully realized success. Within these organisations the young people have been able to stabilize and to orientate themselves in confident relationships: 88% of all young people could make a transition into further education, work or apprenticeship. Regarding the fact that these young people have usually very low chances to get integrated into the labour market, this percentage is very high.

Together with the organisations (and mainly the professionals personally) the young people could improve their motivation and competencies on a very high level. Most of them felt enabled to now go further on. It has been highlighted in the theoretical introduction chapter on young people's transitions to work that only subjectively relevant perspectives can be achieved by own action generate intrinsic motivation. This situation – to gain subjectively relevant experiences and therefore relevant personal options – was given for most of the sample young people.

As the most important success criteria of support we found:

- Child and youth work represents meaningful work for the young unemployed people.
 This is important for unemployed young people because the meaning of work can
 stabilize them during a period of life where they need personal and professional
 orientation. In this sense the Third Sector offers a "moratorium" to get different and
 fragmented problems and questions of modern adulthood together.
- Significance of the limited jobs for the young people: These jobs had been very 'meaningful' for the unemployed young people because they could use it as a "bridge" into their further professional careers. Most of them got motivated and supported in a way that they have been empowered to manage their own lives and careers (again).
- Working in the fields of child and youth work for a limited period of time means keeping
 open options for the young people by doing something meaningful and by proving their
 own capacities under conditions which allow "trial and error".
- Moreover the professional "community" or "social family" of each organisation represent the possibility of separation of parents for the young people because of the mostly trusting relationships the young people develop toward the professionals.
- Youth work especially offers work within specific youth cultural settings. As described above, modern youth culture is able to provide the individuals with the possibility of selfpresentation, symbolic production and development of identity. The young employees can use these options during their work and in the future.
- Child and youth work potentially gives the young woman and men the option to prove alternative gender roles by giving them the opportunity of being exposed to a broader range of role models and working areas. Both men and women are usually allowed to

choose working areas and therefore to experiment with different aspects of gender roles. As argued above, this in itself is an important aspect of a successful transition.

Looking at our TSEP project objectives related to TS organisations, we have to differentiate the results. On the one hand most of the organisations were aware that they are able to increase employability tremendously. Most of them made a lot of efforts to support the young people in getting personal and professional orientation. On the other hand they didn't show hardly any self-confidence in being a labour market actor. As already described, there were and still are internal and external barriers to them doing so. They usually have not enough financial resources for long term job creation and there is hardly any external support to do more than "business as usual" (Nevertheless two of the investigated organizations had been successful in creating more than short term jobs. These organisations are bigger organizations with more financial capacity and they had to go a long way to be able to keep the young people).

Besides this, there is a lack of public and official valuation of their important support given to the young disadvantaged people. As a common consequence they underestimate their own work and they often are not able to develop their potential as a job creator. This means that employment ideas are developed as aspirations, but never could come to be realized because the professionals didn't see any chance for realization regarding their financial and personal situations. Therefore sometimes *real* given chances for getting additional funding aren't used. This attitude is to be seen as a consequence of the permanent dependency on public and governmental payments and the consistent demands to demonstrate their own value and importance. This situation is producing a standstill in regard to innovation and further development.

Our project- and especially the research actions and the further training – raised self-consciousness and self-confidence for many professional youth workers, proceeding their own developments and acting as job creators in future.

With the investigation and training funded by the TSEP program, the professionals of the organizations had been able to reflect internal and external barriers, to discuss possible solutions, to advance internal recognition of the potential of child and youth work and to think about how an improvement of external recognition could be realized. Moreover – as the professionals stressed – together with the young people they could improve their job situation by reflecting the daily work on different levels (self evaluation, further training, discussions with other organizations, etc.).

At the end of the TSEP project- during a last conference- all of the involved organisations in the TSEP project started to plan of enlargement of this scheme (as far as possible) and a few new developments concerning job creation. To support these plans and to continue our previous work, a common proposal has been submitted to the EQUAL program to advance this work.

Recommendations

Our research found that TS organizations like child and youth work are aware of their potential to support unemployed young people. In this respect they practice support of employability initiatives all the time during their daily work, and through their pedagogical

setting of relationship and communication. Concerning their role as job creator they aren't as successful. The German inflexible structures of the Third Sector, inflexible professional barriers and the dependency on public money, create a situation where the professionals cannot act innovatively. They appreciate and use the regional programs, which provide limited jobs for unemployed young people. But they usually refuse to think about the realization of a further employment strategy, whilst wanting to keep some of their young employees. There is hardly any space to act independently of these barriers described here. Therefore we recommend:

- Support of communication between the professionals of these several organizations to help them become aware of their potentials.
- Ideally these communication processes (and development of new action strategies) should be moderated by an external person or organisation.
- The new developed network between research organisation, training and administrative institutions and child or youth work organizations -which is helpful to capitalize resources and to find new ways of funding and/or financing- should proceed with its further plans of job creation and enlargement of regional schemes.
- More official information about the already existing employment schemes specifically regarding their positive effects for broader public recognition.
- A political, scientific and public discussion about the potentials of the Third Sector organizations to foster official recognition.
- Official acknowledgement of the limited job oportunities and the possibilities of further employment.
- Recognition of these (limited) jobs as part of a further apprenticeship, professional training and further career within professional associations and trade corporations.
- Financial playgrounds, which allow "unusual" further employment on a flexible time basis.

2.1.9. Project basis conditions

The German part of the project kept to the time plan except of the last conference with the professionals of the cooperating child and youth organisations, which was held on November 7^{th} , 2000.

Numbers and types of services delivered

- To beneficiaries (unemployed young people): monthly further training and counselling by the AGJF.
- To beneficiaries (professionals of organisations):
 - 2 conferences/work-shops where they got further training and a platform for common discussions and communication,
 - counselling and coaching by the AGJF
 - production of a common video about their work on job creation and development of employability
 - Support to build up a network.

Type and volume of capacity building measures

Monthly meetings between the research organisation, IRIS and the administrative organisation AGJF for planning further activities like work-shops for the professionals and young unemployed people, for extending the networks and for planning follow-up projects to this one.

Capitalization activities

- Common publication with the AGJF, which is circulated to all child and youth organisations in Baden-Württemberg.
- Production of a video-clips about the limited jobs for disadvantaged young people within child and youth work.
- 2 conferences for an audience of professional workers. The thematic focuses have been chosen on the basis of the research results (e.g. gender issues as disregarded aspects of employment, role as job creator political and personal impact, self evaluation as a method to improve institutional aims).
- Lectures at the university on the theme of "empowerment strategies" within 3rd sector organisations.

2.2. Case Study 2: IRELAND

Definition of the Third Sector in Ireland

In Ireland the 'Third Sector' is more commonly described as the 'Community and Voluntary Sector'. Consequently, this project has adopted the definition of the 'Third Sector' put forward by Basini and Buckley;

The term third sector refers to organisations, which may occupy a domain of organisational orientation that is unique from State and private sector enterprises. This encompassing term, the third sector, is intended to include all organisations that are sometimes referred to as Non-Profit, Independent, Voluntary or Charities, that is, third sector organisations: (i) they do not necessarily exist to generate profits for the owners, but may generate income that is spent; (ii) they may be outside the realm of government and private enterprise, but may rely on both for funding or expertise etc.; (iii) they may be staffed by unpaid volunteers as well as paid employees; (iv) they may be exempt from taxation on income or property and may generate revenues through charitable donation. (Basini & Buckley 1999)

Logistical details of Irish Research

The research was undertaken during the period June 1999 - September 2000 and conducted in the Cork area. The research data was compiled by the following methods;

- Literature Review: Compilation of relevant material from recent publications;
- Agency (Focus Group) Meetings: Participation of agency leaders in topic discussions;
- Questionnaire: Survey of members of *Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project* (see below);
- Interviews: Semi-Structured discussions with agency leaders and statutory bodies;
- Portfolio Work: Preparation, creation and compilation of new participative research;
- Peer (Focus) Group Meetings: Meetings with Young People;
- Supervision Sessions: Supervision of portfolio work and discussions.

Portfolio

The method of employing a portfolio as a research device was adapted from an existing model by the authors for work with adult learners on a Youth and Community Degree Programme in University College Cork. The portfolio is a method where individuals can build up, on a week-by-week basis, a catalogue of their positive and negative experiences of working in the Third Sector.

The portfolios used during this research were designed to be accessible to the participant but also challenging. The portfolios required the participant to fill in information on their own personal background, their agency and their hopes for the future. Additionally it required them to reflect weekly on their experiences in work and the skills they used to fulfil their work.

Through this portfolio mechanism, the project sought to enhance the existing of a learning/skills development base within agencies by 'sub-contracting' young people to work indirectly for us on information/data gathering; recording; observation and analysis.

The data gathered from both the portfolios themselves and the experience of using a portfolio are described in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively and an exemplar portfolio is attached in Appendix I.

The Agencies

In Ireland the following voluntary and statutory agencies participated in the study;

- Clonakilty Traveller Women's Group;
- Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project (CODAP)*;
- Gurranabraher Development Centre;
- National Youth Federation*:
- St. Francis Training Centre.

(* Denotes agencies that failed to complete the research task: see Chapter 2)

2.2.1. The Third Sector in Ireland

There are a number of key issues which differentiate the Third Sector in Ireland from that of other EU States. These are:

- a) History and Development
- b) Ethos
- c) Relationship with Government

This brief overview examines these three distinct but related areas which represent the development of the Irish Third Sector from the mainly Church based charities of the turn of the Century to the professionalised, regulated, "Voluntary and Community Sector" at the turn of the Millennium.

History and Development

Voluntarism in Ireland at the turn of the Century is associated with the triumvirate of church, culture and politics. In what became the Irish Free State (and later the Republic) voluntary organisations were mainly church based charitable institutions whose efforts were directed at the needs of the 'deserving' poor. Poverty in Ireland at that time has been well documented and the particular experience of post-famine emigration as well as issues of housing, health and disadvantage of the era are well known (see Lyons 1971).

Within Ireland voluntary and cultural organisations such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) need to be recognised as being at the core of locally based voluntary and community activity. Nowhere else is the triumvirate of church, culture and politics is this more apparent.

The rural and religious links associated with the GAA are also shared with early rural development organisations in Ireland such as Macra na Feirme and Muntir na Tire. These organisations that evolved from the co-operative tradition were based on parish organisation and a self-help ethos. Alongside the organised church based charities, the Third Sector was an integral provider of essential social services such as education, health care and child care (see Powell 1992).

The period from the 1950's to the 1970's represent a decline in two elements which heretofore shaped the development of the Third Sector in Ireland; namely the strong rural

bias and the minimal involvement of the state. The modernisation of Irish society has been identified as setting the agenda of increased urbanisation and secularisation. In the face of these developments the Third Sector also had to change to the demands of a more sophisticated, but also fragmented, society.

Essential to understanding the development of the Third Sector in Ireland is the recognition of the influence of the Catholic Church and its social teaching. The institution continues to have a significant role to play in many voluntary organisations today as well as in the provision of social services. Indeed, this has been recognised and endorsed most recently by the Irish Government in its Green paper1 on the Voluntary and Community Sector *Supporting Voluntary Activity:*

The Government greatly values the vital role played by these various organisations and acknowledges the enormous contribution made by them in assisting individuals in need, the communities in which they live and work and society as a whole. (Dept. of Social Welfare 1997: 31).

Although there are many church based organisations carrying out essential work, particularly in the area of social services, these organisations have been augmented by a diverse range of locally based democratic voluntary organisations. The significant difference between these organisations and the more traditional agencies is evident in the core issues of youth and community work; animation, negotiation and enabling. Indeed these core issues have changed the emphasis of the Third Sector to what Burgess has identified as 'working alongside and *with* people rather than *for* them' (Burgess 1996: 1 (original emphasis)).

Vital work is now been carried out in both rural and urban Ireland by many new voluntary organisations that have found themselves not only addressing gaps in public provision but also attempting to influence public policy. Increased politicisation within the Third Sector has heightened awareness of local communities and led, in some instances, to a more critical appraisal of the ideology of the State.

State and Third Sector Partnerships

Since 1997 an attempt has been made by the Government to define the relationship between the Third Sector and the State in the Green paper *Supporting Voluntary Activity*. This relationship is based on a partnership model, which requires the Government, the Third Sector and the Private Sector to play an active part in Civil Society. In the words of the Green paper;

[This] requires the development of an enabling and open State, which is engaged in dialogue, and partnership, which allows bottom-up responses to emerge from voluntary organisations and community groups. It requires a consistent degree of commitment from Government to participate as an active partner in the process. (Dept of Social Welfare 1997: 24)

The State, however, also influences the development of the Third Sector in Ireland through its significant financial contributions to the Sector. The financing role of Government often supersedes its role as an active partner when voluntary; community and youth organisations compete for a limited amount of resources. Central to this issue is the role of FAS (the State

¹ Green Paper: A discussion document published by the Government.

employment agency) and the Community Employment (CE) Scheme, which finances many of the available jobs in the Third Sector.

Powell and Guerin argue the scheme, which, in 1997 employed 48'000 people, could be seen either as a model of 'workfare' or 'the representation of responsible citizenship' (Powell and Guerin 1998: 60). Although the scheme has been an undoubted benefit to the Third Sector it is not without its failings, particularly for workers.

As the Third Sector strives to empower and include people and communities in Irish society it does so in the face of many challenges. It too must respond to the needs of a changing Ireland and seek to redress the inequalities within communities. It must also decide whether it will accept the partnership model as envisaged by the State. The publication of the Green paper may have opened the door to better understanding between the State and the voluntary and community sector, however, there are still many challenges to be addressed both within the Third Sector and in the communities it serves. These challenges can often be witnessed in the local sphere

Cork: A Regional Perspective on the Third Sector

Cork City with a population of 130'000 inhabitants is Ireland's most southern city. Built near the mouth of the river Lee the city has developed on both the north and south sides of the river and serves as a major national port. In the present economic climate Cork city has become a popular and increasingly attractive city. However, many members of the population suffer the effects of disadvantage and exclusion.

The Third Sector in Cork encompasses a whole range of local based services offered in the city, such as

- Social service providers;
- Locally based lobby groups;
- Community development organisations;
- Youth work agencies;
- Family centres.

The agencies that participated in this study fall within four of these categories. The selection of the agencies reflects the fact that young peoples involvement in the Third Sector is based mainly in the developmental spheres of community work, youth work and rights based lobbying, rather than the longer established, but traditional, family and service based organisations.

Table 7: Participating Agencies and their Spheres of Work

Clonakilty Travellers Women's Group	Lobby Group
Youthlinks	Community Development
Cork City Partnership	Community Development
National Youth Federation	Youth Work
St. Francis Training Centre	Social Service and Education

The development of the Third Sector in Cork has not yet been documented on the whole. However, specific research shows a high concentration of community based organisations in

disadvantaged areas (Hennessy and Powell 1999). This fact highlights how the Third Sector is often the leading provider of social and community services for otherwise marginalized communities.

Supporting the Third Sector in Cork

Cork City has a long tradition of sustained voluntary activity. Integral to this is the role and support of volunteers and voluntary organisations, which comes from four different levels;

- a) Local communities;
- b) Support agencies;
- c) Statutory bodies;
- d) Education initiatives.

Local communities are the most important support system for the Third Sector in Cork. Through the community come the volunteers, the project impetus and the ideas. Additionally, local communities provide resources such as venues as well as fund-raising and additional support.

Cork city has a number of voluntary and community support agencies. Among these are the State financed *Cork City Partnership* and the independent organisation *Cork Community Development Institute*. These agencies, which receive either core or local government funding, are run on the ideals, which inform the principles of the Third Sector in Ireland. Community and Voluntary organisations in Cork receive support from both core and local Government agencies. Through the *Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs*, the *Department of Health* and the *Department of Education* central government provides various funding initiatives and grants to the Third Sector. Local Government grants come through the agencies of the local authority, *Cork Corporation*.

The Third Sector and the Transition from School to Work

The role of the Third Sector in assisting the transition from education to work has three dimensions, all with different emphasis. These are

- a) Mainstream Education to Work
- b) Informal / Alternative Education to Work
- c) Third Level Education to Work

a) Mainstream Education to Work

The relationship of the Third Sector to mainstream education and work is secondary. Youth work agencies, such as *Youthlinks*, provide secondary supports for young people such as homework clubs as well as provision of extra-curricular developmental education. Rarely are they involved in placing young people in work places outside of the Third Sector. In the main the young person's involvement in the Third Sector will result in personal development and skills acquisition. The emphasis of the agency will be to encourage the young person to remain in mainstream education or progress to further education.

b) Informal / Alternative Education to Work

Agencies such as *St. Francis Training Centre* who provide an alternative education system for young people who have dropped out of mainstream education have a considerable relationship with job providers. Young people in alternative education would be considered *at risk*, educationally, socially or emotionally. In this instance young people are provided with supervised workplaces after completion of or during training. In the event of difficulties arising from work, the agency would provide a mediation service resulting in continuation of work or procurement of alternative work settings.

c) Third Level Education to Work

Third level institutions such as *University College Cork* (UCC) and the *Cork Institute of Technology* provide many educational supports for young people choosing a career in the Third Sector. These courses work on a partnership model in which the Third Sector plays a considerable role.

All the participating agencies have had students on training placements on the Bachelor of Social Science (Youth and Community Work) degree. This degree course is aimed at providing volunteers and workers from local communities with professional skills necessary for working in the Third Sector. The course, run by the *Department of Applied Social Studies*, UCC, is a three year degree which involve students (over the age of 23) receiving in-class education and on placement training (Department of Applied Social Studies 1999). The commitment between the Third Sector and the University is one of the best examples of how the Third Sector provides education, skills development and work experience for young people.

The Meaning of "Work" in the Third Sector

There is considerable debate about the meaning of work and the role of the Third Sector in Ireland. This has its origins in the changing nature and increasing demands on workers in the voluntary sector. O'Sullivan (2000) argues that 'fundamental tensions and contradictions' exist within the Third Sector which are best understood in light of the changing service requirements and the 'reconfiguration of the welfare state'. O'Sullivan notes the erosion of the welfare state, the individualisation of citizenship and the fragmentation of society as factors in the debate about civil society in Ireland (O'Sullivan 2000: 54-58).

Further tension and ambiguity exists in the 'professionalisation' of the Third Sector. As the Sector responds to the increasing demands made on it, it has required more and more professionals to work in a full-time paid capacity. The tension between - and the transformation of - the traditional volunteer dependent associations to professional agencies deepens the ambiguity of terms such as 'Voluntary Sector' and creates divisions in status between volunteers and paid workers. For volunteers there is the danger of lower status compared to paid employees, while for employees there is the danger of finding themselves in the secondary labour market with the inherent risks of lower wages, job insecurity, no career structures and poor union representation (Powell and Guerin 1998; O'Donovan and Varley 1995).

In conclusion, the sustainability of jobs in the Third Sector is highly affected by external issues, most notably funding. This leads to future uncertainties and considerable pressure on agencies affecting the motivation of individual workers, as well as having a directly negative affect on the continuity of work in specific projects. Cork city - which has a high

number of projects and agencies, which combine to make a vibrant Third Sector - is also affected by a lack of volunteers, as more young people find work in the buoyant private sector.

This study reflects some of these problems and notes the need for more communication between, and information about, the various projects that offer services to marginalized communities in the city. Chapter2, *Overview of Target Agencies in the Third Sector*, will examine the specific nature of the work of our target agencies while biographical experiences are taken up in Chapter 3 *Individual Perspectives*.

2.2.3. Overview of Target Agencies in the Third Sector

Five agencies in the Third Sector agreed to participate in this research project. They were selected on the basis that they were;

- a) Representative of the Third Sector in general;
- b) Representative of areas of disadvantage and discrimination in Ireland;
- c) Supported the aims of this project and were able to supervise workers;
- d) Supported workers portfolio sub-contract.

The initial projects selected were:

- Cork City Partnership: Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project (CODAP);
- Youthlinks, Gurranabraher Development Centre;
- St. Francis Training Centre.
- National Youth Federation, Cork;

Due to some of the afore mentioned financial and internal pressures, the *National Youth Federation, Cork* closed down during the project. They were subsequently replaced by: -

• Clonakilty Traveller Women's Group.

Additionally, *Cork City Partnership's Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project* also closed during the research period. However the young people had already participated in a questionnaire survey for the research project, which elicited other valuable information.

Despite the loss of two of the participating agencies during the research process, this report describes all the participating organisations in their own terms, augmented by our analysis. Additionally Table 2 below outlines more descriptive information about the individual projects.

Organisation Descriptions

Cork City Partnership Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project (CODAP)

The CODAP project was set up through the efforts of one local community to address the drugs problem in their area. Through a 'community forum' and with the support of Cork City Partnership, Ógra Chorcaigh (Youth Agency), Cork Community Development Institute, Cork City Local Drug Task Force and FAS (State employment agency) young people were

asked to become involved in the project in a paid capacity. The project was housed in Cork City Partnership and the young people have undertaken courses in personal development and computers as part of the project. The final result of the first year of this project was a research report entitled; *Drugs Unplugged: Facing the reality of drug abuse in Cork City.*

"The Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project (CODAP) is a group of 15 young researchers who have studied the drug problem in Cork City. The research project was set up as a result of recognition that young people need to have their voices heard. The unique aspect of the study is the peer research approach used in which 15 young people have designed, planned and carried out all aspects of the study. As part of the peer research approach, we have also used our own personal knowledge of the drug issue in Cork City as the basis for shaping the objectives of the study and the methods used in collecting the information". (CODAP 1999: 7)

St. Francis Training Centre

The importance of St. Francis Training Centre in this research is their work, commitment and acknowledgement of the severe disadvantage and poverty, which continues to exist in Ireland today. Their work is part funded by Government Departments and State Agencies, as well as their own fund raising efforts, which includes a restaurant and bakery run by the agency in Cork City. The centre comes in contact with the young people through various ways such as the Justice System, Education Attendance Officers, Social Workers etc. The centre provides a safe environment for the young people and encourages them at an early stage to take up education.

"St. Francis Training Centre is situated at 16 Fr. Matthew Street in the heart of Cork City. It provides an integrated programme of both education and training for those who attend. The target group are early school leavers between the ages of 13 - 18. This target group are the most disadvantaged. The comprehensive model... is an effective and groundbreaking one providing the target group with a second chance of both Education and Training. Having evolved over 20 years the programme is implemented by a staff who have vast experience in this area." (St. Francis Training Centre 1998: 1)

• Youthlinks, Gurranabraher Development Centre

Youthlinks Development Centre is situated in one of the more disadvantaged areas in Cork City. Using development education models it challenges young people on both a personal and societal level. The project has been involved in many political issue campaigns in the City and in particular has used street theatre as a medium to get its message across. Young people have progressed through the project and become involved in peer education models as well as becoming paid youth leaders. Young people have been trained in the areas of drug awareness, youth drama and art, peer education. Through a 'job search' programme 30 people have been placed in employment and further education.

"The aim of the project is to provide young people with the opportunity to participate recreationally, to develop social and creative skills, and to be challenged in a positive and enjoyable environment. This is achieved through contact with youth workers familiar with the special needs of the young people in the hope that social disadvantage/isolation will be reduced thus leading to emotional and positive social development.... The project caters for the 15-21 year age group, while the 7-14 age group is also serviced." (Youthlinks Development Centre 1999: 3)

Clonakilty Travellers Women's Group

Travellers are an indigenous Irish ethnic minority who have only recently been afforded status as an ethnic group (Traveller Visibility Group 1993). The Clonakilty Travellers Group seeks to empower Travellers to speak out on their own behalf. The group provides facilities and programs for women, men and young people. The Group have an active youth group, has involved men in a CE scheme on a "halting site" (temporary accommodation for nomadic travellers) and has successfully participated in committees with statutory agencies. The scheme presently employs one co-ordinator on a half-time basis, and is hoping to increase the number of positions on its FAS course from the present three positions available.

"Clonakilty Traveller Group is now well established and continues to develop as a small determined, forward thinking Family Centre. This, in spite of the surrounding social and financial affluence, which has only served to increase the gap of social exclusion, of an already marginalized group. However, the Traveller Group continues to strive towards better integration with the settled community. The overall aims of the group are to develop a Traveller Family Centre for all Travellers in the area; to be a voice for all Traveller in West Cork; to empower ourselves so that we can represent our views and concerns ourselves; and to continue to being a Traveller led group; we also aim to challenge discrimination and become more integrated into the local community" (Clonakilty Travellers Association 2000: 3)

Table 8: Descriptions of Cork based Projects

AGENCY	STAFF	FINANCE	STATUS	SERVICES	OTHER
Cork City Partnership : (CODAP)	1 Re- searcher 1 Supervisor	State funding from FAS and Drugs Taskforce	Ltd. Public Partnership Company with Charity Status.	Research project and schools outreach	This was a once off pilot project
St. Francis Training Centre	4 Admin. Staff 9 Teachers FAS Scheme Workers (12)	State funding from FAS and VEC. Own fundraising efforts also.	Ltd. Company with Charity Status. Works with private employers.	Education and vocational training for early school leavers.	The project is changing its work focus emphasisi ng education.
Youthlinks	1 Co- ordinator 2 Youth- Workers	State and EU funding controlled by National Youth Federation, Dublin.	Ltd. Company with Charity Status. No private involvement.	Youth service with emphasis on development education, after school groups and arts.	Youthlinks is going through a period of transition with its future in doubt.
Clonakilty Travellers Group	1 Co- ordinator 3 FAS	State funding from Dept.	Ltd. Company with Charity Status. No	Campaigning, for Traveller Rights and	Traveller led organi-

Scheme	of Social	private involv.	Social	sation.
Workers	Welfare.		Services	

Motivation of Agencies to Employ Young People

The motivation of agencies to employ young people is based on four factors;

- Challenging Potentially Harmful Behaviour
- Provision of Education and Training
- Unemployment and Skills Acquisition
- Discrimination

Challenging Potentially Harmful Behaviour

The genesis of the CODAP project was when local communities approached the organisation expressing their concern about the use of drugs in their areas. They asked *Cork City Partnership* to undertake research into the issue. The outcome from these discussions resulted in fifteen young people from local communities being trained as social researchers and conducting peer research in their own communities. The young people had become part of the scheme on the grounds that they could *give or gain* something from the project. Therefore the work involved a considerable amount of training. The researchers were paid through a special Community Employment (CE) scheme.

• Provision of Education and Training

St. Francis Training Centre provided vocational training, work placement and education to early school leavers from disadvantaged areas of Cork city. In the area of jobs the Centre liases with employers in Cork who provide skilled and low-skilled employment for the young people. In its work with young people the aim of the organisation is to provide 'alternative highs' for young people and bringing them through a process of academic, social, multi-skills education, which will eventually prepare the young people for the jobs market. The tasks and duties for young people attending St. Francis Training Centre are associated with their on-going development and engagement with the educational and vocational training process. These duties reflect the fact that these young people are 'underprivileged' and come from disadvantaged areas, and sometimes-dysfunctional families. The jobs associated with St. Francis training centre are located mainly in the private service sector, including catering; metalwork; woodwork; mechanics (car maintenance etc.)

• Unemployment and Skills Acquisition

Youthlinks has created jobs for young people in an area of Cork city, which has experienced up to 80% unemployment. In particular Youthlinks has focussed on giving young people skills as "Community Youth Workers". The title of this field of work reflects the fact that there is a growing emphasis of the youth worker as being community based and motivated by community issues. Community youth work involves a considerable number of duties, which can be categorised by three areas of work; community based work; outreach orientated work and advocacy. Predominantly this area of work enables young people to work with disadvantaged young people in their own areas.

Discrimination

The work of the *Clonakilty Travellers Women's Group* and the young people employed there reflects many of the issues, which have already been highlighted by the other participating

agencies. However, on top of these issues there are also considerable barriers, which the Clonakilty Travellers Group face due to their status as Travellers. Discrimination against Travellers has a long history in Ireland, as Wren asserts:

"Wherever they came from and whenever their identity became distinct, travellers today are seen to be different and are treated differently. They are the victims of blatant discrimination. Their non-conformism to the Irish norm and specifically to the norm of urbanised, affluent Ireland is used to justify refusing them jobs, health care, education and housing." (Wren 1981: 17)

Expectations of the Agencies and the Workers

The Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project was based on a system of progression, which brought young people in from their communities and trained them as social researchers. As this project has proved to be a successful pilot project Cork City Partnership found that there were not so much barriers but learning experiences from the initiative. However, these experiences are valuable and need to be written up and recorded. This process could be used for other Third Sector agencies. However, leaders were very dissatisfied in the way the project was concluded sharing the concerns of the young people that this process was not participative and resulted in job insecurity for the young people involved.

As the purpose of St. Francis Training Centre is to meet the basic needs of young people the expectations of the agency and leaders are similar. This includes feeding the young people and providing a safe environment for them to learn. The young people are obliged to respect other young people and workers. They must behave themselves and there is a system of docking the young people privileges and/or money if they contravene the negotiated 'rules' in the centre. The strategies that St. Francis Training Centre use to create jobs reflects the level of needs the young people have. The aim of the project to educate and train young disadvantaged people from their entry to their leaving the project involves a large amount of personal development work.

For *Youthlinks* job creation within the Third Sector in Ireland is dependent on both local and national factors. As Cork is a small city with a vibrant Third Sector networks are seen to be a very important part of youth and community work. There is the added dimension that with a small number of professionals and volunteers working in the Sector the chances of regular use of informal contacts is high. The problems that arose for agencies trying to create employment opportunities for young people were mainly associated with national factors, in particular funding. In some respects these issues can be related to the pressures of short-term funding experienced by agencies across Europe.

The Impact of the Employment Project

Each agency was enthusiastic about their participation in this research project. The subcontracts with each agency stimulated the agency to examine wider supports for the young people and gave the young people an opportunity to learn and reflect on their skills development. A number of issues were considered to be particular to the Irish context. These included the considerable number of low paid black market jobs available to young people at the present time. In the short term the nature of the employment was seen as being attractive to young people and led them away from the education and training process. In the long term it was feared that young people would find themselves in a more competitive labour market without recognised qualifications.

The emphasis on participation brought agencies closer and the debates on progression were particularly rewarding. As the work with young people is often on quite a personalised basis a lot of the work of progression needed to address issues of a personal and environmental nature. For some agencies this required that progression start at a very basic level. This may involve meeting basic physiological needs and moves towards affirmation and confidence building. The evolution of a successful progression model merits examination and key areas can be identified from the experiences of the Cork agencies

Evaluation of Progression

The agencies involved identified a number of stages that they believe assist job creation in the Irish context. However, they point out that there are no formal structures in this area. Although the agencies were able to identify strategies they employed to create work they argued that there was no regular procedure and that often they relied on their informal contacts to create opportunities for employment.

For progression to be successful it must be a process whereby equal attention is given to conclusion as is given to the establishment and evolution of the initiative. This may present the biggest challenge to the progression process. The stages identified in Table 3, *Stages of Job Progression*, are not used in any chronological order but should be part of the whole process. Equally all may not be employed in a given instance. Within the stages there is a considerable amount of over lap and the use of informal networks is evident. Although, naturally, a sequence of events occurs in the job creation process this may vary depending on the job, the employee and the employer. The type of funding also influences progression heavily.

In the area of employment strategies the Third Sector agencies were able to identify a number of stages that could be seen as being part of a process of progression. However, the sequence of the stages was not formalised and there was further evidence of the use of informal networks as being at the forefront of job creation strategies.

Table 9 : Stages of Job Progression

Working With Social Partners	To begin a successful programme for progression, agencies must work with all partner agencies already, and potentially, involved with the young people.
Targeting Young People	Agencies should seek assistance targeting young people for specific programmes. Acknowledging suitability may prevent unfounded expectations and future disappointments for young people.
Recognising The "Reality" Of	It is vital that the agencies are familiar with the
The Young People	backgrounds, culture and experiences of the young

	people and the youth scene.
Provide Supervised Placements For The Young People	Where possible suitable supervisors should be appointed to work with the young people in the agency and out on work experience.
Providing Resources For Those Young People	It is vital that the young people are provided with the necessary resources to create a climate of stability in the workplace.
Having Specific Agreed Progression Routes	Progression routes should focus on a specific objective. Young people must be aware of, and part of, the strategies and the decision making procedures which begin and conclude the process
Having Specific Tasks To Complete	It is considered vital that young people are given specific objectives to complete during the process. This gives a sense of achievement, but does not preclude the possibility of adaptation and initiative.
Confidence Building	One of the first stages in assisting young people to further employment is building their confidence and sense of self-worth.
Education	Young people progressing or being referred through the education system may be early school leavers. During progression young people can be re-introduced to education and training.
Further Training	Young people can progress from the youth agency to take up further professional training
Working With Other Agencies	Statutory and other Third Sector agencies can offer assistance to young people and their agencies as a support or as a link at a later stage.
Credibility	The credibility of an organisation with young people will assist confidence building and assist progressing from one workplace to another.
Target Employers	Many young people will not have contacts with the private market. Providing joint payment opportunities to young people will bring young people in contact with other employers.
Conclude Process And Assist Young People Move Forward	It is vital that the whole progression route is seamless. In particular the process of conclusion must be fully understood by the young people.
Keep In Touch With The Young People When They Are At Work	Keep the channels of communication open with young people after they leave the agency then if necessary they can come to the agency for support.

2.2.4. Individual Perspectives

As part of the research methodology young people were sub-contracted within their existing agency and encouraged to participate directly in the research as employed "research assistants". Candidates were selected by a number of criteria;

• Age Eligibility (15-35)

- Commitment
- Preliminary Skills
- Experience of the Third Sector
- Recommendation by agencies
- Representation of geographic area / disadvantage / target group

This process was undertaken by each separate agency, with the assistance of the research officer and with the co-operation of the young people. Portfolios were used in three of the participating agencies, representing nine young people, while one agency was researched directly using questionnaires prior to the project being discontinued, 10 young people participated directly in this manner.

Portfolio Work

The research methodology employed was by portfolio where each candidate reflected on their experience of work and evaluated these experiences. Candidates were also required to identify skills they use in the Third Sector. The purpose of the portfolio was to create a task-orientated system of self-evaluation, which would be financed through this project. The possibility of employment through this means assisted the research process and the legitimacy of the candidates work in equal measure. A copy of portfolio outlines as employed by young people is attached in Appendix 1.

Portfolios are designed to enhance a person's awareness of their skills, their qualities, their needs and their goals. They are a challenging and rewarding way of self-evaluation. As Redman and Rogers state on their experience of using portfolios for the youth service:

"The portfolio approach assists the development of individuals and of the youth service. Individuals develop because of increased awareness of their strengths. This brings greater self-confidence and self-esteem. In turn this enables them to take more responsibility for their own continued learning needs. A portfolio reflects whom a person is and what he or she has to offer. It is the possession of the individual." (Redman and Rogers 1988: 47)

The portfolio itself was adapted from the model used by the Bachelor of Social Science Youth and Community in University College, Cork. Significant differences from the original model lay in the fact that the exercise was not assessed; the expectations were lowered and the skills areas were identified and filled in by pre-recorded 'tick-boxes' as opposed to being identified by the participant. Additionally participants were encouraged to reflect on their experiences for the future.

Supervision

The portfolio was supervised by the research officer, which created additional but rewarding work. However, it would be essential to note that supervision requires specific experience in the area of tutorial support. The research officer was to meet the research candidates three times, however it in reality more than three meetings was necessary.

On beginning the portfolio the participants were fully briefed on the project, the research process, the expectations and the supervision. Prior to the participants beginning the process each agency was briefed on the portfolio and made recommendations on its

contents. Equally participants were encouraged to adapt the portfolio to suit their needs and experiences.

Table 10: Individual Biographies of Portfolio Participants

Cand i- date	Agency/ Project	Pre-Agency Experience	Motivation to join Agency	Work Scheme	Type Work	Other Issues Mentioned
BW	C.T.G.	Early-school leaver. Mother5	Targeted by community.	FAS Project	Arts Accounts	Discrimination in work market.
AOD	C.T.G.	Early-school leaver. Mother1	Through Parent	FAS Project	Youth Work	Sought work outside agency
ED	C.T.G.	Early-school leaver.	Through friends mother	Volunteer Project	Youth Work	Expecting first child.
GW	S.F.T.C.	Early-school leaver. Mother3	Through Sister Wanted work	FAS Project	Cleaning	Did state exams in agency
CW	S.F.T.C.	Expelled from Schools.	Brother had been in agency	Project	Training	Did state exams in agency
FH	S.F.T.C.	Emigrated. Mother 2.	Through friend Wanted work	FAS Project	Accounts Admin.	First job since having children
RG	G.D.C.	Early-school leaver. Prisoner.	Overcome drug problems	FAS Project	Youth Work	Had difficulty with portfolio
VH	G.D.C.	3rd Level Student	Study Placement Local Area	Project	Youth Work	Difficulties within agency
EL	G.D.C.	2nd Level Student	Study Placement Local Area	Project	Youth Work	Difficulties with other staff.

Legend : C.T.G. : Clonakilty Traveller Group; S.F.T.C. : St. Francis Training Centre; G.D.C. : Gurranabraher Development Centre; FAS : State Employment Agency.

Individual Biographies of Research Participants

Cork City Partnerships project entitled *Community Outreach Drugs Awareness Project* (CODAP) also participated in the study. All the young people were employed as social researchers through a FAS, CE scheme. They all shared the common experience of early-school leaving and the majority were young mothers. The young people were all targeted by their local communities to join the project as according the project manager "they had something to give from the project or the project had something to give them". The project ceased during the research process but the young people had already given detailed information on their experiences and expectations of their project.

Young Peoples Experience of Work in the Voluntary Sector

The young people involved in this project had varied experiences of work in the Third Sector. These can be broken into a number of categories;

Finding Work and the Pressures of Parenthood

The majority of the young people came to be in their agencies through personal contacts. All people identified parents, siblings, friends and community as the basic introduction to the Third Sector. Without available crèche facilities young people who have children are reliant on job places, which can cater for their children. The Third Sector more regularly provides such facilities in contrast the private market.

Early-School Leaving.

Early-school leaving is a barrier to entry to work in the private sector. As part of the recruitment process employers are using basic, but increasingly higher, standards of education as minimum requirements to work. The Third Sector is the predominant employer of young people without education. This increases the demands on the Third Sector to act as educator and employer. Conversely, however, in the Irish 'tiger' economy, young people are being attracted out of education into the manual labour market.

Traveller Issues

For Traveller women where there is a culture of young marriages and childbirth the issue of parent hood is combined with anti-Traveller discrimination. Both Traveller men and women are excluded from the mainstream private and public labour market resulting in Traveller men remaining in a quasi 'Traveller' economy, and further marginalizing traveller women. One participant clearly outlined the need for the Third Sector in this area;

"It is hard to get work as a traveller woman or man, if there was no women's group in Clonakilty I think we as Travellers would not have a life outside the house."

Financial Expectations and Personal Relationships

It is interesting to note that none of the young people mentioned their wages as an issue during the research. Traditionally the Third Sector cannot compete with wages in the private market, however, when so many young people are excluded from that market then perhaps the priority of wages is replaced with the priority of work. Indeed, more emphasis was placed on the fact that the Third Sector provides more time to establish personal relationships and friendships with work colleagues. One participant said;

"I like to be able to get on with the people I work with. I think that if you can't get on with the people then you won't like where you work. Well that's is my opinion."

Geographic Issues

There are practical reasons why many young people who work in the Third Sector live close to their workplace. For example agencies are usually located within a specific disadvantaged area, people do not have access to private or public transport, and also childcare issues and convenience play a part. However one youth worker spoke about her reservations and findings of working close to home;

"I was a little nervous as I lived in Gurranabraher and I thought that the kids might not see me as a leader but as the girl who lived up the road... I got to know all the kids and the fact that I lived in the area turned out to be an advantage to me a some of the kids seemed to really trust me."

Young Peoples Motivation in and Experience of the Agency

There was a clear attitude expressed in the portfolio's that while employment in the Third Sector was enjoyable and rewarding that it was also stressful, and not perceived as a "real job". All the young people were very positive about their experience of the individual agencies, but were also conscious of their limits.

Stress in the Third Sector

Working in the Third Sector can be challenging particularly when so much of the work relates to experiences of disadvantage and discrimination. As agencies are hard pressed to find funding, audit accounts and keep on top of the administration often the work can fall on too few hands. The young people found this very challenging;

"I would not like to work in the [agency] full-time. I think a year is enough. I was doing a lot for the women's group, too much pressure was on one person, who knew what they were doing, for example people who can read and write better, I was one of them."

"It's [the work] different and varies from day-to-day. The kids keep things interesting. However it means having to stay in the centre for a really long day, without getting out."

Education in the Third Sector

The young people based in St. Francis Training Centre, which places a lot of emphasis on continuing education, found the education aspect of the Third Sector of personal and wider benefit. These young people are all early-school leavers so their emphasis on education is therefore more significant;

"By doing the Junior Cert I am showing my children an example that if I can do this then when it is time for them they can do it as well."

"Well this is it my exams are done with and the relief is unbelievable, my shoulders fell so high and what's best about it all is that I feel I aced my exams"

Views of the Work of the Agency and the difficulty of Future Funding

The young people were all aware of the funding difficulties faced by their different centres as well as the difficulty in keeping leaders and volunteers. All the young people were in admiration of the work of their centres and expressed these views forthrightly.

"The Centre's main purpose is education no matter what age. It serves for people who left school early or were expelled before exams. It helps provide people with a future that they can cope with.. Our centre is a good centre that cares and helps in as many ways as it can."

"The centre provides a great service not only to the disadvantaged boys and girls, but also to those of us who are on Community Employment schemes. Being able to work part-time is a great advantage to those of us who have children."

However, young people were also very aware of the financial difficulties faced by their agencies, worrying about the future of the agency and the effect this would have on the service group;

"Less children seem to be turning up and some groups even have to be cancelled as there is not enough leaders. I think this is terrible, the place has so much to offer to children and it seems to be just disintegrating into thin air. To be quite honest I don't think it will be open in the near future and I think that is going to be a terrible shame."

"There isn't much funds there to run the centre which is a shame because the centre has helped so many people up to the present day."

Young Peoples Expectations of Work in the Third Sector

A number of young people spoke and wrote about how the Third Sector had helped them individually to find a "real" or a "good job". Their view of the Third Sector was that the skills they learnt would act as a springboard to transfer their skills into the private and better-paid job market.

"I hope that I can keep going and get further in my career doing bar work and also I would like to do something around childcare. It would be great that means I would be qualified for some good job, and it would make me a better person and get on in life better."

"My hopes for the future are all long-term - honour the leaving Cert, good course in college, good career, plenty of money. I would like to work full-time in the agency but obviously I can't. I don't want to go into this area of work when I'm older."

"This week I finished my ECDL. I did the Internet module and the theory one. I passed both exams and received a certificate. I feel very good about completing it. It was challenging. I now feel I have a very good understanding of the different computer programmes. Hopefully it will help me get a good job."

Young Peoples Personal and Social Development

The portfolio gave an opportunity to young people to record their personal experiences of work. The young people reflected on what was going on around them, their own actions, the actions of their peers and leaders. The personal journal in particular provided an opportunity for the young people to record some of their thoughts and helped give them confidence to voice their concerns with their management which otherwise would not have been expressed, such as;

"One day [a leader] was helping this particular boy who has a very short attention span and required one to one attention. The boy had an English comprehension to do. This leader instead of giving him a hint, underlined all the answers in the text. This was probably the most stupid thing I've ever seen anybody do. It defeats the purpose of the work."

Young Peoples Perceptions of Portfolio Work

The young people who participated in the portfolio work were very agreeable to the idea. Their motivation came from the enthusiasm of their leaders, from the fact they were doing a written exercise which was <u>not</u> going to be assessed and, of-course, because it was part of their paid work. The opportunity to meet with an external supervisor provided the young people with the possibility of discussing some of their thoughts and also their views on their agencies and on their leaders. This was one of the most interesting aspects of the portfolio. It appeared as if once the young people had written about their feelings they were no longer reluctant to express them. On the whole the young people expressed satisfaction with the portfolio work;

"It's strange writing how you feel and what you did."

"I enjoyed working on the portfolio mainly because it made me take a good look at the work I do and also how far I have come in the two years I have worked at the centre."

Skills Acquired Through Participation

One of the strongest aspects of the portfolio method is that young people become aware of their skills knowledge. The portfolio included a section on the skills typically used in the Third Sector.

As seen in Table 5 *Skills, Issues and Knowledge Employed in the Third Sector* below, the skills required to work in the Third Sector involve a wide range of knowledge which facilitate young people, their peers, adults and the community in general. The skills required are varied and are intended to promote good working practices on behalf of the agency, the young people and the community. In addition to these skills young people involved in Community Youth Work and Social Research also developed specific skills, which are appended in Appendix II and Appendix III respectively.

Table 11: Skills, Issues and Knowledge Employed in the Third Sector

 Engagement Skills ♦ Ethical Issues Race Confidentiality Assessment Skills ◆ Gender Communication Skills Confrontation Disability Organisational Skills ◆ Listening ♦ Health Action Skills Authority Class Record Keeping Anger management Life Chances Disengagement Skills Personal Awareness Time Keeping

Overall the portfolio gave an opportunity to young people to be aware of their own work skills, it gave them goals to work towards and made them aware of areas that needed to be improved.

"I did enjoy keeping this diary and I felt it taught me a little more about myself...I also found the skills sheets was an advantage as it showed me areas which I am good at and also areas which need improvement"

In conclusion, there are considerable barriers to creating work for young people. Difficulties arise at the micro level of the young persons own background and the macro level of prejudice and exclusion. The nature of funding grants to the Third Sector from local, national and European level was also considered by the young people as a barrier to effective planning and participation.

However, the above named barriers do not stop participation but prove the difficulties some young people must overcome to acquire skills and work, which will enable them to work in the Third Sector. Chapter 4 *Conclusions: Findings and Recommendations* examines the full findings of this research project.

2.2.5. Conclusion: Findings and Recommendations

This research has examined issues relating to the Third Sector in Ireland, the experiences of Third Sector agencies, and the employment of young people in the Third Sector. Additionally this project has recommended a system of self-evaluation using portfolios and supervision and had also made recommendations on job progression.

The Third Sector in Ireland

The Third Sector or "Voluntary and Community Sector" in Ireland has a long history. The ethos and values of the Sector have been heavily influenced by the role of the Catholic Church, which emphasised local development and self-sufficiency. In more recent times the Third Sector has expanded to include developmental models which emphasise the core values of youth and community work; animation, negotiation and enabling.

Although the Third Sector in Ireland is vibrant, it is also feeling the pressures of the 'tiger economy'. A reduction in the number of volunteers influenced by increased individualisation, the erosion of social cohesion and the increased professionalisation of Voluntary and Community services limits the level of work that can be achieved on the ground. Conversely the Third Sector now plays a leading part on the national scene as one of the pillars of the Social Partnership with the State and the Private Sector.

In the Social Partnership Agreements the Third Sector represents the most disadvantaged and excluded groups. This also reflects the work that is carried out on the ground in cities such as Cork. In Cork there is a wide variety of services available through Third Sector agencies, namely Social Service Provision; Lobby Groups; Community Development Organisations; Youth Work Agencies and Family Centres.

Employment in the Third Sector is heavily influenced by the funding made available to it. Most agencies work on a short-term basis without any guarantees for future funding. This leaves agencies and workers in a compromised position and undervalues the meaning of work in the Third Sector. As the Sector is increasingly professionalised tensions arise between the status of volunteers and workers. With the additional responsibility placed on the Third Sector through its new found status in the State there is a need for professional

workers. These workers however, often find themselves in a secondary labour market with conditions, which offer no job security, poor pay, a lack of career structures and little representation.

The Experiences of Third Sector Agencies

The organisations that participated in this project have all employed young people. These people were targeted on a number of grounds. The agencies used the employment programmes to challenge potentially harmful behaviour, to provide education and training, to counteract unemployment and discrimination and to provide skills to young people.

The expectations of each agency and their workers reflected the reason the young people were targeted as employees. Although individual agencies had different expectations from their experiences they all shared the common aims of providing beneficial work skills to young people, which they could adapt for the Third *and* Private Sectors.

During the research process the agencies shared some other common experiences. These related to a) the effects of the buoyant economy; b) the importance of inter-agency networks; c) research; d) funding and e) the *Community Employment Scheme*.

a) The Effects of the Buoyant Economy

The buoyancy of the Irish economy has ensured many jobs in the construction and service industries, which are attractive to young people. These jobs, many of which are low paid, have induced young people to leave school and/or vocational training without qualifications. Third Sector agencies fear that their training programmes will no longer be attractive to young people who can earn their first salaries in the black market. The agencies also fear the knock on repercussions for these young people when the economy slows down and the number of jobs decreases.

b) The Importance of Inter-agency Networks

Through formal and informal networks information is shared within the Third Sector on possible employment opportunities. This project brought five agencies together who previously had not much contact with each other. Agencies reflected on how jobs can come from sharing knowledge and resources, identifying common needs or initiating developments. The agencies highlighted issues of ongoing need and the possibility of lobbying for extra workers using a local development plan relevant to their community and their agency. These plans can be used as a method of identifying the need for paid workers and for creating actual jobs in the Third Sector.

c) Research

Agencies felt that conducting research or participating in research studies is a method of recognising and filling gaps in individual agencies' work plans. In some instances, for example *Cork City Partnership*, the jobs were created for young people as actual researchers.

d) Funding

Funding is made available to Third Sector agencies at local, national and European level. Depending on the type of funding available and the objective of the programme new posts are often created. Without such funding workers in the Third Sector would be dependent on the limited resources of voluntary initiatives. The work would also be predominantly

organised and administrated by each agency limiting the amount of work devoted to their primary aims.

Funding through local, national and European initiatives is not, however, without its difficulties. Chief amongst these for the Third Sector are their short-term nature, the amount of time given for the completion of complicated documentation and also the timing of the deadlines for completion.

e) The Community Employment Scheme

The Community Employment (CE) scheme sponsored by FAS, the State employment agency, has provided many people with work, and many agencies in the Third Sector with workers. The scheme runs on a one-year basis and pays a low wage, closely related in scale to social welfare payments. The negative impacts of the scheme affect both the individual and the agency. At entry stage job applicants may not be suitable for the work involved. Motivation may be affected by the low wage and short time span of the work. After the completion of a years work the individual is no longer applicable for further CE funding after which there may not be further work in the agency and no suitable alternative available. The effect on the agency is further compromised because the agency cannot make long term plans around CE workers. Staff funded through the scheme lose their jobs after a year and this impairs continuity of service.

The Employment of Young People in the Third Sector

This project sub-contracted nine young people to directly relate their experience of working in the Third Sector using a portfolio system. Additionally ten young people from one of the participating agencies filled out questionnaires. The young people identified a number of issues, which effects their employment in the Third Sector. These include a) finding employment; b) parenthood; c) early-school leaving and further education; d) prejudice and discrimination; e) stress; f) funding of the agency; g) geographic issues; h) personal relationships; i) skills development and j) personal development.

a) Finding Employment

All the young people involved in this project were targeted indirectly by their community, their family or their friends. Some agencies attributed the fact that young people did not seek work directly to peer pressure. The pressure asserted on young people through their own peer group can cause reluctance in seeking employment through the Third Sector. The effect of peer pressure may prevent a young person from looking for employment and lead them into less constructive activities.

b) Parenthood

The majority of the young people who participated in this study were parents. This factor is traditionally a barrier to work, particularly in the private sector. The Third Sector often provides facilities for lone parents directly such as crèches or indirectly through part-time employment.

c) Early-school Leaving and Further Education

The high rate of early-school leaving in disadvantaged areas is reflected in the fact that most of the young people who work in the Third Sector are early-school leavers. By working in the Third Sector young people get a first chance of employment and a second chance of

education. Interestingly, one of the reasons that young people took on further education was to influence their own children as well as skilling up for the labour market.

d) Prejudice and Discrimination

For some young people their own personal background may prevent them from entering the labour market. Association with certain disadvantaged areas by accent, address, and style of clothes can hinder employment opportunities for young people. Stereotyping as well as the lack of opportunities such as education and social networks discriminates against disadvantaged young people in the labour market.

e) Stress

One barrier to further participation in the Third Sector was the stress associated with working in the Third Sector. As the Sector has a high concentration in disadvantaged areas often the work is quite personally demanding, and can place a lot of the workload on skilled people. Additionally due to a lack of volunteers the work sometimes falls to severely limited numbers of staff often leading to cancellation of projects.

f) Funding of the Agency

Young people were acutely aware of the funding pressures each agency faced. They saw this as a threat to the work of the agency and to the services provided to the service users. This uncertainty may also influence their participation in the Third Sector, as it is obvious that the Sector cannot provide security or good wages.

g) Geographic Issues

Young people who were working in their own local area found, sometimes to their own surprise, that being from the local area was not a barrier but an advantage. They found that young people could relate to them and trust them.

h) Personal Relationships

Young people found companionship and friends through working in the Third Sector. Young people whose social circle may have been limited due to the pressures of family life found this aspect of working in the Third Sector most rewarding.

i) Skills Development

Through a portfolio and supervision system young people were assisted in identifying their skills and skills development. This has been one of the successes of this project. Young people were enabled to identify and use skills that were adaptable across the labour market, which, in turn, gave the young people self-belief as workers.

j) Personal Development

All the young people were invited to share their personal experiences through a personal journal in their portfolios. This option helped young people become aware of their personal issues and helped them reflect on their causes and propose solutions. In disadvantaged communities where there is considerable shared experience of exclusion the personal journal helps young people recognise this shared experience and redefines problems beyond an individual context.

Recommendations on Self-evaluation using Portfolios and Supervision

Through a supervised portfolio programme the young people who participated in this project learnt to self-evaluate their personal experiences, their work, their agency and their skills development. The portfolio system was adopted from the author's experience in adult education and adapted to suit the requirements for young people working in the Third Sector.

Each agency selected the young people to participate in the project on a sub-contract basis. The young people found the work rewarding commenting mostly on the fact that they did not believe they could write so much and so honestly. The young people found themselves more aware of the skills they possessed and the skills they could develop in the Third Sector.

Through supervision the young people were able to discuss issues that arose for them in writing the portfolio and from writing the portfolio. In particular this assisted the personal development aspect of self-evaluation as the young people worked in small groups and spoke honestly about their experiences.

Agencies and workers found the experience of assisting this project with the portfolio system very rewarding. The system helped agencies-who were previously unaware-become aware of the issues facing their workers. The findings from the portfolios will help agencies develop strategies to meet the needs of their workers and raise awareness of the issues young people face in the Third Sector in general.

■ This project recommends the use of portfolios as a successful system of self-evaluation for young people in the Third Sector, and presents a sample copy in Appendix I.

Recommendations on Job Progression.

This research found that Third Sector agencies were aware of the possibilities of job progression but that there was no developed system in Ireland. The issue of progression tackles the dichotomy of 'job creation' versus 'employability' head on. A system that recognises the need for personalised, supervised employment programmes will assist young people to overcome the many personal barriers to participation in the labour market.

One of the essential aspects of a system of progression is that it recognises that young people must be active partners in the development of the process from the beginning to the end. This research found that job progression was based on an ad-hoc system which excluded young people from the decision making process. In one agency, this led to the conclusion of the project without consultation with the young people, resulting in disappointments and disaffection.

To overcome these difficulties this report has put forward a proposal for a job progression system, which examines aspects of progression from beginning to conclusion. We recommend below some of the procedures, which will inform the successful operation of 'progression'.

■ Termination Strategies (Concluding From The Beginning):

From the beginning of the project there should be clear structures as to how the project will proceed and how the project will conclude. This process involves negotiation with the

young people as to the length of time needed for the project and clear guidelines on how the project will finish.

■ Task Versus Person Orientated Projects

Projects can be both task and person orientated, however, when concluding a project it is vital that there is clarity as to the goals of the project.

■ Using Partnerships Effectively:

The success of many projects will depend on the use of effective partnerships. Despite the fact that project funders are of great importance it is vital that they act as a partner, listening, if not acting on, the concerns of others.

■ Decision Making Roles For 'Employees':

Young people in these projects need to be seen as 'employees'. This status encourages their further participation in work and the experience helps their future job prospects. As employees young people need to be made aware of their rights and duties as workers. As workers they are participants in a partnership and must have a forum to air their concerns.

■ Clear Guidelines:

Throughout the project young people need clear guidelines on their roles, the role of the agency and the partnership. For the young people themselves this can mean their job description, for the agency and partnership this means providing written material on roles, structures and responsibilities. In particular young people need guidelines to effect proper closure of the project, or their work on the project.

■ Length Of Project:

The length of time specified for a project should at all times be explicit, and particularly when the project is person orientated, should take account of the needs of the young people.

■ Work Placements:

The transition from a project to further employment is a key process in job creation. This transition could be staged by enlisting the support of other projects or employers. In the concluding period of a project young people could be introduced to other working environments (and potential employers) through supervised work placements.

■ Meeting Wider Expectations

It is important that projects do not raise over ambitious expectations in a community. If there is clarity around the conclusion of a project then a project can be clear with the wider community as to what functions it can undertake and what ones it must decline. Projects will need the support of communities, therefore it is essential that their support is not undermined.

Conclusion

It is hoped that this research project has been a rewarding experience for all involved. As a EU sponsored programme it has brought trans-national partners together to share their experiences of the Third Sector across Europe.

Individual partners have worked with local agencies forging links –at community level-between local partnerships across Europe. These linkages might usefully be further developed. The individual agencies have assisted the project through their enthusiastic participation, and have in turn assisted young people to find employment in the Third Sector and Private Sector.

Each individual young person who has participated in the project has helped give an understanding of the personal experience of workers in the Third Sector. Most of all they have contributed to the success of this project, and, in time, their experience will form a vital part of the outcomes from the proposed recommendations.

This research has given an insight into the development of the Third Sector in Ireland, the present challenges and the challenges ahead. The research has highlighted the experience of agencies and young people in the Third Sector in Ireland. It is hoped that these insights will help the greater understanding and development of employment strategies for the Third Sector.

To assist this process this project has recommended two possibilities. First, the project has recommended the use of portfolios as a rewarding self-evaluation mechanism for young people working in the Third Sector. Secondly, the project has proposed a system for progression where one does not exist in Ireland at present and believes that this process will help to overcome the possible tensions between 'employability' and 'job creation'.

2.3. Case Study 3: ITALY

2.3.1. The socio-economical context

A short history of Emilia-Romagna

Emilia-Romagna is a recently industrialised region; after the Second World War its economy was mainly agricultural while the core of Italian industry was concentrated in the "Industrial Triangle" Genova-Milano-Torino (cfr. M.D'Angelillo, 1998).

The development of consumption and investments created dynamic markets for small enterprises; the archaic agricultural structure, based on "Mezzadria", disintegrated; young workers preferred the new jobs in industry and abandoned the countryside.

New industrial districts, in the textile sector (Carpi) and in ceramic tiles (Sassuolo) started up; two primarily chemical industrial areas were created in Ravenna and Ferrara through wide state investment. In Romagna (the eastern part of the region) the tourism sector flourished.

The entire economy benefited by low wages and strongly motivated workers, both local and immigrant.

In the period between 1958-62, the annual growth rate was 11,1%, versus 8,3% of Gross National Product. In 1978 the per capita income surpassed that of Piedmont and in 1987 that of Lombardy.

The Emilia-Romagna experience, the dynamism of its PMEs, the role of the institutional context in favour of small enterprises and not of Big Business was analysed by several foreign economists and sociologists.

Public authorities did not plan the economic development. The movement toward growth and the entrepreneurial "spirit" of a large part of the population were largely spontaneous and boosted by deregulation, low taxes and weak controls by local authorities.

The Trade Unions were weak and contrived, notwithstanding the political (Socialist) red colour of the region. In many cases, an employee started up his own firm, often in cooperation with that of his employer.

The global network of social relations was oriented towards cooperation and solidarity; this was also a good base for making business.

The industry of Emilia-Romagna specialised in personalised productions (like in mechanics), where both the project and the post-sales assistance are important. In the service sector, Emilia-Romagna is strong in tourism where personal relations with the customers are important.

Only in the Seventies, were coherent public policies inaugurated in Emilia-Romagna, also as the result of neo-constituted Regional institutions (in 1970). In this period the base of a welfare system was laid: local authorities strongly engaged in the building of a network of social services including child care, assistance to the elderly, the organisation of cultural and sport initiatives, housing, public transport and health care.

The interventions were aimed at income redistribution in favour of the lower class, and to the diffusion of welfare.

Businesses, and especially PMEs, were helped through low-cost real estate, financing schemes and weak controls in urban and environmental matter.

The fiscal pressure, higher than in other regions, was (in comparison with the present) low and fully accepted by people and business because of the services and the welfare promoted by public bodies. Among the four big regions that finance the Italian State budget (E-R, Lombardy, Veneto and Piedmont), Emilia-Romagna is the only one where strong antifiscal movements did not occur in the Eighties (cfr. M.D'Angelillo, 1998).

The new Scenario

A network of social services was built at a local level in Emilia-Romagna in the Seventies and Eighties. The efficiency standards of these local services were good, in comparison with those of national services (cfr. M.D'Angelillo, 1998).

The organisation of the territory, based on a network of small and medium sized towns, strongly integrated with the agricultural sector, contributes in Emilia-Romagna to improve the quality of life.

In fact, typical metropolitan problems are largely absent in this period. The situation of the towns and of the environment is good. For example, while in Bologna 90% of water is purified, in Rome the same percentage is 68% and in Milan and Florence zero percent.

The quality of life is high, also due to the diffusion of many cultural and leisure opportunities in theatres and other public structures.

The civic sense, social trust and participation in political and social institutions are high (cfr. Putnam, 1993). The social institutions are strong. The relations between citizens and institutions are good. Fiscal evasion, in comparison with the national average, is also low.

The economic system develops thanks to articulated networks of complementary and specialised enterprises. Many of these firms operate with success on international markets.

The new generation of young people, those of the mass schooling process, react positively and participate in the development process, although (compared to their parents) with growing interest in leisure activities.

Cooperation and competition, spirit of innovation and flexibility in the organisations are typical features of many sectors.

The cooperative movement is also particularly strong in this period. Thousands of PMEs (for example farmers), workers and consumers participate in co-ops. Through the co-ops, many people, including those in economically difficult situations, can improve their living standard and social status.

Also the public bodies, at a local level, re-organise their structure, increase flexibility and use external services, like consultants for intellectual tasks or private organisations (like cooperatives) in order to run the public services with efficiency criteria (for example those in the social field).

In the meantime, the general situation changes and the growth rate decreases not only in absolute terms but also in comparison with other regions. Since 1991, Lombardy surpasses Emilia-Romagna as the richest region of the country. Other regions progressively emerge as economies that are more dynamic with Veneto in first place.

The economic system of the region reacts to the new challenges by introducing new technologies, increasing productivity, flexibility and strong dynamism in the service sector; the effects on employment levels are obviously negative.

Now the "Maastricht parameters" and the Italian budget deficit compel the local institutions to reorganise their structures, as seen before.

The institutional relations also tend to change; for example, the concentration triangle (institutions, trade unions, associations of entrepreneurs) weakens. For example, the trade unions are less representative than in the past because the increasing role of the PMEs means a loss of relevance of the big firms where the unions are stronger. Also in service sectors, the young professionals have meritocracy, and not solidarity views. In this sector hired employees are very few, really "atypical" because not flexible enough.

The independent, autonomous, work becomes the most important way for young people to enter the labour market. Also, the new, more flexible forms of dependent work (part time, interim, etc.) introduced by the governments are not adequate: the motivations, the engagement, the flexibility and so the global productivity of an independent worker is much higher.

In Emilia-Romagna one third of all the workers are independent. If we consider not the number of workers but the number of hours, the percentage of independent workers jumps to 45.8%. Often the same public bodies, as told before, are very active in using independent workers and substituting dependent workers.

It is also important to know that a large and increasing part of the welfare system of Emilia-Romagna is "saved" by cooperatives and other forms of independent work, which guarantee local institutions low costs, flexible organisations and high specialisation. In some cases, these private and entrepreneurial forms invest their own financial resources to create social structures whose current and functioning costs are then financed by local authorities.

The role of Third Sector

In Emilia-Romagna, directly or indirectly, the Third sector ("non-profit" sector) carries out very important tasks, commissioned by public bodies.

There are three types of non-profit organisations

- entrepreneurial organisations (cooperatives);
- voluntary associations, which have social aims and are formed by non professionals;
- associations in cultural, sport and leisure fields.

The cooperatives

Emilia-Romagna is the Italian region where the cooperatives have the biggest diffusion. They have an annual turnover of 33.364 billion Liras, have 1.321.588 associates, and employ 93.744 people representing 5.64% of the employment of the region.

The sector where the cooperatives have the largest part of employees is in services (31.854 people); the other important sectors are industrial production (25.659 people), agriculture (21.213) and commercial distribution (10.895).

Emilia-Romagna is the Italian region where the cooperatives are more important in the labour market; the percentage of employment in co-ops is 5,64% in Emilia-Romagna, 2,9 in Friuli-Venezia Giulia (2.90%), 2,81% in Tuscany (2.81%), 2,80% in Trentino-Alto Adige, 2,17% in Veneto (2.17%) (source: Lega, Confcooperative, Agci, Istituto Luigi Luzzatti).

The cooperatives, therefore, collect the savings of thousands of associates; these resources (3.000 billion Liras in 1997) finance the investments of co-op firms, avoiding the usual (and expensive) bank intermediaries.

In some areas, like Ravenna, Imola and Argenta, the cooperatives have a particular strength. In the province of Ravenna,28 cooperatives among the first most important 100 enterprises.

The strength of cooperatives in Emilia-Romagna is not only due to "red" cooperation, which is part of Lega delle Cooperative. Very strong are also the "white" co-ops, which are part of Confcooperative and also the "green" ones, part of Associazione Generale Cooperative Italiane.

For example, white (catholic) cooperatives are more diffused in red Emilia-Romagna than in catholic Veneto. These cooperatives associate many small farmers and create many second level structures, like plants for milk or wine processing and also local banks, like Casse rurali and Banche Popolari.

White cooperatives were born in rural areas; red ones among industrial and manual workers. The big building CMC-Cooperativa Muratori e Cementisti di Ravenna was founded at the beginning of the century (1901).

In red co-ops, the salary workers organised themselves in order to overcome employment and poverty.

In any case there are also cooperatives formed by independent workers, like farmers, retailers, truck and taxi drivers and young professionals (architects, sociologists, etc.).

Very important are the cooperatives formed by consumers, like those who use the trademark "Co-op".

Widely diffused are also the housing cooperatives formed by families and people who form a group in order to build a house together.

Other important cooperatives are formed in services like banks and insurance. Unipol is the sixth most important Italian company in this sector, the only one with headquarters in Emilia-Romagna.

In Emilia-Romagna the geographical areas in which cooperatives are more diffused are Romagna (which includes provinces of Ravenna, Forlì-Cesena and Rimini) and provinces of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena and Reggio Emilia. Some difficulties, on the contrary, were suffered in the western provinces of Parma and Piacenza.

The development of social cooperatives

Since the beginning of the Eighties many cooperatives were founded in the tertiary sector.

In Italy 2.283 cooperatives exist in the service sector associated to Lega delle Cooperative. The most important sectors are social & health care (24.1% of the co-ops), cleaning sector (12.2%), logistics (11.6%), tourism (11.4%) and transport (10.4%). Many co-ops operate in other service activities, also thanks to the commitment of private enterprises and public bodies.

In this case, Emilia-Romagna is also the region with a higher percentage of national stock (15.5%). Other important regions are Tuscany (10.6%), Lombardy (10.1%), Lazio (9.5%) and Sicily (8.4%) (source: elaborazioni Genesis su dati Ancst).

Collaboration between local authorities and social cooperatives is very close, which operate in socially based activities.

In Italy, the social co-ops are 757; among them 16.2% operate in Emilia-Romagna (source: elaborazioni Genesis su dati Confcooperative).

According to Italian law, there are two types of social cooperatives:

Type A: these cooperatives offer services to disadvantaged people.

Type B: these co-ops are formed, at least in part, by disadvantaged people; their aim is to promote work among these people.

Social cooperatives must be recorded in a regional register; they can be preferred by local authorities in the commissioning of tasks of public utility.

The socio-economic function of cooperatives

The importance of cooperatives in Emilia-Romagna is not only quantitative, but also qualitative (cfr. M.D'Angelillo, 1998), because they exert an influence on basic socioeconomic aspects.

Cooperatives:

- Transformed the energies of thousand of working people in entrepreneurial energies.
- Contributed to the re-distribution of income and wealth. Within the cooperatives there are sharp differences between the salary of a manager and of a worker. These differences are smaller than in private industry. In many cases the manager of cooperatives come from lower classes.
- Contributed to keep social conflicts low.
- Contributed to strengthen the trust relations among people, showing the convenience of relations based on collaboration and solidarity.
- Operate with a long-term view. In periods of economic crisis, when some private firms prefer to disinvest, the cooperatives continue to produce in even more difficult situations, in order to keep the jobs and incomes of their associates safe.

In last years, above all in the social field, the function of the cooperatives has become more important in consequence of the financial difficulties of the public sector.

As it has been said, in order to respect the "parameters of Maastricht" the Italian State had to reduce public expenses.

Such reduction of expenses in some Italian regions leads to the dismantling of the social services, with the closure as an example of structures for old and children, or however to their decline, lacking a quantitative and qualitative adaptation to the new requirements.

In a region like the Emilia-Romagna, instead, the choice of the public sector was not to dismantle the social services, but to reorganize them.

The reorganization meant a massive use of cooperatives. Thanks to their flexibility (hour,

part time, salary, etc.) and with the lowest cost of the job regarding the public employees, the cooperatives contribute to save resources and therefore to sustain the financial pressure on institution deriving from the fiscal crisis of the State.

In many cases, however, like in those we will introduce in the next pages the role of the cooperatives has been not only that to guarantee the services with lower costs and greater flexibility, but also to innovate the services, thanks their ability in:

- selecting and placing in the job qualified and motivated persons;
- managing particularly complex situations to a social level;
- improving the services with innovations and independent investments

The voluntary associations

Emilia-Romagna is one of the Italian regions where the voluntary associations in social fields are more diffused.

Big national organisations like Avis (blood donation), Aido (organ donation), Anffas and Anmic (handicapped), Telefono Azzurro (child abuse defence) operate in this region although many locally based associations exist.

Emilia-Romagna, with 14.2% of the Italian voluntary associations, is the second most important region after Lombardy, but absolutely the first concerning the ratio between associations and number of inhabitants: 3.2 associations for 10.000 inhabitants, versus 2.7 of The Marches, 2.6 of Liguria, 2.0 of Lombardy, 1.9 of Tuscany, and 0.9 of Lazio (source: Fondazione Italiana per il Volontariato ed elaborazioni Genesis).

In Emilia-Romagna the economic value of the services produced by voluntary associations is close to 2000 billion Liras and the corresponding employment close to 10 thousand.

The volunteers are 60.137, roughly 56 for each association.

40.067 volunteers are employed in health-care (66.7% of the global amount), 15.154 (25.2%) in social services, 1.770 (2.9%) in civil protection, 1.513 (1.5%) in environmental protection (source: Regione Emilia-Romagna, Istat , Genesis).

The diffusion of voluntary activities also has an economic relevance; for example, Emilia-Romagna is self-sufficient in blood supply only thanks to the voluntary organisations.

Many communities are very active in fighting drugs and saving people from becoming social outcasts.

In Emilia-Romagna, public institutions reserve an important role to voluntary organisations, signing agreements and financing their activity.

Recent research on the provinces of Forli and Ravenna (1998) showed that 42.2% of the voluntary organisations signed agreements with public bodies (Comuni, AUSL; Province). Public finance is 75% of the overall budget of the associations (source: Ecap).

In some cases the public institutions directly promote the associations; for example, in 1995, a small Comune (Santarcangelo di Romagna) founded the first Banca del Tempo (Time Bank), centres where the citizens offer a part of their free time to run social activities, receiving time from other citizens in exchange. Today in Emilia-Romagna there are 23 Time Banks; they involve 756 people for an annual amount of 5000 hours (source: Regione Emilia-Romagna, Tempomat).

These are two of the reasons why public bodies support the voluntary organisations.

The first is to involve those people directly interested in the solutions of problems, promoting active participation.

The second reason is an economic one. The costs of voluntary organisations are lower than those of specialised firms (for example cooperatives), because of taxation and labour costs.

This situation creates some contradictions and difficulties in the relations between public bodies and specialised firms.

A positive view of the third sector

Over the last years in Italy, a vision which appreciates the role of non-profit organisations was also largely diffused.

Among economists, the most important book is probably that of Jeremy J.Rifkin (The end of work, 1995). Innovative technologies and re-engineering of production processes create unemployment and socially explosive situations. Third sector and voluntary activities strengthen social relations and also produce better economic results, in those sectors in which market and State interventions are weakly effective. The dawn of the post-market Era is arriving.

Among sociologists, an example of this vision is found in the book by Domenico de Masi (Il futuro del lavoro, Rizzoli, Milano, 1999, pp.20-224).

In the opinion of De Masi, in the third sector compared to private enterprises:

There is a strong drive toward the "mission", with a strong involvement of the components of the organisation.

The money comes from sponsorship, private donations, and public funds. The organisations of the third sector manage money of others and are morally obliged to a correct use of this money.

The key factor is not the annual turnover or the profit, but the mission of the organisation.

The drive towards innovation is very strong. In private firms, on the contrary, there is the fear of risk, the routine, and the bureaucracy.

The community, the environment, the customers are important, not the internal organisational power.

The volunteers are judged not only on their results but also on their aims. In private firms fidelity, professionalism and results are more important.

People who are not paid form the board of directors.

Low efficiency levels are also accepted.

The organisation is oriented to the strategic aims.

Personal motivation is fundamental; in private firms people who do not agree with the mission are employed.

Personal professional growth is important. In private firms the role of training is very low.

The recruitment of members is carried out with care; in private firms it is externalised to consultants.

The internal relations are informal and not competitive, opposed to formal and rational private firms.

Gratification is a moral one, in private firms it is an economic one.

Everyone is directly involved and motivated.

The creativity kills the bureaucracy and not vice versa.

Relations among colleagues are more important than hierarchical ones.

The leadership is charismatic; in private firms it is professional or bureaucratic.

It is more important what is given to others, not what is received from others.

Everyone tries to learn in order to increase his performances. In private firms it is only important that which is functional to career.

The job is like a job. The discipline is linked to mission and not to career.

There is a strong internal and external solidarity, while in private firms there is very strong internal competition.

For all these reasons, in the opinion of De Masi, the non-profit organisations are morally and economically more efficient than private ones.

Maurizio Carbognin underlines the process of development of new cooperatives based on a network effect.

The new small cooperatives often take part in networks (for example that of Lega of Cooperatives) which support them in growth, notwithstanding the wide autonomy of each co-op.

New laws in favour of third sector

Three important laws were approved over the last years in Italy, which strengthen the role of non-profit organisations.

Law 266/1991 recognises the role of voluntary associations. These can finance themselves through private contributions, donations, public aids and partly commercial activities.

At a regional level, a Register of voluntary organisations is instituted. These registrations allow benefits of public contributions, in financial and fiscal forms. For example, the incomes coming from partial commercial activities or from donations are completely tax-free.

Law 381/1991 creates the social cooperatives, special cooperatives that act in the interest not only of their associates but also of all the citizens.

These cooperatives may manage social, sanitary and educational services (coops of Type A) or involve disadvantaged people in economic activities (coops of Type B).

Public institutions are allowed to sign contracts with cooperatives of Type B, out of the normal procedures.

All social cooperatives can also benefit from fiscal aids, at the moment of paying social contributions and of receiving donations or buying properties.

Decree 460/1997 creates the ONLUS (not lucrative organisations): among them foundations, social cooperatives, and voluntary associations. The ONLUS must be active in some specific field: social, sanitary, education, training, non-professional sport, culture, environment, civil rights, scientific research.

The Finance Ministry recognises the ONLUS and gives many fiscal aids. ONLUS may also collect financial support through particular bonds (Solidarity bonds).

Third sector weaknesses

The weaknesses of the third sector also arise from its strengths.

- The first weakness arises from the difficulty of many non-profit organisations to go beyond the strictly local picture. The working environment is strictly local. In fact, information research often occurs through personal acquaintances without a systematic research of more appropriate sources. The strong territorial ties often preclude a wider vision, which is increasingly necessary in the European context.
- The second weakness is in the financial fragility of many organisations that are founded with insufficient funding and operate in sectors and with affiliates who are often lacking in means and are supported by weak managerial organisation logic.
- The third weakness is created by the scarce professionalism in the management of many organisations. According to De Masi, the spontaneity, that constitutes a competitive advantage over the often-bureaucratic companies that are incapable of integrating the workers, frequently leads to improvised forms of management, disorganisation and the loss of motivated personnel.
- The cooperatives tend to work in close collaboration with the public bodies and do not demonstrate the same inclinations with the private sector. Ties to the private sector may generate dependence on few large customers. This means, for example, vulnerability in those cases where political changes occur within the public institutions. The case of the municipality of Bologna, where the right-centre political parties were put in government after about 50 years of left predominance, is significant. The cooperatives (and the associations) tied to municipal funding, are presently in a difficult situation.

2.3.2. Analysis of Third sector organisations

In order to better understand the structures working in Emilia-Romagna in the non-profit sector, Genesis has selected several particularly significant organisations and has analysed them through interviews with managers and associates.

Each interview sought to perceive the organisational structure, its evolutionary tendencies, the role of its associates and, above all, the organisation's role as "job creator" especially through the occupation of youth.

The sample was formed attempting to represent both cooperatives and associations but also including the different geographical realities of Emilia-Romagna as well as the various business sectors.

The following organisations were interviewed:

ORG. 1 – ARCI

ARCI is an association founded in 1957 that is engaged in cultural, recreational and solidarity activities. The Bologna section employs 6 people and uses a very high number of volunteers for the various initiatives of the association: 2-3 thousand of which 70% is male.

Volunteers can collaborate with the organisation's central office or work exclusively for a specific initiative. Volunteers are often made up of university students.

Only one of these volunteers was employed in the organisation (as a collaborator) in the last 5 years. The other volunteers are either employed elsewhere, students or retired.

Volunteers organise the various initiatives of the association: parties, concerts, trips, shows, etc. that in most cases are geared towards youth. The association also manages recreation circles equipped with their own locations.

Working with the organisations, volunteers have the opportunity to gain practical experience such as the use of a computer and project management (for example a concert). With the help of these experiences, volunteers, especially when young, can facilitate their introduction in the working world.

The interview with the hired youth demonstrated that his training influenced his decision to work with the association; the subject is a journalist who has always been sensitive to social problems; since hired by the organisation, work obligations have become stricter. His family considers this job to be temporary. His most preferred work aspect is relationships, helping others and sharing knowledge. The subject manages a group of 80 people including volunteers and conscientious objectors. He enjoys some independence, not in so far as the choice of objectives but in the choice of the tools used to reach them. The most criticised aspect by the subject is the association's internal disorganisation that he believes to be inevitable given the large number of people involved. After his experience with the association he would like to either be permanently hired or search for a permanent job in the third sector or start up his own operation in the third sector or else continue to work as a volunteer if he finds a job in another sector. The subject does not belong to a union.

ORG. 2 - AISM

L'AISM is an association founded in 1985 that is mainly employed in the transportation of the handicapped, water rescue and the organisation of self-help groups. The headquarters are in Bologna and they have one full-time employee for administrative work and one part-time employee. They employ from 7-8 volunteers (all women) and 3 conscientious objectors. The number of conscientious objectors was higher in the past but was slightly reduced due to problems with the ministry.

Volunteers are assigned organisational and warehouse activities. The conscientious objectors drive the vehicles. They are co-ordinated by a manger (another conscientious objector) who, in this way, can gain managerial and IT experience. Neither the volunteers nor the conscientious objectors are trained. They learn on the job. The experience acquired in the association lead the youths to start up small independent businesses (transportation or IT).

The young man interviewed is a conscientious objector doing civil service. The choice of the organisation came about following an indication from the military district on the fact that a friend of his suffers from muscular dystrophy. The work he performs (driving vehicles used to transport the handicapped) is very different from the work he previously performed as an electrician. Even if the activities as objector have not served to improve the technical skills pertinent to his profession,

he has matured personally. First of all, they have introduced him to a reality that is completely different from the one in which he grew up and they have also allowed him to establish personal relationships based on respect.

ORG. 3 - CODACONS

CODACONS (Consumer council) is a national association with offices in all the main cities.

In Bologna they work exclusively with the help of volunteers that number 7. External collaborators, especially lawyers, also support the association.

Like all Consumer councils, CODACONS was also strengthened over the last few years thanks to innovative laws that have given these associations judicial recognition.

The association manages a booth open to all citizens that offers information and advice.

From the practical point of view, volunteers learn to use the computer and Internet and, in particular, a database that contains specialised information. From a training point of view, the significant aspect is the accumulation of technical and judicial knowledge in the consumer council sector.

The volunteer interviewed is, in fact, a university student specialising in law.

Associates are subdivided in working and ordinary associates. Working associates are in charge of work groups that inform consumers about particular subjects such as the environment and electrosmog pollution prevention.

Working with the organisation, volunteers have the opportunity to gain practical experience including professional experience in the legal field.

The man interviewed intends to continue his collaboration with the organisation in the future.

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The man interviewed intends to continue his collaboration with the organisation in the future.

ORG. 4 - PIAZZA GRANDE

The association "Amici di Piazza Grande" has a mission to help the homeless. Their headquarters are in Bologna but they also work in other areas. It is a unique association that carries out different activities finalised in the assistance and social redemption of the homeless: through the social cooperative (type B), "La Strada" it manages various public dormitories, day hotels and a movie theatre. The association directly conducts cultural activities and publishes a newspaper "Piazza Grande". In both the cooperative and the association, the workers are homeless.

The association collaborates with the public bodies to help diffuse social intervention methods during conventions, seminars and training courses.

At present, the association is having problems with the new municipal administration in Bologna (with conservative tendencies) in renewing some conventions.

The association employs many volunteers, one of which has been interviewed. This young man, who is in charge of the association's projects, began his collaboration during his mandatory civil service as a conscientious objector; afterwards he decided to stay on as a volunteer in spite of his parent's negative opinion. He is a university student in sociology. He believes that the volunteer experience, being very concrete, enriches a student's experience, which is often too theoretic, and contributes in building relationships (Horizontal experience). From the romantic view of the idealist, he has moved to a more realistic view, also noting the increase of this phenomenon with the younger generation and especially with drug addicts. The volunteer underlined the existence of numerous organised homeless with business activities and modern technology (laptops, cellular phones). Today, particularly in expensive cities (especially when it comes to rent) like Bologna, it is not that difficult to become a clochard if, for example, one suddenly losses ones job.

The man interviewed stated that it is not easy to conduct social redemption projects in that they require a lot of time and often go against the tendency to confront problems in an improvised and disorganised fashion, leaving the beneficiaries of these interventions to fend for themselves. In relationships with the beneficiaries, the man interviewed noted that women are more capable to work with them even though they are often less project-oriented.

The man interviewed intends to continue to work in social services in the future and may create an organisation in the third sector.

ORG. 5 - CONSORZIO SAN VITALE

The consortium has its headquarters in Ravenna and was founded in 1996. 4 social cooperatives adhere (types A and B): La Formica, Lo Stelo, II Quadrifoglio and Insieme.

The organisation is made up of about 23 people to whom are added 52 workers in the single cooperatives and 49 handicapped included as workers.

The activities are: car and bicycle parks with rentals and storage, carpentry, leather and paper workshops, sundry items, grounds work, management of centres for the handicapped, transportation. The main customers are: local bodies, Ausl, social service, private, retail and compensation consortiums.

There are 16 volunteers of whom 4 are male and 12 are female. There are usually 4/6 apprentices a year and come from professional training courses while there are 6 conscientious objectors.

The volunteers usually have a hard time adapting to this type of work structure. Many young

volunteers, in fact, have difficulties building relationships with the disabled.

Only those that have a higher education degree, for example a degree in Psychology, have a more flexible attitude towards this work.

The situation changes with those who do a stage with the organisation. They have completed their studies in subjects pertinent to sociology; they are willing and flexible and do not have role pretensions. To care for the disabled, in fact, specific professional characteristics and motivation are needed.

ORG.6 - CONSORZIO IL SOLCO

The consortium has its headquarters in Imola and was founded in 1996. It provides services to 10 social cooperatives (types A and B) and works for them as a general contractor. In all it employs 235 people, has 448 associates (of which some belong to the disadvantaged category) and about 771 beneficiaries. The cooperatives work in psychiatry, infancy, and occupation of the young disabled, minors at risk, elderly.

There are 3 volunteers (in child-care). Many people lend their services after working-hours and, for this, can be considered volunteers.

In 1999, there were 2 people in stage while the conscientious objectors at the time of the interview are 6.

Normally unemployed youths are the first to be occupied as volunteers or apprentices. Recently 4 youths were occupied with the LSU project. The activities accomplished are the same as those of the cooperatives and therefore: assistance to the elderly, imprisoned, minors, infancy, ex-drug addicts and organisational work in the offices.

In a city with population 60.000, many contacts and new arrivals originate through informal relationships with the associates or employees. Not all youths are trained. In the LSU course, 20 hours of training and 40 hours of tutorial were arranged. However, no one is permanently in charge of apprentices or volunteers. In the event a disadvantaged person is occupied, a tutor is assigned. The boys and girls that stay on as employees or collaborators after a volunteering or apprenticing is an average 20/30 %.

The skills that a youth can develop are of a relational character and of assistance to those who are disadvantaged. Attempts are made to promote different life styles such as equitable commerce, ethic finance and active citizenship.

A youth that has undergone a period of voluntary service or apprenticeship can therefore find a job in the social cooperatives or in voluntary associations. Most youths that work are highly motivated (even if volunteers) and often bring their peers to get to know the organisation.

The consortium has recently begun participating in training initiatives in the schools and in the cities finalised towards informing students of the work reality in the third sector.

ORG. 7 - INACQUA

The social cooperative (type A) Inacqua of Piacenza was founded in 1988. The associates of Inacqua are physical education teachers, physical therapists and educators.

Inacqua offers services tied to rehabilitation and to motion activities in a pool. The cooperative addresses different types of users: infants, expectant mothers, patients with neuralgic problems, patients with orthopaedic problems and the elderly. These activities are included in the hydrokinetic trend.

The activities with children are very intense. In Piacenza the cooperative looks after 200 children a year.

The cooperative employs 20 professionals in its centre in Piacenza, to which are added those occupied in the various franchises promoted throughout Italy. The cooperative does not employ volunteers but does employ apprentices.

The cooperative hires by organising annual courses funded by the European Social Fund followed by an apprenticeship in the company to learn the methods. The course lasts 300 hours, 120 of which are in apprenticing.

In this fashion, many people have been occupied over the last few years.

Inacqua is planning a large self-funded centre to include a mini child-care centre for 20 children, a pre-school for 48 children, courses in music, foreign languages, multimedia and psychomotor, offering services for parents such as childbirth classes for expectant mothers.

ORG. 8 - ACQUARELLO

A group on non-contracted pre-school educators founded the social cooperative (type A) in Forli in 1986. Presently it employs 50 people, all women.

The cooperative manages structures on the behalf of various public bodies (child-care centres, pre-schools, playrooms, and summer camps) for infants aged 0 to 3.

There are no volunteers. Occupation occurs through time contracts (ex. Summer camps) tied to projects with precise expiration dates. Subsequently the educators are hired with work contracts and included as associates.

Newly hired personnel are all unemployed youths or adult women with serious social problems.

In order to observe the regional legislature, the cooperative tries to hire those people who already possess the appropriate academic degree. In some cases, the cooperative is committed to internally train those personnel who do not possess the professional requirements.

The cooperative pays close attention to the quality of their educational services involving external experts, including university professors, in the planning. To achieve educational quality the cooperative dedicates particular attention to the relationships with the families of the children, who are invited to periodic meetings. The educational material used is also of the most innovative type.

ORG. 9 - LIBRA

It is a type A social cooperative founded in 1985 with headquarters in Ravenna. Their field of activity is very vast and varied. In fact, they are engaged in the Informagiovani, building databases of competitions and job offers. They intervene on subjects at risk (minors), they manage various immigrant centres, women centres, adolescent centres, centres of aggregation, and plan for participation in European funding programs.

There are 40 associates of whom 15 are male and 25 are female. They all have a tax number with temporary assignments according to the projects.

The number of apprentices on average is 2-3. They are mainly psychology university graduates or university students that apprentice with Informagiovani in Cesena. The apprenticeship is a mandatory step towards opening a private studio. The activity of psychotherapy is not funded by AUSL.

There are 2 conscientious objectors working at the time of the interview.

The apprentices follow an internal orientation course before they are assigned an activity.

Those who work without pay in the organisation only assume executive positions or support positions. Part of the apprentices, volunteers and conscientious objectors are not trained. Time is dedicated to those who are computer illiterate. Learning occurs on the job. However, attempts are made to motivate them as much as possible. There is a manager for the volunteers, apprentices and conscientious objectors.

Over the last 5 years 2 conscientious objectors were hired (always with collaboration contracts) of which 1 has become an associate.

The volunteers are not obliged to render their services for one year with the organisation to be able to exercise a future profession (that of psychologist) and therefore do not develop skills necessarily linked to their academic background. Besides this, both men and women learn to use the computer, to recognise competition announcements or the laws that govern the social sector and participate in the planning of European initiatives although only as support. Relationships with the associates is generally good because, having a low average age, the hierarchical structure is scarce.

Occupation of volunteers in the organisation can generate problems when a typically professional approach is added to a volunteer or spontaneous one. This problem has occurred particularly in the immigrant centres.

Volunteers are not always cut out for this type of work and may sometimes be of little help.

The role of the volunteer is a bit ambiguous. Many, in fact, rightly use this period as a training period. When the volunteers are specialised, they become experts who are entitled to rightful remuneration with precise responsibilities and duties.

Over the last years, a large expansion in occupation in the third sector was recorded (especially of youth). However, a qualification problem exists. In fact, the social cooperative, having public bodies as customers, is forced to work at low wages. For example, the operators at Informagiovani are poorly paid, the wage is established by the public body. In this fashion it is more economic for the municipality to have an external organisation (cooperative) manage its service than using its own employees. There is a risk that the more valid operators decide to find higher paid jobs and that the service offered, given the scarcity of resources, is reduced and impoverished.

The youth interviewed has a degree in psychology, is 28 years old and is an apprentice with Informagiovani in Cesena, a service managed by Libra. The organisation was identified through the lists of available structures posted in the university. To apprentice he had to pass a selective interview. Even if he would have preferred to work with a public body, he believes that the experience will be useful in a future job, especially for its relational aspects. In fact, he has learned to get to know youth better, he has learned to understand how the labour market works, and he participated in the preparation of training courses and orientations. He is also allowed independence. The only disadvantage concerns wages. In the future, he does not hope to work in the third sector but to be permanently hired in an organisation or to start up a private practice as psychologist.

2.3.3. The choice of the most significant cases

Introduction

After the Third Sector investigation we reached the following conclusions:

• The associations chosen are the local offices of the two large national organisations in two cases (ARCI and Codacons) and local organisations in the other two cases. The panorama of initiatives conducted by all the chosen associations is very rich. The associations also cover important roles in their relations with the public institutions often substituting them in carrying out essential services (from transportation of the handicapped to aid to the homeless). In some cases (as in those, for example, of Piazza Grande) the services are innovative on both the regional and national level (so much so that the association also works outside its province).

Notwithstanding these strengths, the occupational impact of the associations is, on the whole, rather modest. Volunteers, in fact, almost exclusively perform the activities, and the number of salaried employees is very limited.

- However, the associations, as demonstrated in the interviews with the volunteers, perform an important role in the improvement of the occupational possibilities of the volunteers involved, especially the younger ones. In fact, they are given the possibility to gain important professional experience and acquire relational skills. Included in the expectations of these youths is the future creation of cooperatives where they can professionally apply the experiences acquired in the associations.
- The associations are not business organisations and this frustrates some of the people interviewed who state their wishes for a more professional approach.
- Both the associations and cooperatives keep close collaboration relationships with public institutions and other organisations within the territory. Their local roots are rather deep.
- Differing from the associations, the cooperative world demonstrates the capacity to combine innovation and service quality with the ability to create new jobs. The cooperatives are strong in the various activities in the social sector; they have close relationships with the public institutions that assign them the fulfilment of fundamental services. Hence their occupational dimension is significant and, in some cases, reaches that of medium-sized businesses. The employment tendencies are also increasing for two reasons. One because they work in sectors (for example handicapped, elderly, infancy, etc.) where demand is increasing and two because the public bodies tend to amplify the externalisation of internal services to cooperatives with lower costs. The belief that the cooperatives are best adapted to supply social services funded by public bodies is, by now, generalised in Emilia-Romagna.
- The cooperatives are rather structured organisations with special services, precise internal roles, personnel development policies, and relational networks that, in some cases, take on the form of consortiums. The consortiums combine various cooperatives and perform their common functions (for example contracts). The cooperative networks also provide collaboration in the research of funds and accounting. Networking also implies avoiding the overlapping of cooperatives that work within the territory. In the case of Inacqua, we are in the presence of a cooperative that tends to expand its presence on the national level through franchising.

• The cooperatives included in the sample have, in some cases, a strong drive towards innovation. They propose innovative services, plan new investments and demonstrate a particular concern in the characteristics and training of their personnel and new hires.

Based on the elements that have now emerged, the research has chosen to select, within the 9 organisations singled out, only the cooperatives and their consortiums. In fact, the associations, although extremely interesting for the functions performed and their ties to the other subjects working within the territory, have demonstrated a modest potential in "Job Creation".

Moreover, of the 5 cooperative organisations, we have chosen 3 with which we will conduct a more thorough analysis.

The 3 organisations chosen for the ensuing stage are:

II Solco

This consortium of social cooperatives seemed particularly interesting because:

- It represents a complex structure formed by 10 cooperatives that share common functions in network logic.
- It demonstrates a distinguished economic and occupational dimension: the adhering cooperatives employ 235 people, have 448 associates and about 771 beneficiaries.
- Operations are in Imola, one of the areas of the region and of Italy where cooperatives have greater economic strengths, tradition and social and public legitimacy.
- Their services are addressed to particularly delicate social stratum.

Inacqua

This cooperative seemed particularly interesting because:

- Its services are extremely innovative and original and supported by constant efforts to improve and compare itself with the more advanced international experiences.
- Inacqua operates in Piacenza; the province of Emilia-Romagna where the cooperative tradition is weakest.
- They have a strong development and "Job Creation" potential that they are attempting to seize in an innovative and original fashion through the plans for a new self-funded centre and the creation of a franchising network.
- They invest in the expertise of their young new hires and use and interesting training mechanism for new employees.

Acquarello

This cooperative seemed particularly interesting because:

• It is composed exclusively of women. New appointments are all young and unemployed or adult women with serious social problems.

- Operations are in Romagna (in Forli), another area of the region where cooperatives are strongest.
- It manages multiple services especially addressed to infancy (0-3 years). This specialisation was chosen both to concentrate energies on a precise activity segment and to avoid overlapping cooperatives already operating within the territory.

Closer examination

Genesis has furthered its analysis concerning the 3 selected organisations by following and studying the hiring of some young workers.

The inquiries of Genesis were concentrated on:

- a. The analysis of the problems tied to acquiring the technical and Horizontal skills, the methods of employment of the people involved in the project and the occupational capacity of the partner organisations.
- b. The support (through economic contributions) of the apprenticeships finalised in hiring.

Phase a. was performed through:

- Preliminary interviews with the tutors.
- Analysis of the training program.
- Interviews with the youth.
- Evaluations (with the tutors) of the results.

Interviews with the youths and their managers were performed in two intervals: at the end of the training period and about one month after the true work introduction, over a 3 month period of time (from the beginning of May until the end of July).

The interviews were performed using questionnaires divided in several parts.

- Personal characteristics: family and academic contexts.
- Organisation: knowledge of the organisation's objectives and characteristics, introduction in the structure.
- Technical skills.
- Horizontal skills.
- Acknowledgement of the experience.
- Satisfaction.
- Expectations.
- (see enclosed questionnaire).
- The tutors of the cooperatives used the interviews as verification.

The cooperatives involved

II Solco

Two cooperatives, whose aims are exactly those of favouring the occupation of disadvantaged youth (in particular mentally handicapped) were selected within the consortium il Solco in Imola.

Three people (between the ages of 24 and 34 with different mental handicaps) who are capable of completing a training course and continuing work were selected with the help of those in charge of apprentices and training.

In fact, during the first evaluation phase, two people were selected (a boy aged 16 and a girl aged 30) but both had to abandon the programme due to repeated absence from work.

Either social service or ASL assists all these people.

Social cooperative Labour

The cooperative began activities in 1998. They have offices in Bologna and Castel San Pietro Terme. They have 11 associates of whom 6 are ordinary and 2 are voluntary, 3 cooperatives and 1 association. Employed workers who are not associates are 3. There are 2 other executives, the president and the training manager.

The sectors of activity are sub-contracted: assembly, packaging and recycling collection.

They presently manage 12 work scholarships: 4 funded by AUSL of Bologna and 8 by the municipality of Castel San Pietro.

The have also introduced 2 training apprenticeships in the "Horizon Future" project by Enaip and the "II lavoro Possibile" project by Irecoop (project in which a youth was selected for the research).

Social cooperative Giovani Rilegatori

It is a social cooperative for occupation with offices in Imola. It was founded in 1983 by a group of parents of handicapped children and social service workers. The mission is the occupation of handicapped children (especially mentally handicapped).

18 people work in the cooperative including 7 handicapped. Many other handicapped people work as volunteers.

The normal production activities of the cooperative are assembly of plastic materials, assembly of paper materials and printing. They have a copy office in care of a large business.

Over time the cooperative saturated its manpower needs and presently 2 to 3 youths are hired on average per year. They have begun to organise stages in collaboration with social services finalised in the occupation in other work contexts.

In this fashion, they host many youths (the average daily presence is about 30). Some of these people stay on after completing their training because they cannot be introduced in unprotected work contexts. Some youths are settled with LPU contracts (Public utility works).

2.3.4. The results of the interviews

Labour

Case 1

The boy assisted by the Labour cooperative participated in a training that consisted of 630 hours of on the job training and 50 hours of theoretic training for an overall duration of 4-6 months.

The first of the two interviews was performed at the end of the training period and the second was held one month after hiring. In the first interview, the boy requested the presence of his tutor but not in the second because his initial expectations of the organisation and management were left unsatisfied.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

The boy lives in the country with his parents who are farmers. He has one friend of the same age who accompanies him on Saturdays and Sundays to an arcade. The relationship with his parents is defined normal.

He has a middle school degree and finished the first year of vocational school but didn't continue. He never liked studying. Before this job, he held many others including mechanic, bookbinder and assembler.

Introduction in the structure

The boy is aware of the objectives and characteristics of the organisation.

After the training period, he was hired with a full contract. He assembles compressors. During the training period, he worked 4 hours a day; now he works 8 hours. His autonomy is limited and he restricts himself to letting others inspect his work when he could decide to improve assembly.

The move from apprentice to worker, during the second interview, was stressful due to fears and insecurities. He has difficulty accepting work rules like precisely scheduled breaks and lunches, work rhythms, etc. He has difficulty accepting the change from the friendly situation between workers and managers that he enjoyed as an apprentice to a true professional relationship.

With "real" work, there is a direct relationship with an adult that is no longer mediated by a social worker.

Technical skills

During the training period he acquired knowledge and perfected some technical skills pertinent to assembly that, thanks to previous occupations, he already possessed.

Immediately after hiring, he attended an internal mini-course on warehousing.

Horizontal skills

During the theory lessons, he learned useful notions on work legislation and which ways are used to live better with others. The latter were not considered important.

Time management. Although with effort, the boy considers himself punctual, including the completion of the work he is assigned.

Work organisation: Some of his work, the part concerning the assembly of compressors, is organised autonomously. Someone else must arrange the material to be assembled. He cannot schedule work.

He works with 2/3 others. He prefers working in a group than by himself.

In his relationships with his peers the has been an evolution: during his training he was defined as kind, later on, however, he complains of the tendencies of others to avoid work "forcing" him to be more consistent in his efforts to terminate that commissioned.

Communication: He often takes the initiative. He openly demonstrates his point of view especially when he doesn't understand something or doesn't share opinions. He demonstrated interest in information technology. He doesn't have the habit of discussing work issues with his peers.

Acknowledgement: He believes he should improve especially in his relationships with his colleagues: he sometimes talks and jokes too much risking to offend others. His unquestionably best quality is the willingness and efforts he puts into work.

Expectations

During the training period, he was very satisfied with the experience and his expectations were those of being hired as a worker. Upon being hired, however, his satisfaction decreased: the wages he receives are not considered sufficient (he has a normal workman's wages) for the number of hours he works (8). When he wasn't working, but had a scholarship and pension, he made more and worked less. He is also forced to accept the rules that he considers unjust. The critical attitude may be due to the difficulty in passing from an assisted situation, where work represents a therapeutic tool, to a professional situation, where precise behaviour is mandatory. A character component must be added to these. The best aspect of work, for him, is the possibility to create something and make himself useful. His highest expectation is to build video games.

The managers of the cooperative are satisfied with the work of the boy.

Social cooperative Giovani Rilegatori

Case 1

This case seemed interesting because it constitutes the first attempt to introduce a mentally handicapped person in an unprotected work environment.

After a sufficiently long training period in the cooperative, following the proposal of a meat processing company and with the favourable opinion of the family, the youth began a two-month apprenticeship with the goal of receiving a work scholarship to finalise his hiring.

A tutor flanked the boy during the first week so that he could achieve autonomy in reaching work and to assist him in acquiring the necessary skills. The evaluation of the boy's apprenticeship was positive in both his relationships with his colleagues and his response to work.

Then the boy began to manifest strong physical discomfort with allergic reactions. These disturbances, however, increased until hospitalisation was requested for controls. The work introduction programme was suspended to verify these illnesses.

A refrigeration system is found in his work section. The low working temperature is probably the cause of the symptoms manifested by the boy.

Confronting with the psychologists, the death of his father emerged as problem to be added to his physical discomfort.

Personal characteristics: family and academic contexts

The young man lives with his mother. He has 2 brothers and 1 sister. The family environment can be considered very good. The young man is well adapted because he attends gymnastic lessons and theatre workshops organised by the cooperative. He therefore has many occasions on which he can meet with peers. In his free time he listens to music and watches the television. He has a 10-month-old niece who he adores.

He hasn't had any other work experiences.

Introduction in the structure

The boy knows the objectives of the company in which he works. However, he does not know its history or organisational structure. This is due first of all to the fact that the company is very big. The number of permanent workers is about 116 to which are added about 100 seasonal workers. The young man only knows the section he is in. He works 4 and a half-hours a day and his relationship with his manager and colleagues is very good. Even though his autonomy level is very low, everybody encourages and helps him.

Technical skills

The technical skills acquired are, above all, manual, tied to the packaging and refrigeration of cured meats (use of the compressor for cleaning and use of the labelling machine).

Horizontal skills

Time management. The boy considers himself punctual for both arriving at work and completion of work activities assigned. The tutor pointed out his tendency to be distracted and therefore disrespect of schedules.

Work organisation. Work is completely organised by others. However, the young man works by himself and this probably facilitated the tendency towards distractions and also generated a slight discomfort. In fact, the boy moved from his training in a cooperative where he worked in a group to a normal company where the productive aspect prevails and imposes different rhythms and behaviours. He certainly prefers working in a group.

Communication. The boy considers relationships with his colleagues easy, and his new job and training in the cooperative surely helped him to improve his capacity to relate with people.

Acknowledgement. During the first interview the boy seemed highly motivated and acknowledged the importance of this experience for his life, something rare for a person with his problems, and he is happy. His family had a decisive role in this intervention through encouragement and support. During the second interview, performed after the

hospitalisation, difficulties in interpreting reality and in defining the cause or elements that negatively influenced his introduction emerge.

Expectations

The satisfaction in the first interview was very high. A period of confusion followed the physical illness.

Today the boy states his desire to return to his studies and maybe become a doctor. These statements, as said above, are surely conditioned by the illness and the influence the hospitalisation had in reawakening the drama of the loss of his father. Overcoming this confused state, the young man seems once again inclined to attempt work introduction in an unprotected environment and more tolerable environmental conditions.

The boy is open to the possibility of either being hired by the cooperative or attempting a new work introduction in another company.

Case 2

He is the young son of one of the promoters of the cooperative. He already worked for the cooperative, but the experience was for health reasons. Then he has been assumed with contract LPU.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

The young person is only son of pensioned parents, who delegate his assistance to the cooperative. He has a single friend of 26 years, with whom he goes to the bar. The young person participates, also thanks to the mother, to church and recreational activities. After the obligatory school he participated to training courses, but these working experiences were limited.

Introduction in the structure

The boy knows the objectives of the company and the aspects connected to the placement of weak people. He was placed as a worker and works 4.5 hours to the day; he declares also not to have good relationships with the advanced ones. His degree of autonomy in the job is enough wide, even if limited to executive aspects. Normally he works with an other person.

Technical skills

The job is manual and repetitive. He cuts and packs cardboard of various sizes commissioned from several customers, among them the ASL. Those responsible appreciate his serious approach to the work.

Horizontal skills

Time management. The boy thinks of being punctual for which concerns his presence on the job place, and the ability to carry out the tasks that were assigned to him. The tutor has emphasized his speed and precision.

Work organisation.: The job is entirely organized from others. The young person works alone, even if he would prefer to work in a group.

Communication: the boy does not communicate easy. He prefers to listen. Nevertheless he has a good relationship with the other boys followed from the cooperative.

Acknowledgement.: In the first and the second interview the boy appears to be very motivated and aware of the difficulties to find job in other companies.

Expectations

The satisfaction of the boy is god enough His desire is to be assumed like employee associate of the cooperative.

Cooperative Inacqua

In this cooperative, there are 3 work introductions.

Case 1

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

A young man aged 26 who lives in a small town with his family. He attended an agricultural institute, receiving his diploma without expressing great interest in the subject matter. After a few motorcycle accidents, he became interested in physical therapy and signed up for the speciality school.

He performed precarious jobs while at school and, upon finishing, found temporary jobs as a physical therapist. He learned of the cooperative by chance, sending a curriculum. Hence he attended the course organised by the cooperative, and then permanently established himself as a professional.

Introduction in the structure

The young man actively participates in the activities of the cooperative of which he has become an associate. He performs therapy on neurological patients (for example those with Parkinson's disease).

He often collaborates with the doctors in the hospitals that assist the patients.

Technical skills

He likes his job and it is consistent with his studies. The work experience has helped him to grow professionally. For example, at school, he was never informed of therapy in water.

Horizontal skills

Time management. He enjoys the freedom to organise his work day by making appointments with his patients. Compared to the others he must be punctual.

Work organisation. Autonomy is high. He must carefully follow the cures prescribed by the doctor and the indications of the cooperative co-ordinator. He decides therapy methods.

Communication He appreciates the collaboration he finds within the cooperative and believes he contributes to this positive atmosphere.

Acknowledgement The work is very demanding; it has normal ups and downs tied to seasonal and market trends. The experience is very positive. Having worked in other physical therapy centres, he can affirm that the cooperative experience is more interesting and less monotonous. Cases that are more complex are assisted with extreme expertise. In addition, the cooperative has a very simple hierarchy and decision-making is collective.

Expectations

For the future, he hopes to increase his presence in the cooperative by achieving roles with more responsibility.

Case 2.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

A young man aged 31 who lives in the city with his partner. His parents are retired and he has a sister that works abroad. He has a high school degree in electronics and attended 4 years of university without graduating. In parallel, he developed an interest in sport as a swimming instructor and coach.

He has held other jobs: electronic assembler, planner, and swimming coach.

Introduction in the structure

He was a friend of associates of the cooperative and had performed some occasional jobs there. Then he began a continuous collaboration, becoming head of security and pool maintenance. He became an associate and administrative advisor.

Thanks to the training course, he has become a hydrokinetic therapist. He usually assists people with physical handicaps and is the coach of the national swimming team for the blind.

Technical skills

The apprenticeship was organised on teamwork that was very useful for comparing different points of view.

He likes his job a lot. He feels he is continually researching and training.

Horizontal skills

Time management. The professional activity requires optimum time management.

Work organisation. He carefully plans his work, working closely with the other professionals of the cooperative. He enjoys teamwork.

Communication There is a lot of collaboration in the cooperative. This permits professional growth.

Acknowledgement He likes the job a lot and believes he will always do it. He considers himself very meticulous on the job (maybe too much).

Expectations

Thanks to this experience, he could find a job with other structures but he prefers to stay with the cooperative, collaborating in its growth.

Case 3.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

The young woman aged 26 is the daughter of Italians who immigrated to Belgium where she lived until she was 19. She returned to Italy to go to university where she studies political science. She doesn't know whether she will finish these studies and is thinking of changing speciality to social economics.

She lives in Piacenza with her partner.

Introduction in the structure

She learned about the cooperative from friends and then attended a course in hydrokinetics. She does not perform therapy but works with children and the handicapped in play and movement activities.

Today she is an associate even though she does not participate in the more important decisions of the cooperative.

Technical skills

She likes her job that is partially coherent with her studies. Working in a cooperative brings a continuous enrichment of knowledge.

Horizontal skills

Time management. Punctuality is a must. The therapist limits time.

Work organisation. She works alone with the freedom to organise herself while following the indications of the therapist.

Communication She appreciates the collaboration and exchange of experiences that exists in the cooperative.

Acknowledgement Work is tied to attendance of users, which is a bit irregular, and consequently, so are her wages (she is paid as a professional).

Expectations

For the future, she hopes in professional growth within the cooperative. She does not want to find another job, nor does she think it would be easy.

Cooperative Acquarello

Case 1.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

A young woman aged 29 who lives in the city with her husband. She keeps close contact with her family. She lives in a peaceful family context and will soon be a mother.

She has a degree in Pedagogy followed by a specialisation in psychomotor practices.

She has held temporary jobs with other cooperatives and public bodies; she worked for two years in another cooperative as an educator.

Introduction in the structure

She approached Acquarello because it is the only cooperative in Forlì that works with infants. She sent her curriculum vitae and began work in an occasional fashion.

Thanks to the cooperative she is applying what she learned in her studies. In the cooperative, she is the pedagogic co-ordinator of child-care centres and playrooms.

She has a time-contract.

Technical skills

She likes her job that is coherent with her studies. The work experience has helped her to grow professionally. For example, at school she was never informed of therapy in water.

Horizontal skills

Time management She is punctual and careful in planning and respects schedules.

Work organisation She decides some activities for herself but more often she collaborates with her colleagues. Personally, she prefers teamwork. She appreciates the collaboration found in a cooperative and believes she contributes to this positive atmosphere.

Communication. She is used to listening, observing and asking questions in order to understand. She also communicates through writing. She feels very involved in the cooperative.

Acknowledgements. She thinks she is very self-critical, maybe too much. The cooperative is the best place to improve herself professionally.

Expectations

This is the job she has always looked for. She hopes to be hired permanently.

Case 2

She is a girl of 24 years placed in the job -like an educator- inside of the Acquarello Cooperative.

Personal characteristics: family and academic context

The girl lives with the parents, the grandfathers and the uncles. With the family spends a lot of time. She lives in a quarter of the city. She carries out sport activity and owns a dog. She studied at the institute for Schoolteacher; currently she is enrolled to the University of Bologna to the Faculty of Sciences of the Education. Before entering in the cooperative she had carried out jobs like Babysitter, like animator in summery centres for children and like educator.

Introduction in the structure

the girl has known the cooperative when she studied, because the school has organized a period of alternation school/job. She returned to cooperative for a period of training of the University, and then begun to collaborate with some temporary job. She was placed inside an educational structure for children. She works with two colleagues, but collaborates with all the educators of the cooperative and with the administrative staff. Still she does not work full time, but probably she will reach this objective in the next few months. With the colleagues she can take decisions regarding the structure in which she works.

Technical skills

The placement has been facilitated from the fact that the girl possessed already the theoretical knowledge; it has been necessary to make practical experiences, as an example in order to manage the placement of the children, in order to relate correctly with the parents and in order to work in team with other educators. Her tasks consist in receiving the children every morning, in deciding the activities with the colleagues, in playing with the children, in following the children during the meal and all the other moments of the day.

Horizontal skills

Time management. The girl thinks of being punctual for which its presence on the job place, and for what regards the ability to carry out the tasks assigned to her.

Work organization. The girl participates actively to the organization of the job.

Communication. The girl does not have communication difficulties. She has a good relationship with the colleagues.

Acknowledgement. The girl appears to be motivated and satisfied.

Expectations

The satisfaction of the girl is very high, because the job is that for which she studied and that she always wished. She does not wish to change job, even if she thinks it's could be possible find other jobs. She wants to increase the number of worked hours, in order to increase the personal income.

2.3.5. Conclusions

Both the voluntary associations and cooperatives occupy a developing role in the economic system of Emilia-Romagna.

Both are part of a welfare and social service reorganisation process.

The associations do not play an important role in job creation but they perform duties for free (with benefits to both the users and public bodies) and therefore increase social solidarity and "bottom up" initiatives.

Often, however, the volunteers are young. The associations produce "learning effects", allowing them to acquire useful professional experience and in this way increase their "employability".

The role of the cooperatives is much more important than that of associations. For this reason we have concentrated the focus of the research on them.

The cooperatives contribute to improve the employability of the persons. The cases of the young people analysed in our research demonstrate that the cooperatives are a place where there can be important and innovative experiences, where the job atmosphere can be favourable and the team work can create favourable conditions for the professional growth of the young people.

The cooperatives have success with persons with serious personal and social problems (like in the case of the Consortium Solco), with young people with one upper-middle scholastic qualification, but with some difficulties of placement into the labour market (like in the case of the cooperatives Inacqua and Acquarello).

The cooperatives are also enterprises opened to collaboration with the schools, the University and the professional training centres, as the vicissitudes of some of those interviewed demonstrate.

The cooperatives moreover contribute to disseminate a culture of the participation through the decisions of the enterprise, and therefore a growth of the entrepreneurship of the persons. Many interviewed (as in the case of the Cooperatives Inacqua and Acquarello) participate in the decisions of the cooperative and some of them became associates and not simply workers.

In all the cases, the atmosphere of the cooperative stimulates active attitudes of "self help" and contributes to contrast, in the young, passive attitudes (present in Italy among the public employees) or the diffusion of a "Welfare mentality", which discourages appetite the job and the professional engagement.

In the analysed cases, the adhesion to the objectives of the cooperative is never an ideological type (contrary to many cooperatives some decades ago); on the contrary, the adhesion is based always on the ability of the cooperative in offering concrete solutions to the economic and professional requirements of every young person

The cooperative plays an important role in job creation. Many young people begin collaboration with a cooperative, first with temporary contracts and then with permanent ones.

This mechanism works for young people with serious personal problems, for the unemployed and for people who would not otherwise have a chance to work.

Differences exist between the various cooperatives. Some have entrepreneurial tendencies with investment and innovative policies. Others limit themselves to performing the services assigned by the public bodies. The afore mentioned are those that are more attentive to the private market.

Some cooperatives work with low wages because they manage reduced budgets. In these cases, young people hope to change jobs after the cooperative experience, which still is considered useful.

Others are able to pay suitable wages. Sometimes this does not correspond to fixed wages but is proportional to the number of hours worked. This form is preferred as it increases the flexibility of the cooperative and also because, in Italy, the taxes paid by a company on the fixed wages of an employee (who enjoys higher tutelage in cases of illness for example) are much higher than that of a professional.

In many cooperatives, the internal organisation allows for good work introduction and participation in decision-making.

Work introduction is favoured by the organisation with training courses, often funded by the region.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the employment opportunities of the cooperatives, at least amongst those interviewed, appears sustainable in the medium term.

The interviewed cooperatives are in fact dynamic, in expansion and very organized in action. They also have to operate in sometimes unstable markets (the public assignments can be discontinuous) presenting young people with the aim of placement stability in the organization.

In other words, the identification of flexibility and precariousness (vision of short period, low confidence in the persons, superficial experiences of job), like those summarized in the works of Sennett, are not confirmed from the experiences we analysed (cfr. Sennett R., *The flexible man*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1999).

Initially it is frequently the case within those samples we examined, that the job of the young person it is part-time one.

This undoubtedly can create initial problems of personal income, but it is normally accepted by the young person, to increase the number of work hours experience and also their personal income. In a region like the Emilia-Romagna, where a wide network of social cooperatives exists, the acquired professional experience in one of these agencies can also create an opportunity for income in another cooperative.

It is also the case that young people who work for some years in a social cooperative- when a favourable occasion occurs- enter a public agency. This choice is made normally because the public agencies offer higher wages, preferred working environment, securer jobs and incomes.

Moreover, in the public agencies it is possible, during the career, to approach management positions more highly paid than those of the leaders of a cooperative, who often are paid wages only marginally higher than those of their other associates.

2.4. Case Study 4: UNITED KINGDOM: Hope Street Ltd., Liverpool

2.4.1. Regional Context of Third Sector

Liverpool has a history of relative economic and social under performance stretching back to it¹s growth as a city in the 1700s. This underperformance has become more pronounced since the early 1970s as the city has suffered acutely from it¹s dependence on it¹s shipping industry and docks and on big multi-national industrial concerns encouraged to locate in the city by regional policies in the 1950s and 1960s. It manifests itself in the late 1990s by Liverpool¹s constant appearance at the top of the national tables of poverty, unemployment and depopulation.

The history of underperformance (and particularly it¹s explosion into the worst civil disturbances seen on mainland Britain this century in 1891) has also led the city to become somewhat of a laboratory for anti-poverty regional policies pioneered by successive national governments. These policies while in many cases containing many internal flaws(like their temporary nature) were hampered in their success by the extent to which other monies from both the private and public sector flowed out of the city from the mid 1970s onwards. They were also hampered however, by the political situation in the city in the mid 1980s. The radical Labour council came into bitter conflict with the Conservative government of the time and left internal political scars in the city that can still be seen today, and left the city finances in a state of chronic disrepair. The effect of the militant era¹ was exaggerated by the size of the public sector in the city. It was measurably larger, in particular in terms of employment than it¹s rivals. The fact together with the reasons for the genesis of the militant remains especially relevant to the regional nature of this conference.

It can be argued that Liverpool is an extremely publicised city. The reasons for this can be traced back to the formation of the place. It grew as a seaport and something of a melting pot. This implied several different groups existed with their own agendas - in particular different groups from Ireland with strong religious afflictions. The consequence was that the city was one of the slowest to develop it sown Labour Party. The politicised nature of the city implies that partnership between different organisations remains a difficult thing to achieve. Moore (1996) describes it as the Liverpool effect1. This partnership between organisations working in different sectors has been becoming more important to meeting political objectives since the mid 1980s in Briton. Most different sources of regeneration funding in Britain, and also now European funders will only supply funds if partnerships exist. One of the central aims of the conference was to bring together different backgrounds and explore partnerships and its implications in terms of overcoming misleading trajectories. Clearly, the partnership context of Liverpool is extremely relevant. It was also argued above that the size of the public sector was relevant to the regional context of the conference. It is relevant in the partnership context. It provides the backdrop against which many individuals in the city working in the field of regeneration developed their own careers and developed their organisations. It is the historical basis from which attempts at partnership in the regeneration field in Liverpool is developed and given public service sector culture in Britain, not altogether a favourable basis.

2.4.2. Background

The overall objective of the project was to create new opportunities for employment in the Third Sector. The organisation, which delivered the project in the United Kingdom, was Hope Street Ltd., based in the city of Liverpool.

2.4.3. What is Hope Street Ltd. ?

Hope Street Ltd. specialises in offering training in the performing arts. Launched in 1988, Hope Street offers pre-vocational, vocational and professional courses and aims to work closely with local communities and community organizations in Merseyside. It does not restrict its horizons only to Liverpool though, having built up partnerships with other arts and training organizations across the United Kingdom and Europe.

2.4.4. The TSEP project as a support structure for "transition to work" at Hope Street

Transition to Work at Hope Street was divided into two parts: the first ran for 6 months and employed 4 people and the second ran for 3 months and employed 3 performers and a freelance designer, with an additional person straddling both projects. Each of the strands employed people who were previously students at Hope St. and aimed to utilise the skills they had obtained as students in the 'real world'. TTW 1, which ran for 6 months, took graduates from the Workshop Leaders Programme. Their aim was to research, devise and perform a theatrical production in collaboration with children from youth clubs in the Merseyside area on the theme of teenage sexual health. Over a period of three months the participants worked with 5 different youth clubs in different geographical areas. They ran on average weekly sessions of two hours length with groups of children aged from 10-14. The sessions used drama themed activities to try and discover the views and the experiences of the young people on issues of sexual health. The participants formed a 'production company' (this company was not one with legal status, but a company under the Hope Street banner) and called themselves Minds Eye.

TTW2 took graduates of Hope Street's Physical Theatre Programme and their aim was, over a 3-month period, to devise and perform a theatrical production, again for children, which was to tour arts festivals and play schemes in Turkey and Britain. They called themselves Scapegoat. The key difference between the two strands of TTW in terms of their aims and organisation was the focus on a particular issue inherent in Minds Eye and the consultation element of this project.

2.4.5. The views of the involved young people

As well as employing people for a specific period of time the aim of the project was to enhance the future employability of the participants. Furthermore, the aim was to work with 'disadvantaged' young people and also to develop a more sophisticated understanding of what is meant by 'disadvantaged'.

It can be stated clearly that the evaluation of the project illustrates that the future employability of the participants has been enhanced. However, this success has to be contextualised.

At the moment, the Minds Eye company are still together, have a viable product and a short-term future project to complete. There are external factors favouring Minds Eye. Liverpool has a large public/voluntary sector and there are a number of funding streams potentially available to them. The issue they have focused on: teenage pregnancy is one in which central government and national agencies agree there is a need for innovative, educational work. Britain has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in Europe. However, at the time of writing the participants are not earning an income from the company. They are claiming state benefits/doing other unrelated work. Minds Eye is not a paid job.

Scapegoat will continue at Hope Street but each individual has gone his or her separate ways and each has gone onto paid work, but this work is still only temporary.

It is crucial at this stage that we have a clear idea of who the participants were and what their role in the projects was.

Minds Eye

Laura

Laura is in her early twenties and has a number of GCSEs., but not a university degree. In the Minds Eye team, Laura took on the primary writing role. As all members of Minds Eye did, Laura felt that the hardest element of the project was the obtaining of information and working with the children. At present Laura is claiming state benefits and combining Minds Eye with attending a writers workshop.

Clare

Clare in her early twenties and left school at 16 with no qualifications. Apart from being a student at Hope St., Clare has had a variety of jobs. She approached the project wishing to develop directing skills and with the aim of moving to London after the project. She now wishes to continue with Minds Eye. As Clare herself says:

'I have come such a long way since the beginning of the project. I had plans to leave Liverpool and wasn't sure whether it would be successful but it has worked out brilliantly. I want to be part of the company because I how determined we all are'.

Nick

Nick entered the project one month later than his colleagues and his role was intended to be more of a 'co-ordination' one, with a brief to ensure that the project was running to time etc. The brief was quite loosely defined however, and in practice his role was not greatly different to that of his colleagues. Nick has a degree and is also a member of a band. Nick is keen to continue with Minds Eye, but is also deeply committed to his musical activities.

Catherine

Catherine is in her early twenties and has obtained qualifications prior to embarking on the workshop leaders course, they are not at degree level. Catherine brought her own skills to the project, in particular singing skills. She describes her own experiences in the project particularly well:

'I feel for me, the chance to be part of a company has been very rewarding. It was a chance to do something worthwhile and important within the community and to learn new skills. Most importantly for me though it was a chance to earn money in a job I really enjoyed.

Scapegoat

Kate

Kate is in her mid twenties and has a degree in drama and the performing arts. Kate was slightly older than the other participants. This led her to take a refreshingly realistic and forward thinking approach to what the project had given her.

I am 27 and I still have considerable debts from being a student. Thinking about my long-term future I am trying to think about the possibility of having to move beyond acting. The question I am asking myself is 'what transferable, creative skills has the project given me?'

She is now about to begin a full time contract with a touring 'theatre in education' company.

Matt

Matt is in his early twenties and has a degree in drama and the performing arts. Before the project it was Matt's ambition to start his own company. This remains his ambition. Following the end of the project, Matt was invited to Slovenia to participate in a multinational performing arts training festival. He is now attempting to find arts based work.

Harry

Harry also has a degree in drama and is in her early twenties. Before the project she hoped it would give her the opportunity to gain experience of not just representing herself, but being part of a company. The project has led her to think that she would like to move eventually into directing and she is about to begin work for a small, local theatre company. She is about to work for Kaboodle productions, an internationally renowned theatre company.

Steve - The Production manager

Steve straddled both projects. His role was not a performing one, but taking primary responsibility for activity which was not directly performance related e.g. light/sound & stage management, tour co-ordination, administration, publicity, liaison with external partners etc. Steve is a graduate of the physical theatre programme. Before the programme he had worked in television production for 4 years and has a Higher National Diploma in this area. When he completes the project Steve has television work to go into and hopes in the longer term to combine theatre and television production work.

The brief individual biographies above reveal a diverse range of educational backgrounds and a diverse range of post project destinations. There does appear though to be some clear differences between Minds Eye and Scapegoat, with the latter containing a bias toward university graduates and the former toward non-university graduates.

2.4.6. The methodology adapted by the project

The research methodology adopted to examine the project centred on qualitative interviews with the participants and with key figures involved in it, as well as diaries completed by the participants. The interviews were semi-structured. A list of topics was used to guide the interviews, but there was sufficient flexibility to allow the interviewees to address particular areas in their own way, or their own order.

The participants were interviewed:

When the project began. The focus in the first interview was on their backgrounds and their expectations regarding the project.

Mid-way through the project. The focus in the second interview was on what the participants felt they had achieved thus far, their aims for the rest of the project and their feelings regarding the team.

When the project had been completed. In the final interview, the focus was on what skills the participants felt they had obtained/improved upon through the project, areas of the project or their own performance they would have changed and their plans/hopes for the future.

The participants also completed weekly journals, which asked them to record:

- What they had achieved that week
- How achievements related to the aims of the team
- The high/low points of the week
- The skills they had gained/improved on that week

The key figures who were interviewed were local practitioners who it was felt by the project management would be able to comment either on the performance of the participants in the project, or would be able to comment on the skills they needed to be employable in the performing arts.

How successful was the methodology employed?

The methodology obtained more than enough information to allow the research element of the transitions to work project to be completed. The focus on qualitative interviewing allowed information to be obtained from the participants, which would not have emerged through written questionnaires. It is possible to say this with some confidence because the journals while eliciting some information, did indicate that a strategy relying solely on written questions would have been inadequate.

The way in which the sample of 'key figures' was constructed did go some way to reflecting the key stakeholders in the project. Such interviews, taking into account a range of opinions, are extremely important to the methodology. However, closer collaboration between researcher and organisation is needed here to clarify the role of the researcher. How much the stakeholders know about particular projects should be clearly communicated.

This does not mean the interviews that were conducted were not rewarding. They elicited some extremely relevant points. However, in future it may be worthwhile looking at the sample to see if it reflects all areas of the creative sector.

Areas in which the methodology could have been improved.

At the start of the project the role of the researcher has to be made absolutely clear. On reflection, particularly in the case of Minds Eye, more time could have been spent on this task. Consequently, the journals did not elicit as much information as was hoped. This may also reflect the difficulties that participants find in writing in detail about what they have done and in particular, making the connection between an activity they have done and a 'skill area'. Researchers need to be aware of this difficulty when examining future projects.

The effects of the project on the employability of the participants will only really be seen over the forthcoming years. The methodology, the project itself and its funding structure must account for this fact. The whole of this report and its arguments concerning the value added of the project must be seen in this context. If funding is not available to track the experiences of the participants, then the true value added of this project will never be known.

2.4.7. Internal evaluation and the role of partners

The regular electronic communications and the meeting of partners in January 2000 in Liverpool proved invaluable. It provided a set of ongoing guarantees that the research in the United Kingdom was keeping faith with the key aims of the overall project and was in tune with the shared philosophies. It would be useful though for future projects to consider how partnership working could be extended to allow the delivering organisations to share more practical experiences more regularly - perhaps electronically through web-based resources (training in the use of which may form part of a shared trans-national training for the participants employed through transitions to work).

Furthermore, Hope Street were the only organisation managing one of the projects in a partner country who were an employer of young people. The different nature of Hope Street has to be acknowledged when formulating ways of working as partners in a project like this.

2.4.8. Views of organisations and trainers?

Areas where participants have improved their skills.

It is possible to list a number of areas in which participants have improved their skills:

Performance skills - physical performance & workshop leading.

The participants, as graduates of Hope Street Ltd., already had good performance skills. They brought to the project skills in writing, acting, songwriting, singing and physical performance. The shows that were produced gave the participants the chance to use these skills and to improve their competencies in these areas. The success of the shows, as demonstrated by the positive responses of most of the audiences, acts as evidence that these people are skilled performers. However, this was not the main area in which the participants were 'upskilled', by the project. There were examples of participants developing new skills e.g. Nick developed acting skills- an area in which he was weak, but generally the participants had performance skills and felt confident using them. Of course, as performers they are not perfect but they have definite, obvious skills in this area. It was in the host of other skills, that performers need if they are to survive in the performing arts industry, that the participants needed to upskill.

Problem solving.

As an undertaking, that facing Minds Eye was more difficult than that facing Scapegoat. The major difference centred on the obtaining of information from the young people at differing youth clubs. All Minds Eye participants identified the key problem: getting children, many from poor backgrounds and difficult to manage to talk seriously about sexual issues in environments where resources were extremely constrained i.e. cramped rooms, minimal youth worker support etc. and where their attendance was voluntary. Moreover, each youth club presented different challenge in terms of the age of the children and the working environment. At some places they were supported by the youth worker, at some places not. This implied devising differing strategies to obtain information.

Clare's feelings early in the workshops were common of the group:

'The biggest challenge at the moment is adapting what we do to different circumstances. It is difficult and fustrating. The children are swearing a lot and misbehaving and we aren't getting much done.... some of the places the youth workers don't want to know'.

The group did manage to overcome these problems though. While it would be wrong to say that the research phase was easy, or that there wasn't a sense of relief when it was finished (there was a feeling amongst the group that this phase of the project was too long) the group came through. The response of young people to the final show, to Minds Eye at the end of the research phase and interviewing the youth workers illustrated their success here. The quotes below from organisations who saw the show reveal the impact it made on them.

'The performances were funny, touching and real. The production held the attention of the young audience throughout.. (and) they were made to think by the production'

Valley Community Theatre

'The performance was excellent: sensitive, relevant and funny, and the young women we took along loved it'

Montini Youth Centre

'The performance was very well produced and organised and perfectly suited to the needs of our target group'.

Artskills

Scapegoat did have their own problems though to overcome. These centered on performing their show to a range of audiences, in a range of locations and to a range of criteria (the show had to be different lengths in England and in Turkey). For the performers this entailed learning a different language and also adapting to very different cultural settings. For Steve as production manager, the Turkish experience made him challenge his traditional approach to problems

'..amongst other things, the electricity in the whole town we were performing in went off an hour before the show, it was nightmarish. I had to think on my feet a lot in Turkey and for me that was a good thing, as I like to have everything planned out in meticulous detail'

Negotiation

The major change the participants in Transition to Work had to handle was moving from being students at Hope Street to employees, contracted to deliver a specific product. This change in status would have been a major issue per se, but it is given an extra twist by the fact that they remained at Hope Street. Their former teachers are now their colleagues. Participants from both Minds Eye and Scapegoat pointed to this and how they quickly had to learn to negotiate with the Hope Street staff if they were to achieve their goals.

Professionalism

This is a nebulous concept. The participants were not alone in struggling to understand exactly what it means. Nevertheless, it is possible through using examples to gain some purchase on the idea.

Example 1

Minds Eye had to perform their show at a I school in Liverpool for pupils who have been excluded from their mainstream schools. Whilst performing, and during a question and answer session after the show the children were uncooperative, and some offered personal verbal abuse to Minds Eye members. Minds Eye had to put personal feelings aside here, and conduct themselves professionally.

'It was a very difficult experience. Some of the abuse was personal and really out of order but while we were angry the following day we talked about it together and we were proud of the way we handled ourselves and completed the job.'

Nick

Example 2

One of the first performances Minds Eye gave was at a training centre for young unemployed people. When setting up their equipment a fight broke out between several of the young men in the audience.

'It was pretty bad, we were nervous enough already without this, but we got on with the show and it was a good experience before a difficult audience'.

Catherine

Example 3

For Scapegoat, professionalism manifested itself through dealing with problems within the group. Two of its members began to disagree regarding the nature of the production. This escalated into a rift which was damaging the efficiency of the group as a team. Perhaps for the first time, the members had to deal with this themselves, without taking recourse to a trainer/supervisory figure. Through discussing the issues openly and setting any personal feelings aside they were able to resolve the conflict, move on and produce a successful show.

At the same time however, it may also have been professional to discuss areas of conflict with all members of the creative team, including the director and project co-ordinator.

Administrative /Producing publicity

All the participants from both projects contributed to the administrative workload. Their involvement here was important. Record keeping, liasing with potential funders, meeting the media etc. is a crucial part of working in the performing arts, but an element which often comes second place in people's priorities to the 'core' task of performing. Individuals from both Minds Eye and Scapegoat gave interviews to the media, and collectively Minds Eye and Scapegoat both worked on publicity leaflets. Inevitably, given the fact that Steven was the production manager the burden of responsibility fell on him here, but getting the balance right here is difficult. There were members of both Minds Eye and Scapegoat who would have like to learn more about this area. Balancing the needs of individuals and the company is difficult, but it is something that the co-ordinators of both Minds Eye and Scapegoat are aware of.

Handling pressure

The two projects certainly provided full time employment for the participants. The feeling from both was that the workload was intensive, and therefore the nature of the project created pressures. For Minds Eye, they had only a limited amount of time to meet with the children and in this time they had to ensure that they obtained all the information they needed. They were also quite inexperienced working with this age group and as was outlined above, the working environments were often difficult. By the admission of Hope St. project co-ordinator, it was a 'deep end' strategy.

Scapegoat had an equally intensive schedule. They had to devise, prepare and deliver their show in a very short space of time.

'When we returned from Turkey midway through the project we had a week to adapt the show for an English audience and to reduce its length from 45 to 25 minutes. It was very demanding and the team had been together remember virtually all the time in Turkey, but then this is learning about being in a company' Harry

In terms of handling pressure though, perhaps the greatest one to handle was that of being in a company. The nature of the work done required being in a continual, close knit team whose success was extremely co-dependent - there was not room for individual under performance. It was this 'being in a company', which all the participants highlighted as being one of, if not the main thing, that these participants obtained from this project.

2.4.8. Discussion I about skills are needed to survive in the creative industries

The skills listed above are only valuable if they are the ones needed to survive in the creative industries. A clearer idea of exactly which skills were needed was ascertained by interviewing key regional figures in the industry/performing arts. It is indicated with each individual which project they are referring to.

Graeme Phillips, Director, Unity Theatre: Scapegoat

The Unity Theatre is one of the leading theatres in the north west. Graeme felt that it was important that the productions were aimed at children, as children's theatre is an important mean of developing performance skills for young performers. He described it as something that all performers should 'touch base' with. Graeme also felt that the participants needed to develop 'resilience' to work in the performing arts and that problem solving, negotiation and adaptability were essential. In common with those interviewed below, he described the performing arts as extremely competitive and to a considerable degree overfull as a sector. Having said this though, he stressed that there were theatre companies operating in Liverpool and the graduates of transitions to work would have the kinds of skills to interest such companies. However, he did point out that not all such companies are of equal quality. Some companies will attempt to exploit young performers - demanding long hours for low pay and making promises about the future that never happen. This makes the resilience mentioned above and experience of working in the field which allows a young performer to judge a 'good company' from a bad one, so important. He coined the phrase 'one person company', to describe the way in which those emerging from transitions to work should conceive themselves if they wish to survive in the sector - a concept returned to below.

Ian Tabbron, North West Arts Board: Scapegoat and Minds Eye

The NWAB is one of the ten regional arts boards in England and part of the national funding system. Ian is responsible for the deployment of funds to promote new activity. He was clear about what was needed to be employable in the sector. Displaying strong parallels to the one person company concept, individuals must see themselves first and foremost as individuals - who may come together as a company at particular point of time but 'exhibit several strings to their bow'. Transitions to Work was most successful when it produced individuals who were 'multi skilled' in this way. There is clear evidence that some of the participants were thinking like this: Steve combing TV and theatre work; Kate looking to use her creativity in wider contexts; Laura with writing and Nick with Minds Eye and music. As with Graeme Phillips above, Ian argued that realism is all important. Individuals must be able to present themselves and speak in the language of the arts i.e. to be able to understand industry terminology and not feel intimidated by it.

Wendy Harris, Red Ladder Theatre Company: Scapegoat

Red Ladder specializes in productions aimed at young people based around social issues and acts as an employer of individuals like those emerging from transitions to work. Wendy stressed that for performers creative skills should always be in a state of development, and 'that while there is competition, there is always demand for good quality, professional people'. Furthermore, she advised young people in the industry to 'get as broad a range of experiences as possible, while always being prepared to work'. What cannot be denied is that the participants in transition to work did get a broad range of experiences, and the

intensity of their projects required them to show the kind of determination which it appears is a pre-requisite for success in this industry.

Francisco Carrasco, Brouhaha International: Scapegoat

It was as part of the international Brouhaha street theatre festival co-ordinated by Francisco, that Scapegoat performed. Seeing the show so close up, and as an expert in the area of street theatre, this gave him a unique insight into Transitions to work. Francisco felt, as Wendy did, that there was a demand for quality performers, particularly in his field of street theatre in Liverpool. Scapegoat was a timely concept. The skills that those emerging from Scapegoat needed he argued independence, professionalism and the ability to be focused in negotiation - as well as a sensitivity to the area. Achieving this balance of incubating the company, and the individuals and preparing them for the harsh realities of the labour market is an issue that is emerging as a key one in the project. Francisco was quite clear that he thought the individual performers had ability and could be employable in the industry - but also had ideas on how the project could improve their chances of success (as shall be seen below).

Ann Farrer, Rejects Revenge: Scapegoat

Rejects Revenge are a small theatre company set up be ex-graduates of Hope Street 10 years ago. Ann could be described as something of a role model for the participants in the project having emerged through Hope Street herself. Ann stressed the determination required to make a success of being a small company and the need to be multi-skilled and competent in administrative areas. The project has certainly given the individuals a very valuable insight here. She also felt that a project like transition to work needed to act to 'expand the possibilities of the people involved and prepare them for making choices in their careers'. The evidence above suggests the project did do this. While the individuals involved all had career aims at the start of the project, interviews with them revealed that the project had given these aims far more substance. As Harry said 'being in the project has helped me, it has give me confidence and raised my aspiration, my belief in what I could do'. Also, particularly for Kate, Harry and Matt from Scapegoat it had helped them make a choice in terms of what they didn't want to do i.e. work with children in the long term.

Chris Sims - Employment Links: Minds Eye

Employment Links works with unemployed people across Liverpool and attempts to place them in employment. Chris emphasised the need for flexibility amongst the graduates of Transition to Work 'the work available in this area will never be anything but freelance based, you have to able offer a rang of skills'. Turning to the project he felt that it may benefit particularly from being a yeaer long as opposed to 6 months. He also was keen to argue that, drawing on his experience in examining contemporary labour markets, the people emerging from the project should think widely about how they can use their creativity. Both as individuals, and as Minds Eye, he emphasised that they should try and take their skills beyond the usual constraints of the performing arts. He used the example of corporate training as a field which is steadily expanding its use of performers and 'creatives' to deliver communication solutions. The labour market as a whole, and particularly private sector employers are putting the emphasis more and more on creativity as the skill amongst their employees.

Cathy Wareing - Walton Lane Youth Club: Minds Eye

Cathy worked with the participants and children at one of the youth clubs in Liverpool used to gain information about sexual health issues. Cathy felt that the project from the point of view of the youth club and the children at the youth club, had been a success. The children had enjoyed immensely the sessions and in raising the issue of sexual health the project had acted to meet some of the goals the youth club itself was seeking to pursue. She felt that for those in Minds Eye to continue in the field they needed to carry on gaining experience working with young people. She also emphasised how the project was a partnership between Minds Eye and Walton Lane Youth Club. As such there had been exchange of ideas and experiences both ways.

'one of the good things for us about the project and projects like this is the opportunity to learn things from new organisations. I certainly through watching Minds Eye, learnt some things that I can use in our future work here'.

In summary, according to those interviewed, the skills required in the creative sector are:

- Adaptability
- A realistic view of the labour market in the sector
- Presentation skills
- Multi skilling i.e the ability to offer more than thing to employers

2.4.9. Disscussion II about the challenges facing the Transitions to Work model

Understanding the nature of confidence

The most common answer given when the participants are asked 'how has the project benefited you?', is that 'it has made me more confident'. The challenge facing the researcher is to make sense of this statement, to understand what confidence means. In one sense the answer is intrinsically individual.

Doing the project has allowed me to become more confident, to become more assertive to tell people what to do, which you have to do as a production manager'. Steve

At the beginning of the project I wouldn't have dreamed of going into a youth club full of kids. I wouldn't have had the confidence, but after a few weeks I had the confidence and skills to go in and work with the kids'. Clare

I always knew I could write, but the project has given me the confidence to work on scripts on my own and go to the writers workshop. Laura

I used to naturally shy away from talking in meetings and things, but now we have decided that when we meet people we will all say something. This has really helped and my confidence in this area is really increasing'.

Catherine

It has given me the confidence to pursue my goals - like moving in direction one day. The project showed me that is what I want to do, to be in control creatively'. Harry

I don't see myself as a student anymore. I am independent from Hope Street - that is an important change in confidence for me.

Matt

It is possible though to look at confidence generically. As can be seen explicitly through Matt's example, confidence is linked to self perception. How do you see yourself? What sort of things 'can' you do and what sort of things 'can't' you do? In fact it can be argued that often, the distance between what one can and what one can't do is extremely small. For example, a common reason that mature adults do not return to education when they may really want to, is that they lack 'confidence'. Despite the fact that such people have been through many experiences - raising children, responsibility at work, handling personal grief etc. the classroom terrifies them. They will be very confident in the home, but not in the classroom.

Returning to Hope Street the participants are performers, they have confidence in one area, performing, that many people would find extremely intimidating, but may not have the confidence when seeking work in the sector, or doing the aggressive networking that is required to get a company off the ground. The point here is to move away from an idea of confident as something that someone is or is not. The aim of a project like this should rather be to allow someone to behave in scenario A as they behave in scenario B. It can be argued that by placing the participants in the different scenarios, the project went some way to achieving this. The fact that the participants survived in the different scenarios, and in the majority prospered indicates that their confidence here has increased.

The above may seem a little over-analytical and obvious. However, it is necessary. Confidence is a catch all term that is used with attempts seldom made to unpack its meaning. Part of this project should be to try and unpack its meaning. It is crucial that we attempt to do so because it then allows the project to specify more clearly what it is trying to achieve and how. The analysis above also provides the basis for the question examined below. Exactly what should this project aim to achieve with its participants?

The idea of the 'one person company'

The theme that linked the opinions of all the practitioners above was that of the need for resilience amongst the participants. They should be under no illusions about the labour market in the performing arts. They need to have a particular way of looking at themselves and what they do. This idea of the one person company seems to encapsulate so much of the contemporary reality of the performing arts. It is not a new idea. Indeed, it is an extremely fashionable one amongst academics and researchers writing on the labour market of the moment and the future. Whilst its significance may be exaggerated generally, in this sector of the labour market it has particular resonance. To prosper it appears individuals must see themselves as 'one person companies'. They must offer a range of 'products' (skills) which they 'advertise' through building networks and connections. They must also like any successful company therefore, have a business plan and be able to react to the market i.e. in this case to be able to offer a range of products and skills.

The key goal here appears to be a certain attitude, and the key question: can transitions to work deliver this attitude amongst its graduates?

A more formal training element

It was felt by those experts interviewed above, and by the co-ordinators of Scapegoat and Minds Eye that a more formal training element would have been valuable. The assumption that participants would develop certain skills merely through being part of a company was not borne out to a significant enough degree. This training would not be in creative skills, but in administrative skills, applying for funding, planning for the future (individually and as a group) and also may involve bringing in experts like those interviewed above at particular points to deliver bespoke workshops.

Individualising the experience for the participants

As part of a more formal training element, there may also be a need for clearer personal goals for the participants. Wendy Harris and Ian Tabbron talked in their interviews of the importance of individual goals and plans setting out where the participant should be after 3 months, 6 months etc. of the project and what skills they should have. This may also deal with some of the issues raised by the participants about their personal experiences. Some wished to do more of a particular area e.g. administrative work, while some had weaknesses which they identified at the start of the project which still had not been addressed at the end.

Self-evaluation

The problem was not so acute with Scapegoat, but particularly with Minds Eye there were problems regarding evaluation of their own progress individually, and as a group. There is a need for individuals in this area to develop the habit of monitoring their own progress. The manager, participants and evaluator have to work together more effectively in the future to ensure this occurs.

Understanding the client group

Francisco Carrasco of Brouhaha argued when interviewed that perhaps the Scapegoat production needed further development as a street theatre piece. He suggested that a different approach was needed with a transitory street audience, than with a captive theatre audience (It may be here though that they were not preparing a specifically street theatre piece). The participants may have benefited from expert guidance here. Similarly in Minds Eye, the participants found working with the children a new and taxing experience. They found it hard to cope with some of the behaviour of the children and the fact that they were participating voluntarily. As was argued by Cathy Wareing when she was interviewed, these facts are intrinsic to youth work. More through preparation, through talking to youth professionals, learning about the particular youth club, and something about the nature of the circumstances facing such young people may have been valuable. The participants need to strike a balance between the arts based work they are doing, and the need to build a

relationship with the young people. This requires the flexibility to adapt in the middle of a session if need be, and perhaps sacrifice activities in favour of building this relationship with the client group. They also were unable to construct a group of young men to talk about sexual issues. This is undoubtedly very difficult, but there are professionals in this field who may have been able to assist. The participants were prepared to a degree, in as much as they were young and of a similar class background to the children. These situational factors are invaluable, but more formal preparation in understanding the audience would be an asset.

Preparation and time

Perhaps the main reason that the above areas were not addressed were time related. Both projects were very intensive and there was only small amounts of preparation time available for Hope Street. The question of what is the most appropriate length for the project? is a beguiling one. Certainly though, Scapegoat could have benefited from slightly longer to prepare and adjust their show to the nuances of different environments and perhaps with both projects a more gradual tapering off of financial support may have been an option. The prospects of Minds Eye surviving as a vehicle of employment for its present members would have been greatly enhanced if their had been funding to allow them to take the show to more potential clients and more time to get post show feedback from the youth clubs they worked at.

Achieving balance

The second issue arising from the above areas is that of balancing the level of independence the participants have vis a vis Hope Street, It raises the question of what is success in Transitions to Work for Hope Street? The key point emerging from the interviews with the key stakeholders was the need for the participants to be resilient and realistic. This implies that they must be allowed to experience some of the realities of being a member of a production company. At the same time however, in presenting their shows, they are representing Hope Street Ltd.

Therefore, this implies from Hope St.'s perspective there must be a degree of 'handholding' - especially at the outset. Achieving the correct level of independence, where the need for the individuals to take risks is met and the need for Hope St. Ltd. to preserve its reputation for quality work is met, is difficult. It is perhaps inevitable that the correct balance can only be achieved through the experience of, and through learning from, this pilot project.

2.4.10. The added value provided by Transitions to Work in Liverpool

Transitions to Work has allowed Hope Street Ltd. to provide a stage of development for its graduates which is both necessary and natural for them and for the organisation. Without European support these individuals would not be in the position to build careers in the performing arts that they are now. They would not have the necessary skills nor experience, nor are there alternative projects available which would have allowed them to gain these things. This is not to say that they would not have got work, they all had certain skills already. Nor can it be said that they are all now in employment, or even for those who are in employment that their future is in anyway 'guaranteed'. But that is the nature of the

labour market in which they wish to work. According to a recent documentary on British television, approximately 93% of actors in the United Kingdom at any one time are not acting (they are unemployed or doing other jobs). To some people figures like this are evidence that it is a mistake to invest public money in the creative sector in places like Liverpool hoping that it will then reduce unemployment to any significant degree.

Mark Morrin works for Government Office Merseyside, involved in the distribution of Objective One monies in Merseyside. When interviewed he said that:

'Putting money into the creative sector in Liverpool you are funding a migration strategy as trained people move out of the area. The demand for such people is and always will be, very small in this city'

This does not imply however that investment in the creative sector in a city like Liverpool does not provide value for money. As can be seen from this project the participants have become significantly more employable, and the project has provided a range of other benefits listed below. Moreover, it must be remembered that, as Chris Sims argues above, what constitutes the creative sector is constantly in flux, and constantly expanding. The demand may not be as small as Morrin argues. There is a demand in the wider labour market e.g. in education and training, for people with the skills that transitions to work graduates have - in issue based work, theatre etc. The opportunity to augment theoretical knowledge with real experience, producing a real, marketable product should prove invaluable to the participants in this project who wish to move into any area of employment.

Finally, the fact that the graduates of this project may not work in the creative sector or in Liverpool is secondary. The question is: has the project made them more employable? The answer is emphatically yes.

2.4.11. Conclusion: the benefits of Transition to Work

While this experience constitutes the bulk of the added value it does not represent it all. Funding has also:

- Given 45 young people the opportunity to participate in drama workshops
- Allowed the production of theatre piece on sexual health and an accompanying video and work pack which will be used with young people
- Through the visit of Scapegoat to Turkey contributed to the development of physical theatre in that country. The visit built strongly on the contribution Hope Street has made in that country, as before Hope Street such theatre was practically non existent.
- Given Hope Street the chance to develop models of working with its graduates which it can attempt to continue with if appropriate funding can be found. Hope Street wish to formalise the model and introduce it as a 'stage 2' of their work expanding the number of incubated companies they create. With Scapegoat, while the individuals have moved on, they wish to retain the company. As co-ordinator Peter Ward says: 'we see Scapegoat as a vehicle for ex-physical theatre students. It can act as an opportunity for people to develop ideas and over time develop a reputation and momentum of its own'.
- Contributed further to practitioners and researchers knowledge surrounding the changing nature of 'disadvantage' and the biographies of young people in the context of rapidly changing labour markets and welfare regimes.

The lessons to be learnt from Transition to Work in Liverpool

On the basis of the Liverpool experience it is possible to argue that a transition to work project should contain the following elements:

- Success in the creative sector has to be seen in wider terms, than in terms of a
 permanent, 35 hour a week job. Such a scenario is not realistic for the vast majority of
 young people entering the sector.
- The project must expose participants to the realities of the labour market i.e. give them responsibility for their own actions and the consequences of them and pay them a proper wage, not a training allowance.
- The project must challenge the participants. If they are to move closer toward employability it is vital that their abilities and competencies are tested.
- The employing organisation must be experienced practitioners in the field with a record of externally ratified quality performance. If this is not the case the quality of the experience that the participants have is in danger of compromise, and crucially there experiences will not have credibility in the eyes of other employers.
- The participants must have as diverse a range of experiences as possible e.g. in the creative sector a diverse range of audiences to encounter
- The project should have a formal training element tailored as far as possible to the needs of the individuals. In the Hope Street case this would imply more contact with outside experts/practitioners, and more focus on administration, funding and planning for the future as individuals and as part of a company.
- The project must complement the existing activities of the employing organisation and meet a real need for them. One of the main advantages of transition to work at Hope Street, was that it met a need for their students that they had been looking to address for some time. The feeling that the project fitted very neatly with Hope Street's existing provision was echoed by the participants. They shared the opinion that the move from student at Hope Street to the project was something of a 'natural progression'.
- The project must look at the labour market its participants are going into. What does 'confidence' mean in this context? What attitudes will they need to survive? How must they see their selves? How can the project ensure they leave with this attitude?

Endpiece

Transition to Work is a rational response to an increasingly demanding labour market in the United Kingdom. Employers are continually identifying a 'gap' in the abilities of new and potential recruits. This gap centres on the ability of their recruits to solve problems, use initiative and work independently. It is basically a lack of experiential skill to augment theoretical skill. Transition to Work bridges this gap. Given the nature of the labour market in the United Kingdom, there is great potential for this project to be replicated elsewhere, both inside and outside the creative sector. If it can encourage the participants to also start to view themselves differently - as 'one person companies' then as was stated above it is especially relevant. But it cannot just be transplanted wholesale from situation to situation. The 'rules' above must be adhered to - particularly the nature of the delivering organisation. Transition to Work must dovetail in some way 'naturally' with the delivering organisations existing provision. If it can do so then this model may represent a major step toward creating training systems in Europe fit for the 21st century.

3. Comparative Evaluation

3.1. Comparing the national/regional settings –macro and structural level

All organisations of all the countries examined are typical Third Sector organizations; or in other words non-profit organisations, with one exception: the social cooperatives Type A of Italy. Following the research of the Johns Hopkins Project (Anheier 2000) the criteria which characterize non-profit organizations are: formal structure (they are all institutions with a legal status), private structure (formal and institutional separation of the state), self-regulated, voluntary and no distribution of profits. The last criteria are different for the social cooperatives insofar as they are making profits but the profits will be reinvested into the organisation.

Nevertheless there are big differences related to the political and socio economic contexts in which the organisations have to act. Looking at a general classification, the Third Sector in **Germany and Italy** are described as a mainly catholic-conservative combinations of welfare organisations which are very close to the state. (The Third Sector in **Ireland** had similar origins but has been in transition. See next page). The dominant legal forms of Third Sector organisations are associations and co-operatives in Italy and unions in Germany.

Germany has a corporate Third Sector, which is very stable. Until now the principle of subsidiarity guarantees the economic base of the large welfare companies although this is changing somewhat. The bureaucratic understanding of "subsidiarity" will be replaced by "efficiency" as a new guideline for the organisation of welfare (Sachße 1998).

Growing competition, especially on the market of welfare, forces the German welfare companies to develop more competitive strategies and institutional actions.

The investigated region of **Germany Baden-Württemberg** has the typical corporatist structure of welfare production ,comparable to other regions in Germany. There are church based welfare conglomerates as well as ideological independent organisations. The close cooperation between state and Third Sector - and a narrow limitation of the scope of the organizations through social law- is characteristic of this situation. The social work is done by professional and voluntary workers in which the part of the voluntary worker is decreasing.

One difference to other German regions is seen in some governmental schemes, which allow social organisations to employ disadvantaged young people. The objectives of these programs are not related to create new job opportunities but to support a specific target group by enhancing their integration into the regular labour market.

Regarding the objectives of the Third Sector organizations employing disadvantaged young people within these schemes, there can be considerable differences. The Third Sector organisations want to support the young people in every respect. Their personal situation is as important as their professional or educational situation. They usually show a subject oriented approach by working with the young people. There is a given priority to the empowerment of the young people instead of a narrowed focus on a potential integration into the labour market.

In the last years **Italy** supported the development of the Third Sector in different ways. Italy made new laws in favour of the third sector, including fiscal aid, the possibility of various financing for voluntary associations (e.g. partly commercial activities) and greater

fields of activity for the co-operatives. Moreover a positive vision about the potentials of the Third Sector was largely diffused.

The investigated region of Italy Emilia Romagna has a very special structure compared to other Italian regions. Based on a long tradition of left-wing regional and local governments, they developed a very high functional Third Sector with 3 types of non-profit organisations: co-operatives, voluntary associations and associations in the fields of culture, sport and leisure. Concerning the sector of social services, there a large network of social services and strong social organisations has developed. Fiscal crises within the Public Sector led to a situation where public bodies reorganised their structure by using (cheaper) third sector organisations in order to run the public services. This means that the Non-profit sector carries out very important tasks, commissioned by public bodies. The general principle of regional and local policies is cooperation on different levels and with different forms. That means for the people that acting together as a group - in different contexts and for different purposes- is part of the cultural way they see themselves. Therefore voluntary work, as well as being a member or a worker of a cooperative, is a very well recognized position or profession. Although the demand of efficiency and the demand of being competitive are present and growing ones, the motivation of the people engaged within the non-profit organisation is still oriented by a public spirit. These special situations couldn't be observed in the other researched European regions.

Another difference has to be seen in one of the types of Third Sector organisations, the cooperatives, (especially Type A) which offers services to disadvantaged people. They are situated in a intermediate position between market and "real" Non-profit organisations: they act as enterprises but reinvest profits into the cooperative or into the development of new social organisations. The worker has a salary and does not share in profits. The prime motivation rarely is to gain a lot of money but to do something for the public welfare.

The United Kingdoms Third Sector is legally based on the welfare concept of the common law of the UK. Ireland's Third Sector has been fashioned by the religio-political historical developments of a post-colonialist state. This had its origins in a symbiotic relationship between, mainly the Catholic church, conservative social institutions and the state.

The UK is characterized as a pure type of Protestant liberal construction of the Third Sector in which the state tries to restrict involvement in welfare activities. The Third Sector is usually acting in a very market-oriented fashion (s. Bauer 1993). The Voluntary Sector will probably increase within the next few years, if only because the state, in many ways shows no desire to expand. Concerning the youth labour market, it can be stated that the regular youth labour market vanished and that the state underachieves in opening new ways and forms of work for young people. Many young unemployed people are permanent target groups of welfare however "The New Deal" tries to change that with new employment schemes.

The investigated region of **UK** was the town of **Liverpool**. Liverpool, often described ironically as "Disaster City" is the main capital of the region "Merseyside". Half of the whole population of the region are living in Liverpool. Since the nineteen thirties, Liverpool lost economic power, which caused a very high unemployment rate, which persists into the late nineties. Comparing to the national development of the labour market, there is no positive dynamic visible. The Private Sector is still broken, the Public sector is the sector with the highest employment rate (30%), but doesn't show any efforts to create new jobs (s. Walther 2000). Third Sector is seen as a important field of employment, but these are predominantly public financed working places (Merseyside Economic Assessment 1996:24).

One important sector is the area of culture; the region is famous for its theatre productions (physical theatre, Child- and youth theatre), and furthermore film and video production and music production are important. Therefore there developed many Third sector organisations within this cultural area supporting young unemployed people in doing arts work. The aims of these organisations have to be seen in being a spring board for self employment and – more importantly – to empower unemployed young people to deal with unemployment and a professional environment which doesn't include so many ' real' chances.

Ireland also shows a minimal involvement by the state, with charity largely- but not exclusively- still church based. This changed somewhat when, in the nineties, a diverse range of locally based democratic voluntary organisations appeared. The relationship to the state was redefined in 1997 as a partnership model, but the main contribution of the state remains a financial one still.

This briefly described national overview is well illustrated (and sometimes contradicted) when we also look at regional settings for examples.

The investigated region of Ireland was the town Cork. Cork as Ireland's most southern city with 120,000 inhabitants has become an increasingly attractive city in regard to economic development. Nevertheless there still exists exclusion and effects of disadvantage for many members of the population. The Third Sector of the city encompasses a whole range of locally based services such as; Social service providers, locally based lobby groups, community development organisations, youth work agencies and family centres. There is a high concentration of community-based organisations in disadvantaged areas. This fact highlights that the Third Sector is often the leading provider of social and community services for otherwise marginalized communities. Although the Third Sector takes a powerful role in providing social services, the sustainability of jobs is highly affected by external issues, most notably funding. This leads to considerable pressure on agencies affecting the motivation of the individual workers therein, as well as having a directly negative affect on the continuity of work. Moreover Cork city is also affected by a lack of volunteers, as more young people find work in the increasingly buoyant private sector. In contrast to Italian young people, who often prefer working in the Private Sector, the Third Sector in Ireland hasn't secured that recognition and value enjoyed by the Third Sector in Emilia Romagna.

Conclusions: Comparing all those different sectors examined, the Third Sector in Emilia Romagna seems to be the most effective in some respect. The sector is well recognized and supported by public authorities, the population and through a new legal framework. With the co-operative as a specific form of Third Sector organisation they developed a intermediary organization type between market and Non-profit orientation, which seems to be very powerful, economically and socially. It is important to highlight that this development has strong cultural and historical roots and the political contexts are therefore much more supportive.

3.2. The developments of the Third Sector organizations

All investigated organisations – even the Italian - are under a specific pressure:

Italy

Impacts of the national legal and political framework on the TS organizations:

The pressure for the TS organizations comes through the need to be seen as *competitive*. They also have to show to public bodies that their services still are the better ones. But nonetheless in general there is a big relief for the Third Sector related to the formally described legal and political framework, which has enhanced the working conditions for TS organizations.

Impacts of the TSEP project on the TS organizations:

The additional funding allowed stabilization of the career opportunities of those involved and employed young people. Moreover the external counselling, coaching and further training, (which had been possible through this TSEP project) increased the sustainability of the developed structures (incl. the creation of jobs).

The investigated TS organizations appreciated the possibility of joining the research project. Through the project they gained additional knowledge about their organization, their objectives and their ways of support for disadvantaged young people. Moreover the professionals of all these associations and co-operatives appreciated getting the chance to share their experiences with people of other countries.

Germany

<u>Impacts of the national legal and political framework on the TS organizations:</u>

The growing European welfare competition, as well as the change of the principle of subsidiarity, forces the big welfare organizations (including the dependant smaller organizations) to processes of self-legitimation in order to get further funding. This causes a two-sided institutional logic and behaviour. On the one hand, a success oriented logic of influence with respect to governmental authorities ("erfolgsorientierte Einflusslogik") struggles against an internal logic oriented to the needs and ideological attitudes of members, workers and target groups. (s. Olk etal. 1995). At the moment this period of new orientation and new balancing of interests isn't very supportive for new innovations like job creation.

Moreover the social welfare legislation and the labour market policies don't allow the development of flexible employment and qualification schemes

The existing employment and qualification schemes are targeted to a specific group, with a limited aim such as integration into the regular labour market. This is contradictory to the aims of Third sector organisations, which intend to support a broader range of people and problems.

<u>Impacts of the TSEP project on the TS organizations:</u>

Most of the cooperating organizations could be encouraged to reflect their position as supporters of employability and potential job creator. On the opportunity for further training, the professionals of the organisations developed strategies to improve their offers to the young people and to develop their own ideas for sustainable job creation. This includes the encouragement of single organisations to use the existent funding instruments provided by the regional government and the employment service.

United Kingdom

Impacts of the national legal and political framework on the TS organizations:

The general public and political pressure brought to bear on the Third Sector (acting as private enterprises) affects Third Sector organisations like Hope Street Itd. as well as all others. Although voluntary organizations are working in disadvantaged areas with disadvantaged target groups, and are a key part of new institutional relationships that are attempting to regenerate these areas, there's no blueprint to work from here. In the British context these are very uncharted ground for TS organizations.

The public and political assessment of how traditional ways of integration have failed, helped a lot in convincing public bodies about the effectiveness and specific resources of Third Sector organisations. However, with the "New Deal" taking on a "voluntary option," this has started to change: E.g. the employment service in Liverpool has realised that new ways have to be taken. In other words the potentials of Third Sector initiatives have to be supported with funding. But to get funding means TS organizations like Hope Street Ltd. need to show a certain level of quality work and they need to have a "good" reputation all the time.

Hope Street Ltd. took the chance and developed new pathways towards "social entrepreneurships" and created ways of general empowerment for the young people.

Impacts of the TSEP project on the TS organizations:

With the research project, Hope Street Ltd. got the chance to create two additional projects (Minds Eye, Scapegoats) for unemployed young people, providing them with career opportunities and further training, and enhancing their progression. Hope Street Ltd. could enlarge the activities and was able to assess success criteria through the research actions. The external and internal counselling, coaching and the further training opportunities, (which had been possible through this TSEP project) increased the sustainability of the developed structures (incl. the created jobs) and stabilized the career opportunities of the employed young people.

Ireland

<u>Impacts of the national legal and political framework on the TS organizations:</u>

Although the Third Sector in Ireland recently gets more recognition by the state (s. Dept of Social Welfare 1997) the sector is still a separated and marginalized one. The state claims the intention of becoming a partner of the Third Sector, but in reality this partnership is limited to a financial / funding role. This leads to a great dependency on the state and to competition between TS organizations for support. Moreover the increasing influence of the Private Sector competes with the Third Sector for the recruitment of (cheap) young workers (for sometimes better paid, black market jobs). Often young people prefer working in the buoyant Private Sector instead of being a volunteer or worker within the Third Sector. This highlights on the one hand that employment and engagement with the Third Sector isn't an attractive option for young people with regard to professional career development. On the other hand this situation re-enforces a lack of political and societal recognition of the potential of the Third Sector and contrasts it unfavourably with the public's/state's current emphasis on the private Sector. The Third sector still seems to be restricted to the delivering of *charity*. There remains a fundamental lack of formal structures (e.g.; legal, political), which could progressively support the development of the Third Sector.

Impacts of our research project on the TS organizations:

All investigated TS organizations appreciated being a part of the research project. The agencies were encouraged to examine wider supports for the young people and gave them an opportunity to learn and reflect on their skills development

Moreover the organizations identified a number of stages that they believe assist job creation but they also argued that there was no regular procedure to assist job creation and to guarantee sustainability. The only identified support structures are informal networks and the agencies pointed out that an intensive use of informal networks has to be at the forefront of job creation strategies.

3.3. Impacts on young people's skills, competencies and qualifications

In general, the young people of all the investigated Third Sector organizations got a lot of benefits, especially regarding skills and competencies. They all gained socio-cultural competencies such as; communication skills, self-confidence, sense of responsibility, ability to deal with conflicts, teamwork and others more. Moreover they often acquired work related competencies like punctuality, reliability, organisation. And professional competencies like; pedagogical work with children, young people, disabled people, drug users. Furthermore some of them learned to produce cultural goods like drama and music performances, agricultural and handicraft competencies and sometimes the marketing of own produced work.

Besides all of that, all described organizations focused their efforts on the empowerment of the young people in regard to their most difficult professional and personal situations. This highlights the fact that the young people need more than only "professional orientation". They need general support regarding their experiences of exclusion and their rarely recognized biographical needs. They need encouragement and motivation to proceed with their biographical and professional careers, and mostly that's exactly what they got from the TS organizations. Such a support structure includes; the development of stable relationships, mutual trust and a general culture of solidarity. The TS organizations and the employed young people have an important task; namely to balance between protection and self-responsibility within common working structures (whilst allowing participation to a large extent.

Besides this common ground, there are some differences in what the young people learned depending on the different labour markets:

In **Germany** they have been trained and counselled with regard to a potential apprenticeship or professional education (even if they went back to school to get the necessary education in order to be able to get into the professional education and training system.) On the one hand the reasons here (to support the young people to get into the systems) have to be seen in regard to the fact that employers usually prefer employees with a professional education. On the other hand there - in fact – still are some possibilities to get an apprenticeship or professional education, especially if the professionals of the Third Sector organizations supported the young people in making the application.

In Italy the young people got to know the TS organizations – especially the co-operatives - as potential and possible working places for the future. This socially and economically well-integrated Sector offers acceptable working conditions and working places as a potential perspective. Moreover the whole Sector and the "culture" of the Sector inspires the young people whilst pursuing self-employment. At this point we want to focus on another precondition young Italians have: They often stay longer in their families than other young Europeans and in most cases the family supports the young people economically in participating e.g. self employment (s. Walther 2000). But entrepreneurship is not a possible

perspective for all young people: TS organizations offer a protective area for (disabled) young people, where employability is supported for any working area.

In **United Kingdom** we found a similar situation, but against the backdrop of different preconditions. Hope Street Ltd. is also focusing on self-employment for the young people because there are hardly other possibilities for working, except of low paid limited "bad jobs". Therefore the young people have been trained to develop a realistic assessment of the labour market, and a particular way of looking at their personal and professional abilities. Another specific objective was to raise consciousness about the fact that they are supported to be a one man company which needs to have a range of products (skills). Therefore, the young people have to advertise through building networks and connections. Through the performances the young people did during this project, they made a realistic test of their abilities and competencies, which are transferable skills to other areas.

In **Ireland** the young people profited a lot by the journal of leaning/portfolio/ self-evaluation process, which increases employability by raising young people's self-confidence and self-reflexivity competencies. Moreover the young people become aware of their skills based knowledge. This created biographical direction and perspective, which often led to participation in further education (because most of the participants were early school leavers). In general (and in keeping with the current emphasis on the private sector) their view on the TS was that the skills they learnt would act as a springboard to transfer /channel their new found employability into the private, better paid job market.

3.4. Impacts on young people's biographic decisions and orientations

It is not possible to document all the young people's further biographic decisions, because in many cases they aren't known yet. This highlights a transnational-shared assessment that the effects of the project on the employability of the participants will only really be seen over the forthcoming years. Therefore funding should be available to track the experiences of all young participants. Then and only then, the true added value of this project will really become visible.

Only in the German context can we make some statements. 30% of the 116 participants opted for qualifications in the youth and education sector. They left the TS organizations to go on formal education or training courses. About 40% opted for other professional or educational training or qualification. About 30% are doing limited jobs or are again unemployed. But at this point we want to stress that the young people did these described transitions, but we don't know if they will be successful (except for 6 young people who have been contacted again by phone They showed positive developments).

Concerning "orientation" and "motivation", we are able to reach some conclusions: Almost all young people stressed the benefits of self-confidence, which encouraged them to drive forward their careers. While the young people at Hope Street and at the Italian TS organizations got orientation to (social) entrepreneurship and one-person companies, the Irish young people developed new visions about the avenue towards real and good jobs within the Private or Third Sector. All young people have been confronted with the real demands of the different labour markets and they have been enabled to make individual plans: In the English context especially, to organize resources and support (for self employment), in the Irish context especially to organize access to more education, in the German context especially to get into professional training and apprenticeship and in the Italian context, most of the young people planned to be hired by the co-operatives.

3.5. Impacts on employment in the Third Sector

The impacts on employment within the Third Sector – and in our case within child and youth work – can't be assessed very optimistically. Except in Italy, where we can state an increase of employability -due to an outsourcing of public employment to TS employment and a new legal framework- all other countries show a lack of legal and financial instruments, which are necessary preconditions for employment developments. England, Germany and Ireland are highly dependant on state sources of funding which doesn't allow the development of real scope for job creation. However England recently increased funding through employment services, which indeed means a few more employment opportunities. All investigated Third Sector organizations have to compete tremendously hard in order to get some resources for employment and/or job creation. Another barrier has to be seen in the lack of political and societal recognition of employment within Third sector organizations. Ireland shows the effects of this barrier the most, Italy said Emilia Romagna doesn't show this barrier at all.

3.6. Lessons from comparative evaluation

Potential transfer of the 'cooperative' strategy.

For the British, Irish and German project partners, the Italian instrument of cooperatives in general and social cooperatives in particular appeared as a highly interesting approach to facilitate young people's transitions to work. It combines protective and supportive aspects with young people's involvement in real market and community activities. Besides, it is one of the most democratic organisational forms of gainful employment, the latter being embedded into a social community. Thus, it meets the necessity (stated in chapter 2) to provide opportunities in which young people - both actively can shape their transitions step-by-step- and are assisted where lacking resources or competencies. Though existing also in the British, Irish or German contexts in one way or another, the legal form of cooperatives never has achieved significant relevance. Three major aspects have been identified which can incidentally be viewed as general prerequisites for developing sustainable employment in the Third Sector:

- Legal Framework: Early Italian legislation has discovered the social and labour marketoriented, integrative potential of cooperatives and connected fiscal privileges (to employment in general and to employment of vulnerable groups in particular). This special legislation has been developed and extended through the last decade.
- Incentives: For many groups, reasons to choose the cooperative form when starting a business are the financial incentives specifically related to cooperatives and social cooperatives, e.g. with regard to investments, training, or product development. As a respective legal framework however, this aspect refers to political priorities and political will: supporting those forms of business with the highest employment and social integration requires supporting groups less competitive than others.
- Cooperative Culture: Also very important if however difficult to grasp is the
 widespread culture and readiness of people in Emilia-Romagna for "doing things
 together". Already David Putnam (1993) had discovered this in his study on social capital
 "Making democracy work", in which he compared the effectiveness of regional
 governments in Italy (and the regional administration Emilia-Romagna) as most effective
 because of its highest density of people organised in singing associations. What he
 referred to is the high openness of people and institutions to negotiate, to dialogue and

to put resources together for synergetic outcomes. This definitely seems to be the most difficult factor to be transferred to the other contexts. Still, common potentials are neglected or even undermined. Hope Street staff for example reported that most young people leaving the workshop leader's course are highly motivated to stay together as a group and to try to do something together, to coordinate their personal careers – which in the described cases could be successfully supported.

4. Conclusions

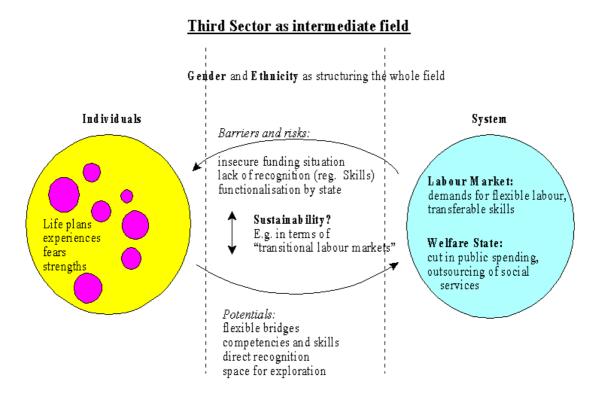
Following the assessment of the Johns Hopkins Project (Salamon et al. 1999) It can be seen that there is a huge lack of information about the potentials of the Third Sector worldwide and within the European countries. Additionally, many politicians and economic leaders are unaware about the meaning and the resources of TS. Concerning the sector itself, the research team of The Johns Hopkins project emphasize- on the one hand-a growing bureaucracy caused through the long tradition of public funding, and on the other hand the increasing commercialisation of the TS caused through the growing need of competition within the sector and between the TS and the Private Sector. They recommend a return to the specific (philanthropic) values of the Sector in order to ensure that the real needs of the citizens are met.

However this description is superficial and there are some important implications characterizing the Sector's situation, which is often ambivalent. These ambivalences can be figured out with the help of further differentiations: First we will describe the potentials of the Third Sector in our perspective, second we will focus on some typical constraints of the TS impacting on its development.

Potentials of the Third Sector

- Third Sector organizations providing social services, often capitalize many resources: providing services for target groups, creating and stabilizing local networks, integration of professional and voluntary work, providing (paid and unpaid) employment possibilities for unemployed young people, providing the support of employability as a self-evident part of work, building of "trust and confidential relationships" within the community, developing and realizing of democratic working and participation structures. Or in other words, TS organizations re-produce the social capital (Putnam 1993) of communities.
- Having access to different (target) groups, administrative or political working agencies and enterprises of communities/regions, TS organizations are able to mobilize those resources of cooperation and engagement which were formally latent. Moreover with the help of this specific access, TS organizations are able to identify unmet needs and to encourage individuals/groups/agencies/enterprises to express themselves.
- A specific potential strength of TS has to be seen in the ability of the sector to combine social and economic objectives, tasks and issues (as we can well see in the example of the Italian cooperative Type A).
- Therefore TS is potentially able to combine:
- 1. labour market policy oriented tasks like qualifications and employment agencies (or arrangements of employment?),
- 2. tasks of employment policies like job creation,
- 3. tasks concerning the development of new structures related to changing needs,
- 4. tasks related to the specific needs of different target groups

5. and as a horizontal task; social integration of participants of all processes around the different TS organization.



➤ In conclusion, TS organizations could take the role of a "neutral" moderator of many community related needs and issues between different interests and actors.

Constraints of the Third Sector

- Often the TS isn't known and recognized by public authorities, within the private economy and the public in general. Except in the region of Emilia Romagna, the Sector often is treated – even by it's own members - as a residual category of the societies – and depending on public funding- not able to act pro-actively; innovatively and subsequently, of no real importance.
- In contrast, the specific "social capital" (Putnam 1993) of the sector isn't recognized at all. With social capital we mean the specific competences of the sector to combine social and economic objectives, the closeness of the sector to its target groups and the ability to get access to the resources of communities and individuals.
- With regard to the fact that within all European countries, the demand of different social services is still increasing and the engagement of the governments in responding to these needs is decreasing (Anheier etal. 1998), the growing significance of the TS is evident
- There are some circumstances which push the Third sector towards increasing competition and into the private market: in some cases the rate of public sources of funding are declining, there are more and more commercial providers of social services and especially in Germany, the changing of the meaning of the principle of subsidiarity

(change of self-evidence of public funding to a legitimation of work for getting financing).

- In conclusion, the TS is supposed to close the gap between the identified, unmet needs of many target groups, but the Sector doesn't get the resources needed in the following ways; political and public recognition which would help to organize social capital within the communities and regions; a legal framework which support the creation of new intermediate organisational structures combining economic; and social issues and a legal framework which would offer fiscal aids; financial instruments which are given to TS organizations, achieving new formulated support criteria like:
- 1. Voluntary work as additional man-power and donations as own incomes have to be rewarded instead of financially punished (by regarding them as financial substitutes for public sources of funding),
- 2. The quality of the networks developing by the TS organizations,
- 3. The partnerships to organizations of other sectors,
- 4. The mobilization of the different resources of the communities,
- 5. The capability to identify and to satisfy unmet needs

Moreover financial instruments for new and innovative approaches have to be long lasting to guarantee sustainability.

Within the whole project's duration, we discussed the potentials of the different TS organizations against the backdrop of the question "Job creation or employability?". which – in our opinion – offered a false dichotomy and is a misleadingly posed question in regard to the limited legal and financial scopes and contexts of most of the TS organizations.

Job Creation or Employability

Employment policies oriented towards the Third Sector as a new source of sustainable employment, often are critically assessed, whether addressing job creation, i.e. additional work places, or individual employability. Against the backdrop of the experiences documented and analysed in this action research, this question can be characterized as a wrongly posed alternative. Employability in general, has to be conceived as a rather refers to the individuals' self-responsibility. A term for their misleading term as it capabilities that might be employed by somebody else: - therefore a paradox of being active for being passive. It has been highlighted in the theoretical introduction chapter on young people's transitions to work, that only subjectively relevant perspectives- that can be achieved by own action- generate intrinsic motivation. In the contexts of flexible, individualised and fragmented structures of social integration, intrinsic motivation is one of the most important resources (du Bois-Reymonds & Walther, 1999). This means that employability cannot be achieved without being involved in 'real' work and community experience, in contributing to socially useful activities (or the necessity to combine structureand individual-related perspectives for employability, see also Gazier, 1999). On the other hand, the Third Sector to a great extent seemed to be overcharged/burdened with job creation in the strictest sense. Except in Emilia-Romagna where tax legislation and financial incentives enable at least some cooperatives to develop more sustainable jobs, all projects depended on public funds (in most cases different programmes) which had to applied for on a one-to-three-year. Or a participant-related basis and thus were highly vulnerable. Additionally, outsourcing of local welfare responsibilities has generated a good deal of Third Sector activities. As the driving interest of this is to relieve local budgets, the resources of Third Sector organizations can provide only temporary or indefinite jobs with decent salary. Social protection and profound training is limited. Our findings suggest that the Third Sector's potential as regards young people's transitions is missed if measured within the scale of job creation versus employability. In all of the projects, *career opportunities* could be provided rather than jobs or work places in a conventional Fordist sense. Many of the young people involved have used this as a 'spring-board' for developing subjectively relevant and viable pathways for their personal and working lives. This means that on the one side, their employability has been raised: – but only because of being involved in community or market activities and having the opportunity and support to explore activities and directions in the 'real field' of the local community and market. In order to achieve this and put this on a more solid grounding, Third Sector organisations require more reliable funding and at the same time a recognition in terms of status with regard to the competencies that young people develop *informally*.

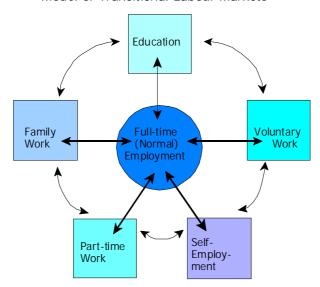
A direction that could be developed by an improved recognition of Third Sector organisations and actors (rather than employers in a conventional sense) is to develop a awareness of their being 'social entrepreneurs": connecting different individual and social or community interests to a network with spring-board effects for the individuals involved and a communal value at the same time.

A perspective in which this "spring-board" potential of the Third Sector could be developed and exploited is in the concept of Transitional Labour Markets developed by Günther Schmid et al. (1999) in a European perspective. Given the increasing diversity and flexibility of labour markets, the concept of transitional labour markets has the following objective: Beyond full employment based on standard work arrangements (full-time and life-long dependant) the risk of long-term unemployment and social exclusion has to be tackled by organizing "bridges" between different socially relevant activities, occupational statuses and sources of income. Thus creating a" breathing labour market." (Schmid, 1996) And in order to prevent that failing, unemployed means staying unemployed and not being vulnerable to a precarious labour market.

"As a normative concept, TLM envisage new kinds of institutional arrangements to prevent those transitions from becoming gates to social exclusion and to transform them into gates for a wider range of opportunities (integrative and maintenance transitions). "Making transitions pay" requires institutions that realise in one way or the other the following principles: work organisations which enable people to combine wages or salaries with other income sources such as transfers, equity shares or savings; entitlements or social rights which allow choices to be made between different employment statuses according to shifting preferences and circumstances during the life cycle; policy provisions which support multiple use of insurance funds, especially the use of income (unemployment) insurance for financing measures that enhance employability" (Schmid et al., 1999: 4-5).

The key elements of transitional labour markets that are coordinated with gainful regular employment are; part time arrangements; wage subsidies; family (private) work; education and training; voluntary work and self-employment. In such a context, the specific strengths of the Third Sector- in providing socially embedded support whilst creating biographic perspectives- and linking local labour markets with social communities, can thus be developed to its best.

Model of Transitional Labour Markets



Facilitation through welfare rights, social capital and recognition of experiences, skills, and knowledge

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