YOUTH POLICY AND PARTICIPATION:
National Case Study Report for Spain

Potentials of participation and informal learning
in young people's transitions to the labour market.
A comparative analysis in ten European regions.

Work package 6

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1. Introduction

Our report is based on the analysis of in-depth interviews to young people who are participating or have participated in three projects, to internal experts (social workers and responsible for projects) as well as external. We also carried out the evaluation of the three case studies of the respective projects. The selection of the projects analysed is based on the hypotheses of the project YOYO, i.e. to study, in different spaces and contexts, the potentials of young people’s participation, the role of non-formal education and its impact on the motivation of young people’s transitions to the labour market.

After carrying out a prospective study of the existing projects and their characteristics, we decided to focus in three projects which showed in a paradigmatic way a series of aspects related with participation and motivation in the framework of non-formal education.

During the research process, we covered different work packages, which have been mostly based on the analysis of in-depth interviews. The following projects and interviews to (internal and external) experts were involved in our analysis:

**Project 1 “Alfar Cooperative”,** (“Students from the Workshops of Training and Labour Insertion and from other Job Training programmes managed by the Labour Cooperative from Alfar” ) Alfar, in the surroundings of Valencia, where most of its population come from other Spanish regions due to the migrant movements of the 70’s. This project involves a quite homogeneous group of six young people (five of them are men), being between 20 and 25 year-olds, and who have in common the failure in the second stage of compulsory education, or having successfully finished only compulsory education. Before coming into this project, they have followed various paths including employment, unemployment and even marginality and a clear social exclusion. This “case study” is in the framework of a broader socio-cultural project, in which some of these youngsters are concerned, in turn, as trainers and educators of other activities (sometimes they are even able to be involved in the management of those activities).

**Project 2: “Association Laura Vicuña”,** (“Student girls from the Workshops of Training and Labour Insertion and from other Job Training programmes managed by the “Association Laura

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1 In WP2 we carried out 25 individual interviews and 3 focus groups, while in the first phase of WP5—the basis of this report—46 interviews were carried out. Finally, we made 22 interviews specifically for this report (carried out with young people who we have been able to interview twice, at the beginning of the project and after one year).
Vicuña” from Torrent). Torrent, in the surrounding area of Valencia, and where most of its population come from other Spanish regions due to the migrant movements. We selected this project because it involves a quite homogeneous group of ten young women between 16 and 21 year-olds, and who have in common the failure in the second stage of compulsory education, or having successfully finished only compulsory education and have almost immediately passed from higher secondary education to the project of social and labour insertion. All the young participants in this project are women, their parents are very interested in they “try again to obtain the school certificate” and the project workers are concerned for employment possibilities (overprotection from the family and from the project workers).

Project 3: “Labour Cooperative Mallorca”, (Students from the Workshops of Training and Labour Insertion and from other Job Training programmes managed by the Labour Cooperative from Mallorca). Palma de Mallorca, tourism and services. We selected this project as a good example of the great training supply offered in Spain by means of European funding and grants. It involves a quite homogeneous group of nine young people (their parents coming from Andalusia, two of the youngsters are gypsies), seven of them being male, and they are between 16 and 19 year-olds, having failed in the second stage of compulsory education, or having successfully finished only compulsory education. They have passed almost immediately from school or high school to the Project (learning their professions… with short curricula and facing an uncertain future).

While choosing the experts to be interviewed (see annex), we used some general criteria and other more particular ones. We considered that we may select people representing the three projects analyzed: Alfafar (Park Alcosa), Laura Vicuña (Torrent) and Jovent (Mallorca). Concerning the external experts, we thought it would be important that they fulfilled the following characteristics: to know about European programmes, to have direct experience with young people similar to those who participated in the analyzed projects.

We interviewed a number of experts who allowed us to deepen in the analysis of the programmes and who, at the same time, provided a wider vision of the problems lived by the youngsters involved in this kind of training programmes. Through these experts we were able to enlarge the experience, the theoretical conception, the knowledge of the labour market and the difficulties of young people’s insertion, features we already had by means of the analysis of the three projects chosen as case study.
2. Context of Youth Transitions

Youth transitions in Spain strongly depend on structural conditions, as well as on cultural and social changes, and can be analysed / described taking into account a series of indicators, such as the longer stay in the family of origin (longer period of dependency, delay of marriage, parents feel responsible for their children until they leave home, social emancipation does not coincide so much with adulthood but with marriage), as well as within the education system (a place to wait until they get a job, options for social mobility), and the conditions to accede to the labour market (temporary jobs, uncertainty, flexibilisation).

We describe in this section some of those structural conditions playing an important part in youth transitions, such as labour market, school system, the system of vocational training and the rest of measures and training courses developed by the educational administration as well as by other administrations or private associations.

2.1 Labour market

The block of work suffered by young people during the last two decades in Spain, is a verifiable fact and that has been statistically verified at the national level as well as at the European one. Spain has traditionally been one of the countries with higher unemployment rates in Europe, but it is necessary to highlight that these high unemployment rates have been recently attenuated due to the improvement of the economic cycle. This reduction of unemployment rates has led unemployment to lose its position as the first problem for young people, being substituted by the precariousness and the uncertainty of the jobs that youngsters can access to. The new job market, more or less flexible, makes that the labour conditions offered are more unstable and insecure. As L. Cachón (2000) has pointed out, “the extension of the temporary work is a manifestation -maybe the most clear- of the transformation of the norm of traditional Ford-based employment system in Spain. Although it is not a juvenile phenomenon, their incidence on the youths is considerably higher than the one that has on the elder groups”. The influence over the transition trajectories of the Spanish youths' is evident.

Work legislation has a great weight in the structuring of the labour market, since it regulates the system of work relationships, in the recruitment framework as well as in that of the negotiation of work conditions. Since 1997, new reformations have been carried out with a higher level of social consensus. Thus in 1997 have been signed the Agreements for the Stability of Employment and the Collective Negotiation and for the Covering of Hole. The priority of the Agreement for the Stability of Employment (AIEE) is the creation of more stable jobs and has induced the creation of the contract of development of permanent employment.
Besides these two important reformations, other reformations have been carried out during the period 1994-2001 in the framework of the labour market, being specially significant the approval of the successive National Plans for Employment (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001). In these plans a series of actions are developed (formative, legislative and fiscal) tending to improve the creation of employment and the ability to reach the professional insert, as well as the labour reformations in the framework of the recruitment with the aim of improving the operation of the work market, answering in an integrated way to the problems of unemployment, precariousness as well as to the high rates of job rotation.

However there is a lack of evaluations about the real impact of the measures proposed in the Plans for Employment. These successive Plans, approved after the Agreements of Luxemburg 1997, are grandiloquent and repetitive.

In spite of all those measures, the high temporary rate of the recruitments and the job rotation, are still the problematic points of the labour panorama at the national as well as the local level. The promotion of the stability has in fact been the main objective of the last reformations carried out in our country in 1997 and 2001.

Nevertheless, job uncertainty is still the most defining characteristic of the conditions of the Spanish labour market. The high number of contracts signed annually clearly shows the uncertainty of the recruitments. The number of contracts signed annually has gone progressively rising. In fact, 12,824,998 contracts were signed in 1999, while the active population was 17,385,000 people (Survey on Active Population- 3rd quarter 1999), meaning that each person had signed, in average, 0.7 contracts per year; in 2003, 14,114,240 contracts have been signed by an active population of 18,932,000 personas, so each person signed 1.3 contracts per year in average (Survey on Active Population- 3rd quarter 2003)

51.8% of those 14,114,240 contracts were made to young people between 16 and 29 year-olds. This figure provides information about the high uncertainty lived by young people in their trajectories.

Another fact that shows the eventuality and the precariousness of the recruitments in Spain, is the number of stable contracts that have been signed. The contracts of permanent or stable character has gone growing in importance regarding the total number of recruitments, mainly starting from the regulation of the new permanent contract through the Act 63/97 of December 26 1997. But the rhythm of this growing has been slower than expected. It is true that the number of permanent recruitments has strongly risen between 1997 (year of the reformation) and 2000. But what happens

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2 ACT 63/1997, 26 december (B.O.E. 30-12-97), of Urgent Measures for the Improvement of the Job Market and the Development of the Permanent Recruitment.
is that the number of global contracting has equally grown, which has made that this growth has been stumped by the rising tendency in the number of global number of contracts signed in a year. Thus, in Spain, only 8.6% of all the contracts were permanent in 2003.

Only the age cohorts corresponding to young people have a contracting ratio higher than one per person and year. It is also necessary to point out, furthermore, that during the last three years, young people have suffered an increase in this ratio which is higher than the experimented by the rest of age groups.

This is a very interesting figure, since it proves that there is an increase in the conditions of precariousness and uncertainty of young people. For example, in 1999, young people from 16 to 19 year-olds signed 2.1 job contracts per person and year, while in 2003 the rate was 2.3. The same applies for the age group of those between 20 and 24 year-olds, which was 1.7 contracts per person and year in 1999 and 1.8 in 2003.

Table 1: Ratio contracts per active person, by groups of age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR 2003</th>
<th>Active population</th>
<th>Contracts signed</th>
<th>Ratio contracts/active person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>De 16 a 19</td>
<td>482800</td>
<td>1.130.437</td>
<td>2,34142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 20 a 24</td>
<td>1831900</td>
<td>3.340.416</td>
<td>1,82347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 25 a 29</td>
<td>2916000</td>
<td>3.130.482</td>
<td>1,07355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 30 a 34</td>
<td>2915600</td>
<td>2.134.186</td>
<td>0,73199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 35 a 39</td>
<td>2713200</td>
<td>1.667.780</td>
<td>0,61469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 40 a 44</td>
<td>2467800</td>
<td>1.300.887</td>
<td>0,52714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 45 a 49</td>
<td>2037000</td>
<td>901.510</td>
<td>0,44257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 50 a 54</td>
<td>1621500</td>
<td>571.136</td>
<td>0,35223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 55 a 59</td>
<td>1215300</td>
<td>334.841</td>
<td>0,27552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De 60 a 64</td>
<td>625800</td>
<td>156.388</td>
<td>0,24990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Working population is distributed in the following way: 5,6% in Agriculture, 18,8 % in Industry, 12,1 % in Construction and 63,6 % in Services. (INE 2003).

Unemployment rates have recently started a decreasing trend due to the expansion of the economic cycle. The general unemployment rate in Spain in 2003 (3rd quarter 2003) is 11,17%. It has been reduced 2,23 percent points since 2001 (when the rate was 13,4%). (INE-Survey on Active Population).

The unemployment rate of those younger than 25 year-olds was (3rd quarter 2003) 22,33%. The rate of those between 16 and 19 year-olds was 33.32%, while that of those between 20 and 24 year-olds was 19.45% (2nd quarter 2003)

The main topic of the discussion in the field of labour relationships has shifted from the unemployment to the precariousness and temporary character of the recruitings. The rate of temporary jobs in the 2nd quarter of 2003 reaches 30.6%, while in the EU is around 13%.
Unemployment rates are different if we talk about young men or women. Women have traditionally had, and they still do, higher unemployment rates than those of their contemporary males. In fact, the unemployment rate for men is around 18.99%, while that of women is 26.65%.

### Table 2. Activity, employment and unemployment by sex and groups of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Activity rates</th>
<th>Unemployment rates</th>
<th>Employment rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Both sexes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55.31</td>
<td>11.17</td>
<td>49.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25 year-olds</td>
<td>49.36</td>
<td>22.33</td>
<td>38.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 25 and older</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>9.61</td>
<td>50.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>62.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25 year-olds</td>
<td>54.99</td>
<td>19.18</td>
<td>44.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 25 and older</td>
<td>69.96</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43.52</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>36.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25 year-olds</td>
<td>43.48</td>
<td>26.52</td>
<td>31.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 25 and older</td>
<td>43.52</td>
<td>14.01</td>
<td>37.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Unemployment in Illes Balears and Valencia is lower than the Spanish average rate, although the rate of those younger than 25 years is higher, being 22.29% in Spain and 24.55% in Illes Balears. Unemployment rate of young women is also higher than that of men.

### Table 3: Unemployment rates in Valencia and Illes Balears, in July 2003 (2nd quarter 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Valencia</th>
<th>Baleares</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>10.94</td>
<td>9.18</td>
<td>11.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>15.36</td>
<td>11.45</td>
<td>15.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7.94</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>7.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>24.55</td>
<td>22.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>24.79</td>
<td>31.06</td>
<td>26.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td><strong>16.25</strong></td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>18.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The figures of the labour market referring to Valencia and the Balear Islands are interesting to frame the analysis of the three projects which are the focus of our research. We may like to highlight the significance, not only from a methodological point of view, of providing good information about the source and the period the figures refer to, but also because this references also
reflect the specific features of the labour market, mainly in the Balear Islands – in summer time unemployment falls.\(^3\)

Another aspect to keep in mind is the activity rate. The activity rate of the Spanish youngsters (from 16 to 24 year-olds) have gone decreasing along the time. In a few years (from 1977 to 2003) it has been reduced 10 points, from 56.7% to current 47.13% (INE).

In the present moment, there is a longer stay in education on the part of young people.

### 2.2 Educational system: high schooling rates and longer stay in education

The Spanish educational system has changed once again in the year 2002-2003. The students involved in the projects which were the object of our analysis, have carried out their schooling according to the law of 1990 (Organic Law of General Ordination of the Educational System (LOGSE)). This law, that has been operating during ten years, meant a radical change in the legal framework of the Spanish educational system. The Conservative Government of the Popular Party has abolished this law and substituted it by a new one that bets, on a sly way, to incentivize the private education and to hinder the massive access to the University. The changes introduced are small, some of them are only a change of name: for example, the Social Guarantee Programmes turn into Programmes of Vocational Initiation; other changes are deeper, as for example the substitution of the compulsory exam before the university, which was the same for all, providing direct access to the University, by an exam of maturity (similar to the German Abitur), which is also a door to the University, but which also lets the University the possibility to introduce another access test. This possibility of a new test can hinder the access to the university, promoting social inequality. (The experience of this new access test, already existing during the Francoism for some degrees, meant that only people with high economic level could pass a couple of years preparing this test).

In the academic year 2002-2003, around 8,280,607 young people were at school in Spain, in the different educational levels.

The most significant features are: full schooling from 4 to 15 years of age; the rates between the ages of 3 and 16 are higher than 90%; for those between 17 and 21 years, the schooling rate is above 50%.

The number of students registered in Spain in 2002/2003, in the Compulsory Secondary Education (up to 16 years of age) was 1,882,150, meaning 22.73% of all school students in Spain.

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\(^3\) There are great differences between the 2\(^{nd}\) and the 3\(^{rd}\) quarters of 2003, for example the unemployment rate of young people up to 25 year-olds was 31.06% in the second quarter, while in the third it was reduced to 24.55%.
the decrease of the natality rate, the number of students attending the Compulsory Secondary Education remains constant due to the incorporation of children from immigrant families.

A 13.41% of all the school students (1,111,179 students) belong to higher secondary education and to vocational training. This is an important reduction, since this group was 20.21% of all students in 1997/98. This decrease is due to the fall of natality in Spain, affecting especially to those between 16 and 24 year-olds.

18% of all the students in this year were studying at the University.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Evolution of the number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nº</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary Education (High School and Vocational Training)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Guarantee Programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The educational system is one of the main structures of transition. During the last decade, it has become an open space were young people lengthen their stay. Training has become a refuge, almost a profession in itself. The difficulties to find a job, the precariousness of the offers, lead many youngsters to wait, to continue with or to come back to education.

Schooling rates have grown in all the age groups during the last years. For example and for the age group of those between 16 and 19 year-olds, the 1993’s schooling rate was 59.9% while at the present time it is 74.83% (INE-Survey on Active Population. 3rd quarter 2003). In the case of those between 20 and 24 year-olds, the rate has shifted from 29.7% in 1990 to current 39.84 % (INE-Survey on Active Population. 3rd quarter 2003). Young people from 25 to 29 year-olds have also increased their schooling rates, from 9.8% in 1990 to 13.2% in 2003.

Young women show much higher schooling rates than men, in all age groups. In the group of those between 16 and 19 year-olds, 70.7% of men are studying while the rate is 79.85% for women; the same applies for the age group from 20 to 24 year-olds, where 43.74% of women are studying while the figures of men are 36.09% (INE-Survey on Active Population. 3rd quarter 2003). The difference is very small in the age group of those between 25 and 29 year-olds.

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4 The difference in the percent is produced by kindergarten, primary education and special education.
2.3 Other measures and training courses

In Spain, since the implementation of the Specific Vocational Training (Medium and High Training Modules) through the Law of 1990 (LOGSE), special attention is paid to training of young people in the companies. Practical training has turned from important to indispensable and compulsory to overcome the Training Modules and get the academic degree. Before this Law, practical training were voluntary to the students as well as to the educational centres. At the present time it is assumed that this part of the training in the companies must be mandatory. This makes possible for young people to get some employment experience so they can enter into the labour market with higher and more appropriate training. A good number of youngsters get into the companies by means of this procedure. The new educational law, of 2002 (Organic Law of the Quality of Education) it has not changed 1990’s Specific Vocational Training.

For those Spanish youngsters who are excluded from the educational system at the end of the compulsory period (16 year-olds), there are a series of training possibilities seeking to prepare them to their first incorporation into the labour market. The first training courses offered to those who fail in compulsory education are called Social Guarantee Programmes, being carried out on a voluntary basis in the public and / or private educational centres, or by means of the City councils, or by non-profit organisations or even by non Non Government Organisations. These programs aim to motivate young people towards a concrete occupation, at the same time preparing them in a number of technical skills as well as in the development of human values. In general, this kind of practical learning and new learning methods are offered to those youngsters who reject the model of school.

This supply is provided within the educational system, being proved, after many years of observation, that the school system fails in the education of a number of students; so this possibility aims to counteract those negative outcomes and to prevent these youngsters to drop out from the educational system without reaching any qualification.

The second most important training possibility are the so-called Vocational Job Training and the Workshop Schools.

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**Table 5. Schooling rates of population older than 16 year-olds, by gender and groups of age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Both sexes</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9.84</td>
<td>9.52</td>
<td>10.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 16 to 19</td>
<td>74.83</td>
<td>70.07</td>
<td>79.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 20 to 24</td>
<td>39.84</td>
<td>36.09</td>
<td>43.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 25 to 29</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>12.66</td>
<td>13.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Job training is one of the three modalities of Vocational Training existing in Spain: Specific vocational training, Job Training and on-the-job training. Job training does not have any relationship with the educational centres, neither can it be offered in them. These courses are managed by the City councils, non-profit organizations, NGOs, the public employment service and even some companies. Those programmes are addressed to the development of an occupation, and are usually funded by the public administrations. People who attend to these courses are young people who want to be prepared to occupy a work position or those who have already worked but are currently unemployed, and want to use their time to get higher qualification to improve their labour expectations.

Most of the youngster who participated in our research came from the so-called “Social Guarantee Programmes (currently called Programmes of Vocational Initiation), from Job Training and from Workshop Schools.

The traditional support structures to transitions are not fulfilling their role. The labour market is failing in young people’s incorporation to the society. The educational system no longer guarantees that one will get an employment related with his/her training. Education is frequently useless, as the currency allowing to buy the “security” of a permanent, stable job and thus a safer trajectory towards adulthood. Young people in Spain are living some long, uncertain transitions, paths which are frequently interrupted.

2.4 Lengthening of the phase of family dependence.

The labour block and uncertainty that young people must face, has caused undoubtedly a series of adaptation strategies to those critical situations. One of them is that the Spanish youth, instead of leaving the family home at an early age, as the previous generations did, look for employments offering them stability, a labour security to build their future independence, an existential project, they prolong their study period, with the purpose of having a better educational stock allowing them to find an employment in a quicker way and that offers them some stronger guarantees of getting job stability, to be able to get their recognition as adult people, and a future project.

According to the data of the “Report on Youth in Spain 2000", the percentage of youths remaining in their family of origin’s home has increased during the last years, thus 74% of the youths between 15 and 29 year-olds are still living in the paternal household. It is also very significant that the

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5 The Public Administration and the social agents seek to build one integral system with those three subsystems of Vocational Training. The development of the new system is currently very low, since the agreements between the different administrations involved (Ministry of Education and Ministry of Labour) are carried out slowly.
percentage of youths between 26 and 29 year-olds that live in their parents' house has increased in the last decade from 25% to 50%.

Furthermore, the panorama of housing in Spain does not contribute at all to facilitate the independence of young people. The Spanish panorama of housing sector is very far from the European conditions: smaller public investment, 1% of the GDP in front of the 1.5 to 3% in Europe; heavier weight of the fiscal help to buy a house, in front of the direct help given in Europe; only 25% of all the expense is devoted to protected housing; the highest rate of unoccupied housings; the smallest rate of housings to rent and of public housings to rent; the highest rate of effort necessary to be able to buy a house; rigidity of the housing sector and lack of diversity. The financial system is also extremely rigid, what hinders long-terms of the paying-off; the difficulty to act on a residential park with an extraordinarily atypical structure in terms of comparison to the European Union: the highest rate of unoccupied housings, the smallest rate of housings to rent and the smallest rate in Europe of housings in public rent. Also the rise of the prices, the boom of the sector in the last decade produces the highest rates of effort, not only of Europe but of most of the developed countries. According to the last data, around 5.3 years of annual gross effort of a family are necessary to acquire a housing in Spain. In Germany the effort is equivalent to 4 years while in USA is 2.8 years. Only two countries, Japan and the Netherlands overcome the Spanish rate of effort to get a house.

2.5 Youth policy

The preoccupation for the construction of new youth policies, and mainly for policies able to generate new ways of participation, that may assume the democratic claims of young people after forty dictatorship years, is reflected in the article 48 of the Spanish Constitution that proposes to promote "the conditions for the effective and free participation of youth in the political, social, economic and cultural development".

The democratic town halls formed after the first municipal elections after the Constitution, in 1979, start the first policies on youth in the area of their cities and towns. The democratic town halls were and still are those which promote policies on youth which are more innovative and adapted to the problems of young people. Their approach of the juvenile problems open new processes that make possible the participation of young people in the planning as well as in the execution of the municipal actions.

The third event that one must to remember to understand the development of youth policies in Spain is the International Year of Youth (1985) that served as a catalyst to spread the new trends and theories on youth, or the policies already existing in other countries. It also served to start new
researches and to institutionalize the studies and the so-called integral policies on youth. "This integral conception was used to seek the involvement of not only the various Administration levels, but also of all those economic agents and employers and workers representatives influencing and executing policies affecting the youth collective. Advances made in institutional terms have been substantial, although the results in applying policies have been unequal." (INJUVE 1999, p.164).

The discussion on youth policies must go together with the analysis of the role of the welfare state. Youth policies cannot be seen under an isolated or sectorial point of view. To talk about youth policies must lead to the discussion about the basic problems for the welfare state such as fiscal reforms, models of economy, work sharing or attention to elder people, handicapped, unemployed people, but also the future of the university, the role of education, training, or cultural mixing.

"The highest challenge of the Welfare State nowadays is the need of reconsidering its classic hypothesis on work, family and social risk. Social protection has been excessively biased towards elder people (that were traditionally the group of highest risk of falling into poverty), and this bias has been reinforced while the Welfare states have tried to control unemployment through anticipated retirements... The expense in favour of elder people not only causes the exclusion of young people but also produces wrong assignments of economic power from a perspective of employment creation" (Esping-Andersen, 1996, p10, 26).

Youth policies are related with the mainstreaming image on youth prevailing in the society. These images or representations, which are generally polar, but at the same time highly interrelated, have a decisive impact on the goals of youth policies in Spain. It is the difference between the vision of youth and “young people as a resource” or, on the contrary, “young people as a problem”. (IARD, 2001).

According to the first image, young people are the ideal symbol of the future and the social change. Under this perspective, youth is not only a holder of the values of adult generations, but it rather changes those values and transform them into new ones, producing in this way the conditions for a change of society. This is the reason why youth should be perceived as a resource in which it is necessary to invest, to provide the best opportunities.

According to the second image, youth is considered as a source of problems and dangers for society and for young people themselves. Youth is viewed as a period of life characterized by a high degree of vulnerability. Youth policy should thus respond with measures including preventive and “protective” components, and other elements of “healing” and “social control.”

It is interesting to observe that actually both images, although being opposite, mutually complement each other. The simultaneous presence of both representations into the society, i.e., youth as a
resource and youth as a threat or danger, can be observed along the development of youth policies in the Spanish democratic process.

Both representations or images about youth cohabit in the policies of the last years, although depending on the political colour of the government, an aspect is accentuated or other in the different levels: central, regional or local.

Youth policies in Spain are mainly focused on the public field, in all areas and levels: the planning, coordination and implementation of youth policies are in public hands in the different levels: the state, the regions and the city or town councils. Youth policies are a competence of the governments of the Autonomous Regions, which design and approve the Plans of Youth Policies for the region, they develop programmes and approve their fundings.

But, although the programmes are entitled as “integrated youth policies”, they are nothing but the addition of the measures addressed to young people implemented by the different Ministries, either the Ministry of Education, that of Health, Labour or Infrastructures. Each Ministry manages its own budget and the measures are rarely inter-related.

In Spain there are also policies to specific target groups about: infringements of laws by children and young people, young people involved in violence and racism acts, promotion of development for deprived young people, health prophylaxis especially to drug and AIDS, young people and leisure, young people and associationism, etc.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to pay a special attention to youth policies developed at the local level, promoted by the City councils. Integral plans are being designed, which have facilitated and promoted young people’s participation. To be able to develop those policies, young politicians (councillor) and their technicians bet to “renovate our visions on youth and why and how we may implement our policies” as a first step to answer to the new needs of young people. The reflection on the concept of youth, on its images or representations, goes together with the proposal of youth policies.

In short, we can say that the “context of youth transitions” in Spain is characterized (a) by a supply of temporary jobs, which usually demand a high and specific qualification or, in the other side, almost no qualification at all, (b) by the prevalence of the educational system, in the official as well as in the non-official (job training), not only as a preparation to develop an occupation, but also like a waiting room (Beck), (c) by highly rhetorical youth policies with scarce funding, and by the existence of new, innovative projects that may correspond to what we call “integrated youth

A good example of the theoretical reflection and of the new youth policies at the local level may be the publications of the City council of Barcelona and the Government of Barcelona. See “References”
policies” at the local and municipal levels, and (d) by the lengthening of young people’s stay in the family of origin: 74% of young people between 15 and 29 year-olds.

3. Sample description

We interviewed 23 young people, 12 men and 11 women who have been interviewed twice.

In WP 2
Project 1: “Cooperative Alcosa Park, Alfafar”, 7 interviews. Transcription of the interviews number 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16.
Project 2: “Laura Vicuña Association”, 6 interviews. Transcription of the interviews number: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
Project 3: “Labour cooperative Mallorca”, 10 interviews. Transcription of the interviews number: 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. and 26

In WP 5 we carried out 23 individual interviews, with the following distribution:
Project 1: “Cooperative Alcosa Park, Alfafar”, 7 interviews. Transcription of the interviews number 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43 Interviewed twice.
Project 2: “Laura Vicuña Association”, 6 interviews. Transcription of the interviews number, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49. Interviewed twice.
Project 3: “Labour Cooperative Mallorca”, 10 interviews. Interviews number 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36

Table 6. Interview sample by gender and age groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Number of interviews</th>
<th>Gender of people interviewed</th>
<th>Age Groups of people interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Labour Cooperative from Alfafar” (WP2)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Laura Vicuña Association” WP 2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WP5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Labour Cooperative from Mallorca” (WP2)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(WP5)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (per column)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
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</table>
Table 7. Interviews sample by education and occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Achieved level of education</th>
<th>Occupational status</th>
<th>Place context</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary or no qualification</td>
<td>Lower secondary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vocational or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>upper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Labour Cooperative from Alfafar” (WP2 + WP5)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Laura Vicuña Association” (WP2+WP 5)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Labour Cooperative Jovent Mallorca”</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (per column)</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of young people by educational level is the expected one, since the training is addressed to young who have been involved in experiences of school failure or drop-out.

It is not easy to classify young people within the categories of “employed”, “unemployed” and “occasional”. Due to the current structure of labour relationships in Spain, it is difficult to assign a position between “being employed” today, tomorrow being “unemployed” or having “occasional jobs”.

3.1 Clustering

Within this sample we found 3 clusters. The following variables were selected for the selection of these clusters: (a) gender; (b) learning trajectories in formal education (compulsory stage); (c) employment, unemployment and job training trajectories; (d) support systems, social networks; (e) living experience of the project, time involved in it; (f) situations of social exclusion, immigrants, former criminals, former drug dependents; (g) urban space.

1. **Overprotection: fear to leave the “nest.”** Young people whose trajectories are influenced by: school failure, and in spite of their negative school experiences, they come to another educational institution (although the latter being more flexible, more open to participation), good family relationships, overprotection, delay in the access to the labour market.

**The first cluster** groups young people who have finished compulsory education. They leave school and pass immediately from the educational system to a new educational instance. Here they can learn an occupation and at the same time attend courses leading to the school certificate –at the moment, the ESO certificate (Compulsory Secondary Education).
The young people come from families whose incomes are low or medium-low and whose parents have to give a lot of care and protection to their children. There is a lack of traumatic or critical events in their personal biographies.

Biographic portrait: **Beatriz, female, 17 years old**

*Longing for a linear, traditional transition: waiting for independence comes from a stable partner relation*

B is a seventeen year-old young girl born into a working-class family (father delivery man, mother maidservant) who, while facing the problem of having to repeat the third year of the Compulsory Secondary Education, decided to leave the school, because she thought that she would soon be able to obtain a stable job in a factory. Her highest aspiration in life is to soon get a “stable, well payed job” (she would like to get about 700 Euros per month) so that she can afford some expenses that she currently considers to be very important: a motorbike, a car later on and save some money to buy a flat with her current boyfriend so after a few years they can get married and build a family.

When leaving school she does not think about doing anything; she thinks that her parents will admit to her helping with the home tasks, waiting for some labour opportunity to come. However, pressed by her family environment, she is forced to look for an alternative to her situation of “total inactivity”.

Being advised by her mother, who participated in a training activity of the project some years ago, and encouraged by her friends, some of which have participated in training courses carried out by the project, she contacts the Association L. Vicuña and gets enrolled in a sewing course that does not interest her at all. Lacking confidence, she decides to participate and face the pressure of her environment to do “something useful,” and thinks that this will be another failure similar to that of school.

After a short time, however, there is a strong shift in her attitude towards the project. She constantly compares the project with her previous unsuccessful school experience and, though she still is not interested in what she learns, she has no doubt that there is some positive value to her new experience.

In the project she feels recognised, not criticized. She does not feel excluded as she felt when she was at school. Here, she says, we all have the same level and if somebody does not understand something, it is explained again until everyone has understood. She also gives a very positive valuation to the professionals responsible for the project, comparing them to those of official education too. Now teachers are accessible. Interested in learning issues, as well as in personal
matters, they are not aseptic or distant. They show their disposition, and remain receptive to the demands.

She is still not interested in what she learns, and although she considers that she would never work in something related with this, it may be useful for her to be able to make some dress garments, some sheets or something similar.

The most important thing for her is the relationship with her current boyfriend, a young man two years older than her, who works in construction and who, like her, did not finish his secondary education. While comparing her situation with that of her boyfriend, she complains that it is easier for boys to find a job than for girls. My boyfriend, she says, has no studies, but he started working very soon.

To have a job is to have money for her expenses (motorbike, car, flat). She is convinced that she will leave her job as soon as she gets married and has some children.

She receives recognition from the project as well as from her family environment. Her parents are very glad with her new attitude, and with her current dedication, they do not interfere too much in her decisions. Neither do they press her in any way or advise her beyond “you have to do something useful” or “nowadays you can do nothing without a certificate”. ”Her parents share their daughter’s vital expectations: the most important thing is to get married, when the moment arrives, with a man who is able to maintain her family.

2. Reversibility and back to the waiting room. Young people whose trajectories are influenced by: school failure - negative school experiences - sporadic works, phase of employment and unemployment, feeling the need to obtain better formal qualifications.

The second cluster groups those youngsters coming from school failure who feel frustrated for not having obtained a school certificate and have additional difficulties of search by this lack, and / or for not having any basic and vocational training. They have experienced a series of jobs, all of them being precarious, and feel confused on what might be the most appropriate training for them.

In a certain moment they decide to attend a Project of a Professional Workshop (this possibility is settled in the Education Act, which stresses practical training)

Biographic portrait: Paqui, female, 23 years old, lives with partner

Reversibility, yoyo transition: all kinds of jobs, dreams of owning a bar, and having a stable family with two children.

A. is a 23 year-old young woman who has lived in B, suburban area, since she was a child. Her family comes from Seville, where she was born, but moved to B. a few months after her birth. Her
father is a police officer, while her mother works on home tasks and occasional sporadic jobs as a cleaning lady. A. is the youngest of three siblings and has the air of a working-class girl. This can be noted in the way she talks, in the language and intonation she uses, and the way she dresses. The main features of P’s training biography are the lack of support, lack of perseverance, disorientation, and abandon. She sadly remembers that when she was a little girl, she already had problems studying, and nobody, teachers nor parents, noticed the signs that she needed help. “My parents were thinking of other things to give us a good start in life….. so I already had a bad, bad, bad, bad beginning.”

After a bad end of her school training, she entered the Colectivo Joven project, a project which provides special training for young people coming from school failure, with the aim of providing them the school certificate they could not get in the regular education. She studied Hostelry, but did not finish.

As she points out, rather than learning about Hostelry, she has learned about life. The group of her class, the peer-group, became the key during this time. “There I met all kinds of people, what elements!, each one of them was terrible…boys and girls… I had a really good time there so I could enjoy… in contrast to the bad times I had at school…”.

Nevertheless, she also stresses that she has better memories of the training in Hostelry, and that this training has frequently opened the doors to a labour market as a waitress or kitchen assistant. However, the failure in this training makes her leave and try a new vocational training, in the project of Vocational Workshops (Parque Alcosa), with the same goal of obtaining her school certificate. There she carries out an atypical formation from the gender perspective: she starts learning Car Foil Repairing and Painting. This shift in her training choice was motivated by her group of friends, which was a significant peer group in that phase of her life. As told: "I had this in mind because with my friends we were always in the street talking about cars and motorbikes, and so on.”

She remembers her participation in this training as especially gratifying. The relationship she had with teachers, the training itself, and the good atmosphere of the class, increased her motivation to study and to be trained. Another important and positive element is that she finally received her school certificate.

At the level of employment, the trajectory of P. has been equally characterized by disorientation and dropping out. Her labour trajectory has been also marked by the gender condition; all her jobs were clearly “feminine” (kitchen assistant, cleaning lady, waitress), in spite of having been trained in a typically masculine learning; and by her social condition, where the employment she carries out and where she feels the best is the same one developed by her mother, cleaning lady. In this regard, she
explains that nobody has offered them the possibility of working as a repairwoman of car foil and paint, except her uncle from Seville who owns a garage.

A. has had all kind of jobs; hotel waitress, waitress in a bar (she left the job), waitress at a gambling establishment (the business has been closed), operative in a car factory (she left the job), waitress in another bar (she left the job), kitchen assistant (she left the job), cleaning lady (she left the job), and finally cleaning lady again.

A. usually left her jobs after a few months. In most of them, the reasons were the bad conditions of the jobs, precariousness, bad schedules, bad wages, routine, etc.

At the present time P. regrets not having continued with further training, but she stresses that she’s happy with her current job. Her dream is to open her own bar and one day to be able to live from Hostelry, the occupation she likes the most, though she’s aware of the difficulties she may have to face.

She foresees owning a bar in her future, while also having a stable family with two children.

At the present time she lives with R., her partner. She has been emancipated from her parents but regularly is in touch with them. At the moment she lives on her own with her partner.

3. Migration, urban space. Young people whose trajectories are influenced by: migration, urban space, drugs.

The third cluster groups young people whose parents immigrated from other Spanish regions, live in neighbourhoods with high concentration of immigrant groups, have not finished compulsory education, have carried out all kind of jobs, have trajectories that have followed periods of employment, unemployment and even marginalisation, and who are clearly socially excluded. Their activities in a project have promoted their sensitization towards political issues. They participate in neighbourhood activities and experience new ways of participation, joint management and different levels of self-management. They have lived “traumatic” or “critical” events in their personal biographies.

They share action projects, instruments of solidarity and mutual help. They can not imagine the future without the social networks they have built.

Biographic portrait: Tobal, male, 25 years old, lives with partner

Transition to adulthood across awareness of his life as a worker and class struggle

Tobal is a 25 year-old young man who works and lives in the project Els Trasters, in Alafar (WP4, videotape). He is the second of three siblings. At the moment he lives on his own with a stable partner. They don’t have children. He comes from a working-class family which came from
Andalusia to Valencia during the seventies. His father was a worker for the navy sector, as well as an active militant of the trade union Comisiones Obreras and Communist Party in Spain. He was dismissed during the industrial restructuring of the eighties. After, the family started a long period where the search for a new job was the main concern: “we had to steal vegetables, and potatoes from the fields that were close to where we lived.” His mother, who is a housewife, has also been working as a cleaning lady for different families. In spite of these circumstances, he positively values these continuous changes of work and family home, because they have shown them different realities, how to adapt to new friendships and contexts, and how to develop a stronger capacity of response and adaptation.

We can consider that T. had a normal schooling. He received his school certificate and started studying Vocational Training. Later, he was expelled. His critical attitude of the centre, and his support given to student strikes that demanded a better educational system, caused him to not finish. After a job experience, he studied enology in a boarding school for 5 years. T. remained in the school system until the age of 20.

T. says “my labour life is very strange”... He has worked as a shepherd, a street cleaner in the Social Cooperative of Alfafar, in the French Vintage and as a technician in canning companies (for his knowledge of oenology). He has carried out voluntary jobs (not remunerated) consisting of recovering public spaces (not as a squatter), working with young people who did not have a job and were in risk of marginalisation.

At the moment he is a member of the project “els Trasters” where he combines a life project with his modus vivendi. Now he is used to this modus vivendi of unstable work.

He considers that a stable job does not fit into his character. He prefers to enjoy his free time, give dedication to his hobbies and carry out jobs which provide him enough money to live. He wants to keep his independence, meet new people and see new places. This way, everything in his life is temporary. To get the economic, ideological independence gives sense to his life and that is what he wants for the present and the future: “I want to decide about me, about my time, my people and my space” and “you know, in this life it seems that everything is the most difficult thing in the world, but if you manage it well, you are brave, and you have things clear, you can live with a little, but have a decent living.”
4. Biographic orientations and experiences of young people before Project entry

The most important aspiration of the young people interviewed is to get a stable job. A good job is for them a job they like, clean, “not dirty”, without being necessary to do physical efforts, neither carrying out unpleasant activities, nor being in contact with dangerous or just not very attractive materials, i.e., comfortable, but mainly a job where they feel at ease with their colleagues:

“To good job... to get a job where there is a good atmosphere with my colleagues, where I can feel at ease with them and with my boss, all of us feeling good”. {Ent. 19 (19:5) (117:120)},

and being “socially respected and valued” by my family and my social environment, besides being a work in which all the “legal aspects” are fulfilled concerning recruiting, wages, schedules, work conditions, etc.: “...a job where I work the time needed and where I can get a fair wage for a girl of my age, sixteen years-old. If they treated me all right ... I would work the time needed without getting late or missing, but that they respect me and pay me when they have to, that they make a legal contract and respect me...” {Ent. 1, female,16,Laura Vicuña (121:131)}.

We must keep in mind that they have ended up being identified with this sense of work after having failed in compulsory education and that, after some contact with precarious jobs, they have decided to learn an occupation, a decision were the following motivations are already underlying: they do not want to work in any thing, they wish a low-qualified job, yes, and also stable, but not any kind of low-qualified job even though it may offer high stability.

However, we have observed that these first ideas about work they came with to the job training projects: “I must like it”, “not dirty”, fulfilling legal aspects, to feel at ease with my colleagues, to be socially respected and valued, etc. have been transformed during their transit by the job training project they have participated in, since this ideas, rather than real convictions, are reactions against what they have lived in their respective biographical trajectories (if I have always worked without a contract I just may wish to fulfill legality, or if I have always made what nobody wanted to to, I would look for something that is valued by the rest; just to set some examples).

Therefore the participation in the job training project brings a substantial change in this sense of work, which is no longer a mere reaction against what they have lived, but it reflects full acceptance of something assumed as necessary: work helps the individual to structure his/her life: “When I finish working I have a normal life. Contrarily to what happened in other times! fuck! I think that I have a tidy life, I go out with my friends, I go to the cooperative, I go to conferences, I go out with girls but I try to take a healthy life and now my parents are very glad. I must go to sleep soon because tomorrow I will have to work hard and I have to respond, man!” {Ent. 12, female,22, coop. Parque Alcosa (421:427)}, but in all, without exception, there has been a change, a positive shift in the personal self-concept of the individual, emerging from a new, more realistic sense of work, based on that he/she must be responsible, to learn an occupation and to make things well.
One can affirm, in general, that the expectations and motivations of the participants before their project entry is related firstly with their situation of economic need and with the time they have been waiting for an employment allowing them to solve this situation.

Most of the interviewees, if not all, left their studies thinking they would immediately get a job. Only after a series of failures, be it because they do not find a job, or because they do not find the job they want, or they one they get is not stable, they start thinking of being involved in some training or occupational project.

Those with the worst economic background, although they initially look for the employment they like the most, end up accepting any kind of jobs.

“There are some places where they don't ask your age. Well, they do, but I answered I was sixteen and that's all, they didn’t ask for my ID, they didn’t write a contract, so this is the way I’ve been working. This way they don’t have to pay the social security, and if you claim they will never hire you again and then you must stay at home. What would you do if you needed a job? During the weekends I went to some café or some restaurant. They hire you for a few hours and they pay you for that, and that's it”. (Ent. 41, female, coop Parque Alcosa, 325-350)

People coming from a lower socio-economic level, and whose families lack enough cultural resources to offer them advice or support, are of course included in the group with both conditions: economic need and time waiting for a job.

“my mother didn’t go to school, my mother doesn't know what is a teacher coordinator... my mother brought me to school and she didn’t want to assist to the parents’ meetings because she said... they will drive me crazy, and they are not going to give me any solution at all... it’s not that she didn’t worry about me... but she actually doesn't know how it works and how they can help you... maybe if my mother was younger and she was able to tell me something... but...” (Ent. 5, female, 18, Laura Vicuña, 129-140)

Face to this situation, young people feel very motivated to try, to experience when they find out that there are other training possibilities that may help them.

There is a second group of interviewees, however, willing to be part of the projects like a “second best”: these are younger interviewees, coming from families with less economic needs, that face to the need of “doing something” once they have left school, and face to the difficulty of finding a suitable job, they see, with relief, the possibility of being involved temporarily in some of these employment-training projects. This projects allows them to “escape” from the jobs they would have to carry on with their low qualification

Together with the negative experience that these young people have lived at school (WP2 and WP5), we want to stress one of their highest aspirations: to find a job, stable if possible.

The first thing young people do is to go to the Employment Offices and to be registered as employment seekers, which in the colloquial language is described as “register as unemployed”, in
fact the status they want to abandon. They do this not because they trust in these offices, but because it is an indispensable requirement to get a job as well as to participate in any job training.

The critic that these youngsters make to employment offices is that “they don't act”, that is, they do not move the papers; it is your task to go and move them because they will never do so. There is a lack of coordination among the different official institutions developing employment policies, they never call the individual, and if they do, the jobs offered do not fit all the characteristics of the jobs that the seekers are looking for:

“**The only jobs they offer are salesgirl, waitress and so on, which may be good to go on but, but it does not satisfy your expectations**” (Ent. 47, female, 18, Laura Vicuña, 322-337)

These offices do not provide any guidance or advise, or they do it for ten minutes and then they never do it again. The perception of young people is that these offices are inefficient:

“I only came to get my unemployment card and they gave it to me after ten minutes of explanation; I have never came back”. {Ent. 22, male, 18, coop. Jovent Mallorca (212:214)}. “Well, the thing they call to go and get registered as unemployed, but this doesn’t serve for anything. I came one time, I got registered and that was all, I never knew from them. I didn’t come back and they have never called me”. {Ent. 13, male, 22, coop. Parque Alcosa (77:79)}.

The youths feel this relationship with the Employment Offices to be just a mere bureaucratic requirement, which is necessary to complete but without waiting for anything from them; this is why they are so skeptical and, consequently, their motivation to use other kind of resources to find a job.

The most frequent types of “resources” are: “**informal networks of friends**”, “**family and well-known people**”, “**direct contact with the companies**” and “**temporary work companies**”.

Since the official employment offices are clearly ineffective, the only possibility is to call their friends, relatives and other people they know, so they provide them the necessary references, direct or indirect, to reach a job:

“My friends do help me, they tell me where I can go to find a job. Also where are the points where I can get some information and as you say here in Spain, the more friends you have the more possibilities you have to get information. And I believe that friends are also possibilities”. {Ent. 16, male, 23, coop. Parque Alcosa (139:144)}. 

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5. Case studies analysis

5.1 Case Study 1: Cooperative Alcosa Park Alfafar

5.1.1 Description

*Students from the Training and Labour Insertion Workshops and from other job training courses managed by the Youth Platform of Alcosa Park (Alfafar-Valencia).*

It is located in the district Alcosa Park, in the town of Alfafar. Alfafar has 20,000 inhabitants, it is next to Valencia, belonging to the District Horta Sud. The district of Alcosa, is one of the multiple neighborhoods emerged in the sixties and seventies, in the countryside, without any services, with low-quality housings which are occupied by people coming from other Spanish regions. At the moment it receives immigrants from the North of Africa and from other places, they come to buy or rent the flats left by their owners who are looking for better urban spaces to live.

There is a long tradition of political and social fight, since the seventies, aiming to solve this lack of services and urbanistic. In the last years there have been a series of positive changes in infrastructures and in some fundamental services, such as health and education, but the populational change, mainly due to the arrival of new immigrants, has produced new needs.

The project we are about to show seeks the social and labour insertion of young people who have problems of basic school learning, with a low qualification level, with problems of social insertion, some of which are or have been related with marginalisation and exclusion (problems with drugs and prison, being in process of recovery).

The project is managed by the Youth Platform of Alcosa Park. The Platform coordinating different groups that, by means of self-employment and of social companies that engage with the local administration, they seek disadvantaged young people to find work and meaning to their lives. Each one of these projects works in an autonomous way, but at the same time also solidarity (economic grants, rooms, juridical or employment services, clients’ brief-cases... they have build a network between them and with other projects out of the town).

The platform has planned to meet once a week, and assemblies are periodically organized to define, evaluate and decide about the projects. Each project has likewise specifical organization.

The running projects are:

a) A cleaning company; b) A company of plastics’ injection and assembly; c) A family company for cleaning cars, tapestries and carpets, hiring immigrant workers; e) A company for small repairs and maintenance of housings: painting, plumbing, reformations...; f) A company of electronic repairs; g) A theatre company; h) A company of facades’ repairing and painting; i) A textile company; j) A
company of furniture’s sales on travelling markets; k) The administration of a day center to assist and guide young people and disadvantaged people.

The future of this project will depend on how it is possible to combine the “social” thing with that of the “company”. “Our main goal is not the incorporation to a job, work is rather a means, an instrument to get other things, what we believe is the real nucleus of people: to be glad with themselves because they do what they like” Ent. 11, male, 29, coop. worker Parque Alcosa (146:149).

5.1.2 Analysis

Participation of young people in the project is a basic and key element for its operation. Participation is understood as a real fact, it is involved in the projects from the beginning until the end: from the first idea until the evaluation. In this regard, participation is not a strategy for people’s recovery (young and adults), but rather it is the principle, the method and the end of the personal project.

Participation is understood as a direct way of managing the own life and of exercising a basic right of the individuals.

“The individuals, we should be the owners and the main actors of our own lives, I think we all have this inside, and this allows us to face or to reject the part of this society that makes us less and less critical and more passive. Ent. 11, male, 29, coop. worker Parque Alcosa (221: 228)

Decisions are taken in the meetings and / or assemblies with the participation of all young people. It is them who manage the project, having built the “Platform of Youth Collective of Alcosa Park” within a bigger group, since it includes other projects, the Social Cooperative of Alcosa Park, which offers legal and administrative covering.

The Cooperative of Alcosa Park has been able to create and to organize structures offering guidance, technical services, proximity to people, real participation in decisions, solidarity, although many of the employments reached are also fragile, such as as masonry for small repairs, car cleaning, street cleaning, collecting and recycling old furniture.

“People involved in this cooperative have the possibility to practice democratic participation and to fight to get a job, but this cannot hide that the important thing is the implementation, on the part of the governments, of new integrated policies for supporting young people” (WP4 transitions, Videotape, female, 28, worker in project coop. Parque Alcosa).

Participation and personal responsibility, together with freedom and personal commitment of the youngsters involved, build the square which allows the working of the group. Real participation in the taking of decisions by means of assemblies, the experience of joint decision taking, has led them to a sense of “community” which becomes a key factor for their high motivation.
“this is like a community where we know that we have to stay together and to solve the problems” (Ent. 38, female, 23, coop. Parque Alcosa)

This way of participation has also an “ideological” factor which helps to the participants’ integration in the project, even beyond the mere employment-training relationship for which the project was conceived; everything in this project, assembly decision-taking, self-management, cooperative régime, etc. redounds in the improvement of the participation of the individuals involved and in their very high motivation, which is proved out of the project in their implication in political and social issues:

“Here the social cooperative has a contract of street cleaning service with the City council that is very important to be defended; so the City council told us, you are all dismissed, and then the whole group, including the cooperative, we decided to leave our life and began living in the street during six months, some colleagues were even in strike of hunger and it affected to the personal thing and it affected to everything” (Ent.39, male, 30, worker in project coop. Parque Alcosa)

The high participation, personal and human support received from the professional staff, as well as the good relationships built in the peer groups, are key elements in the motivation produced during their participation in this project:

“Now I do know that things are going fine, I've got a job, I've got good friends, some illusions and on top of it I have confidence in myself, and that is the fundamental issue. And thanks to my friends I have overcome downs as the drug problem and that is the most important one and once I was out of that I have made good friends and partially ... but I can't do it...the cooperative is all I have now and all projects I have I am always thinking of the cooperative.” . Ent. 37, male 25, worker, coop. Parque Alcosa (57: 66)

The social and political commitment of the Cooperative is the most important factor influencing on any guidelines used to describe this case study: if we want to talk about the relationship between young people and the project workers, as well as if we do about learning concepts. For that reason we will present, as a background, what we can call basic conceptions: about work, learning, and success.

For them work is a resource and not the end in itself, so they do not say that “the goal of this course is to get a job for each and every participant”. The important thing is not the job, but the meaning and organisation of work, everything building the individual’s nucleus, this is, the searching for personal happiness.

“The society marks you with concrete things: to get a job, to have housings, to get in debt, in short.... to be integrated and to lose freedom, however it doesn't contemplate the most psychological, affective process which is also a part of people”. Ent. 40, male, worker, coop. Parque Alcosa (458:465)
Therefore, learning is carried out starting from the concrete needs and addressed toward concrete learnings that young people as well as project workers consider as high-priority. The learning model they have developed has the following features:

“learning is carried out along a lifetime”

“individuals do not show rejection against learning, but against some concrete ways of learning”

“everyone is able to learn if what they learn is useful for them”

“learning is completed whenever the appropriate resources are available”

“learning new, useful things makes people to be happy.”

Another important consequence of this conception is that the projects do not have clear entrances or exits, marked by the time or the goals. Time and goals are dialectically transformed since the aim is not just to reach a job. Some participants can go from one project to another, to work during some months and then leave this job to another person, because the latter needs it more than him/her or because he/she thinks he/she should continue being trained and then starts with a new project. Some participants can go work as volunteers or project workers in new initiatives.

(During the realization of the videotape - WP4 - we could see that the practice of this perspective may have negative effects, as for example that young people having “entered” in a project some 5 or 10 years ago, they have gone through several initiatives and experiences of job creation, they are still young in terms of age, but they have nothing to do with the problems of those youngsters who have never participated in a project. We have the impression that the Cooperative, at the moment, still reaches a great number of people, adults, families from the neighborhood, immigrants’ families, children, adolescents, but that there are not so many “new” youngsters).

They make the difference between those criteria serving for the success of young people involved, and those serving to evaluate the creation of an employment initiative.

Approaches to consider the success of young people’s activity:

* Being happy is key for insertion.
* Not to give up personal projects, but to maintain them, to spread them and to develop them, or at least that they serve to get a means of life and a way of living.
* To build a system of values where commitment, responsibility and solidarity occupy the most important places.
* To share projects and material resources

Approaches to evaluate the employment initiative as positive:
* The fact that the projects or the companies work is already a success since the economic and moral support on the part of the administrations are minimum, furthermore the conditions required to get them are very hard to be fulfilled with the profile of the individuals involved in the project.

* The company or project should satisfy the needs of its members, allow them to be autonomous and not to depend on external help which mortgages their identity. Independence is basic in this sense.

* Independence, financial autonomy allow to assure the independence and the defense of the identity of the project itself.

* If the projects solves life from the economical point of view, i.e. as satisfaction of vital needs.

* To reach identification between the individual and his/her activity, helps people to feel good and be happy.

* The fact that the projects and the staff who develop them are able to assume other people with uncovered social needs, to share ideas and goods with them, is considered as one of the most important successes.

* To participate in the problems of the environment and to try to give solutions to them is a criterium of maturity and therefore of success for all the group.

5.2 Case study 2: Asociación Laura Vicuña

5.2.1 Description

It is a non-profit institution, promoted and managed by the Salesian Nuns, and which operates in the Valencian Region and specifically in the town of Torrent. Torrent is a town close to Valencia with a population of 63,000 people. There is a big group of immigrants from other Spanish regions who came here in the sixties and seventies. At the moment there is a migration movement coming from the North of Africa and other countries. The center undertakes a number of programmes of training-employment adressed to young people and women without resources, and has answered since 1976 to the needs detected with guidance, promotion and training activities. More than 2,500 people have participated in some of the activities of the centre, mainly young people who have left school, show difficulties for social insertion, are between 16 and 25 year-olds and live in the same town. Among the main goals of the different training-employment programmes, we may highlight the following:

1. To get basic professional skills and abilities.

2. To broaden the training of the young women involved, by acquiring the skills corresponding to basic education.
3. To promote motivation and autonomy in processes of searching for a job.
4. To reach labour insertion at the mid term.
5. To develop autonomy and to consolidate personal maturity allowing for citizenship participation.
6. To provide information about topics of general interest and to promote reflection and personal commitment.

The educational atmosphere is characterized by the protagonist role of the addressees, the spirit of a family, daily work, the promotion of creativity and a climate of happiness and party. Through a number of contact activities it is sought to recapture the relationship with old users of the training program and to get information on their current situation to offer them the possibility to share the experiences they have lived and to increase their level of employability.

The centre intervenes from a preventive approach that helps the addressees to overcome the situations of risks and danger, to capture their sense of youth and to fully live their aspirations. Each one of the projects promoted from the Association has the support of a group of volunteer workers (families, students, former students) who assure the continuity in time, as well as of a technical team of professionals who are responsible for the goals of each programme.

This centre received recently the prize offered by the “Club of Managers from Torrent” to the most effective work developed by a non-profit organisation, and it has also been nominated for diverse prizes in the region of Valencia by the social mission developed in the town.

5.2.2 Analysis.

A great part of the participants in the different training projects promoted by the Association are very young (most between 16 and 19 year-olds) and have followed a path of school failure, but do not live serious problems of marginalisation or social exclusion, due to the fact that they come from working class families being socially well-integrated.

From this perspective, much of the efforts made by the projectworkers in relation to young people’s participation have to focus on trying to modify their negative motivation towards any kind of learning, produced by their bad experiences within the school system.

The small learning groups, the personal treatment being close, direct and daily, without any barriers or formalities, as well as a flowing, spontaneous communication inside and outside the learning group, are the bases where the change of attitudes is built toward learning, as a previous stage before passing to wider participation levels.

During their participation in the training experiences as well as later on, in their transit towards integration in the labour market, young people check once an again that the atmosphere is
radically opposed to that which led them to school failure: receptiveness, non-anonymity, unconditional positive consideration, respect, consideration of their aptitudes and attitudes, reasoned explanation of the critics made, etc.

Young people value from this perspective the “readiness” and the accessibility of the workers and promoters of the training projects: “they are always there when I need them”, sometimes even years after having participated in some of the experiences.

One of the most important features contributing to the creation of this atmosphere of suitable learning is the voluntary participation in the projects of a group of families from students and former students of the centre, as well as of some students and former students themselves.

This learning atmosphere is also possible due to the existence of a consolidated group of (hired) professionals who stay linked to the projects along time in spite of their temporary discontinuity. They work as hired professionals when the projects are running, and as volunteers and managers of new projects when the previous ones conclude; there is a high degree of collaboration between them, the religious promoters of the Association and the group of volunteers.

The dynamic community of nuns, ideologically committed with values such as solidarity and social justice, is the third pillar on which the educational project is sustained.

The confluence between the religious community, the group of volunteers and the workers is strengthened by a series of periodic “informal” activities: dinners, debates, conferences, etc. These help to interpersonal relationship, mutual knowledge and to build an “organizational culture” of the Association which “impregnates” its agency in the different activities carried on.

Although young people, in the beginning, go to the centre looking for a professional certificate allowing them to enter the labour market as soon as possible, they end up valuing for itself their experience of participation in the project. In other words, although they were only looking for a way of getting a job, soon they realize that even when they don't get that job, the experience has been positive for them by other reasons.

Among these different reasons that produce a positive valuation of young people’s experience in this kind of project is the key feature of a positive modification of their own self-concept. The Association teaches them to value themselves, their abilities and attitudes, which is just the opposite of what they lived in the education system: disqualification, stigmatisation, classification as “not suitable”.

Trust, empathy, the existence of a climate of open, flowing communication, receptiveness, are key aspects that produce further and better participation and motivation of the young people involved in the projects; this educational atmosphere is the result of the existence of a managing
group integrated by nuns, professionals and volunteers who are ideologically committed with the different aspects of the Association’s life.

The Association, through its different training-employment projects, comes to offer an opportunity to modify the negative self-perception of those youngsters who have failed in their official studies and by this reason they don't get a job.

Those youngsters who have either prematurely left school wishing to start working as soon as possible or who were excluded from the education system for not being able to complete its learning objectives, and who are not able to get professional insertion, they initially discover in the Association a “second opportunity” to do something that qualifies them to reach an employment.

By means of their participation in the project, they discover that here they are not expelled, they are not labelled as “unable”, they get a kind treatment, attentive and cordial, they are taken into account, the projectworkers show receptiveness not only toward their learning problems, but also toward other biographical areas, and all these aspects lead not only to a change in their attitude, to a positive motivation toward the new learning situation, but also to an improvement of their own self-concept.

Therefore, learning an occupation to get an employment, that was the main concern for them before coming into these projects, becomes now a secondary issue, although of course it remains being important. Young people discover that they can study again if they want to, they can be integrated once again in the official education system, or they can go to look for a job if they prefer this option, without caring too much for whether the employment they get is directly related or not with the training path they have followed. The important thing is that they discover they can think again on some vital objectives which take them out from the inertia of “doing nothing”.

Thus, the Association takes into account the aspects of technical learning (computer science, sewing, secretariat, accounting, etc.) as well as the other aspects of learning, those related to attitude (motivation, presentation, abilities for relationship, etc.) through formal and informal techniques of teaching and learning.

This means that a student involved in a sewing course will leave the centre knowing how to sew, but she will also have improved her skills for interpersonal communication, her motivation toward other learning situations and her general culture -understanding for this her ability to confront a work interview, to negotiate her work conditions, to read a work offer, to know her professional limits and possibilities, etc.

So, if at the end of her participation in the project, she does not get a work position as “dressmaker”, she would have at least modified her attitude towards employment search, towards the election of new training activities, towards opening her mind to new vital perspectives, etc.
This way it is possible to overcome one of the critics made by some of the experts interviewed: that this kind of projects are not able to change the reality of the labour market, i.e., that since they are not able to “contribute to create employment”, they will hardly provide work possibilities to those young people for whom there are no job positions available.

In fact the Association has avoided, in an express and determined way, to participate in those projects involving creation of employment since the Association considers that this is not its matter. The Association offers the participation in job training projects, that at the time that help to improve the participants’ employability, without anyway being able to assure the access to an employment, they contribute to improve young people’s attitude toward the different vital situations they may have to face.

Thus, most of the young people interviewed value the technical learning received during their participation in the training projects, as well as the later guidance in employment search and the personal and human treatment they received during the courses and later on.

The Association keeps a board with job offers that may be interesting for young people, and provides a service for writing presentation letters to employment offers, a computer room for the access to the Internet, etc. with an individualised and personalised treatment assuring a correct attention to the needs of those youngsters coming to the service, as well as different attention services to the neighborhood where they are located, where a correct attention not only in the technical but also in the personal aspects is guaranteed.

The fact that the Association has two locals very close: the training classrooms and a day centre, more open to other informal activities, makes the centre to be a reference not only for formal activities but also as a “meeting point”, a place to develop and to meet other people developing informal activities, so young people come here even once they have finished their participation in the projects.

The nuns, promoters of the Association, live in an apartment next to the centre, which facilitates their insertion in the area but also the generation of frequent informal contacts with the workers, volunteers and students of the projects, as well as their “readiness”, being there when someone needs them for any reason.

In spite of being an Association promoted by a religious community, it is participated also by other non-religious people, and the spirit of its activities does not seem to be influenced by the religious nature of the centre.

Young people’s participation in the centre’s projects marks a decisive break point regarding their previous school experiences as well as regarding the improvement of their own self-concept, which
helps them to be in better conditions to reach an employment but also to a better exercise of their civic rights.

A high motivation is also detected among the workers of the Association because they have conformed a technical staff (pedagogue, economist, social worker, social graduate) having the trust of the families involved in the Association as well as that of the nuns, who believe in the continuity of this staff in the administration of the different projects.

In this moment the centre thinks about the incorporation of a psychologist as a way of improving the quality of the service, being also able to assist learning problems which may need psychological support and to diversify their training supply to other subjects different to those provided until now, because this supply strongly depends on the funding lines opened in each moment by the Government of Valencia.

It is thus a modest organisation that, probably for not seeking to arrive far beyond, has achieved highly satisfactory levels of participants’ commitment, implication that contribute to its good image and acceptance on the part of the neighbourhood, as well as the long time it has been working.

In the Association there is a high level of participation in relation to the dynamics of the associative life of the centre, through the common interests of nuns, volunteers and workers moved by the wish of guaranteeing the continuity of the experience within the “ideological framework” of solidarity and social justice, and the matching and adaptation of the training supply to the age of the students and to their learning possibilities: dialogue between teachers and students, possibility to raise questions and critics, as well as accessibility to personal issues apart from learning situations, etc.

5.3 Case study 3: Youth Cooperative: job training Centre “Jovent” (Palma de Mallorca).

5.3.1 Description

The project Youth Cooperative from Palma Mallorca, promoted by the “Job Training Cooperative Society Jovent”, seeks the social and work insertion of young people with a low educational level, with lacks in their qualifications, in their basic training; it is placed in one of the outlying neighborhoods of the town.

This Cooperative Society has a wide trajectory and experience in the attention of young people. It started in 1984 by means of training initiatives on environmental and leisure issues, but it 1993 they decide to be recognised as Job Training Center and to consolidate their proposal of job training adressed to young people between 16 and 20 year-olds.

Along their experience they have enhanced the bases of their programme:
That young people, having lived an experience of personal failure, can be recuperated if the institution pays an individualized attention to them and if increasing participation in the project is allowed to them.

“...we developed a project which promoted the autonomy of young people, where a lot of flexibility was given in the sphere of the personal characteristics of each one of them” (ENT.EX 10, Coord. Coop. Jovent, Mallorca (86: 91).

For young people— with an experience of failure— to be able to overcome their situation, the institution has to promote in a progressive and increasing way the personal autonomy of each and every young person, and that these youngsters are able to consider that they can reach their own autonomy, as one of the main goals in their personal and professional life.

The specific characteristics of the youngsters who come to the project demand the implementation of new training offers, more flexible and company-based rather than school-based.

They consider that young people have to develop a balance between work insertion and social insertion, which would allow them to overcome the accumulated experience of personal failure and the difficulties that may emerge in their process of insertion into the labour market. This is why they define the project like a “device for personal promotion and for work and social insertion, with a flexible organisation, including two kinds of measures: personal insertion paths and complementary measures.”

The young people involved live mostly in districts with a scarce supply of services, which produces a higher rate of school failure than in other areas.

5.3.2 Analysis

Participation is considered as a basic and indispensable element in the activities carried out with young people; however the structure of this participation is identified with the possibility for these youngsters to express an opinion on some process of the programmes (activities, people, contents). They also understand it like a real possibility to decide in some aspects of the programme, like for example, introducing operation norms in some spaces such as workshops.

We believe that participation is used rather like a pedagogic strategy, but that it does not apply in the management and in the decision taking processes of the centre.

“You have to keep in mind that the centre is not self-managed, what is self-managed is their training process within a personal and institutional project”. Int. 10(ENT.EX 10, Coord. Coop. Jovent, Mallorca (515: 516).

Young people have the possibility of ruling or expressing an opinion on some aspects which affect them directly (discipline norms, operation in the workshops...), whilst full participation (expressing
an opinion, suggesting and deciding) is an exclusive field of those members forming the legal nucleus of the association

“We believe in self-management in the training process, not to be self taught all alone, but the young person rather has to be aware of his personal process and also to like it and to deal with it within his possibilities. We have not thought about self-management of the company itself. I believe that this would be more complicated”. Int. EX 09, Socialworker, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (523:526).

Considering that young people show a high degree of fear to failure and lack of motivation, which is expressed by means of aggressiveness or passivity, as a consequence of previous experiences, leads the learning to be thought as a gradual, progressive process. Starting from the concrete needs of young people (wishes, expectations, personal situation...) learning is made in a concrete way (practical and for the practice) for concrete situations and concrete people (personalised and individualised) with the purpose of facilitating as much the learning as the motivation of these youngsters:

“they are learning something concrete that will serve them for something concrete and with a concrete purpose it is easier” (Int. EX 09, Social worker, coop. Jovent, Mallorca, 53: 57).

The promotion and development of motivation show a series of bureaucratic difficulties, as well as on the part of young people themselves. If bureaucracy imposes the times of attention to the youngsters, these require a longer recovery period than those other who have higher motivation, so in the project it is essential to keep in mind that learning and educational recovery processes, in the case of these participants, are slower and longer.

Another element helping to increase the motivation of young people is to highly take into account the characteristics and ways of life of their families: immigrants, living in outlying neighborhoods, without infrastructures, with temporary jobs or with several jobs to be able to survive.

A pedagogic conception, based on a perception of being respected on the part of young people, that the responsibility and the management of their own personal project are laid on them, always stressing the positive thing they all have, has become the key to overcome the lack of motivation: “a personal credit... for them to build their own life project”. Thus they open up the doors to personal recovery, to self-esteem and to the improvement of the image they have about themselves.

Motivation has gone increasing on the part of young people, mainly because work is individualised, steps are being taken and these usually lead to experiences of success. Failures are also discussed and it is intended that they serve to overcome other difficulties, since it is necessary that these youngsters, who are used to being “stigmatised” as unsuccessful, live situations of success, mainly in their practical activities, opening them new possibilities to find a job.

Overcoming the difficulties contributes, again, to overcome another level of difficulties, with the consequence of a very important personal growth, settling down a new relationship between the
young person and the training process. New and viable perspectives are then available, allowing to
open a space, different to the personal history lived up to now, where the young person leaves
his/her personal mortgages with the past. The process of searching the personal identity promotes
the personal growth, thus reaching the qualitative change of young people.
The established relationships between the project workers and the youngsters can be considered as
based on mutual trust, although their relationship is not based on a principle of equality. They
trust in each other because they have the same goals, but at the same time, there are hierarchical
relationships for the role played in the centre’s flowchart: trainer or social worker and student.
Although, this does not create operating difficulties, because the student admits from the beginning
the structure of the centre, and that great part of the centre’s success and that of the student, is the
fact of respecting people, functions and spaces.
This way of working makes coexistence in the centre to be highly valued, having become one of the
most important values. The absence of sanctions or coercive measures... as well as the defense of
coexistence based on the respect towards the established rules and towards people has become the
main axis of coexistence.
The first goal is to overcome the personal and social difficulties of the youngsters involved. If they
are not able to overcome these difficulties, the job training process will be off, hindered, maybe
producing a new failure in their biographies, obstructing the process of young people’s learning:
"we have to overcome the difficulties they have in their relationships with their peers, those they show
while going to request a job, when they leave a job because they don't fit into it, or in the relationships with
their families and teachers". (Int.EX 09, Socialworker, coop. Jovent, Mallorca , 427: 435)
This is why the rhythm of learning is marked by every young person in an individual way,
keeping permanent interaction with the trainers and thus introducing progressively their personal
demands. Learning is thought as a gradual and progressive process. It starts from the concrete needs
and moves toward concrete learning with the purpose of facilitating, as much the learning as the
motivation of these youngsters. Learning being structured in phases or stages to overcome, each and
every young person starts an individual training process.
The organisation of the concepts, the instruments and the strategies needed to reach labour insertion
and the development of social values build the programmatic base of this association. This way, the
follow-up of the process of labour insertion on the part of the cooperative “Jovent” is carried out in
a systematic way and takes a long time, even longer than the period funded by the Administration.
Keeping in mind that the learning process is individualized and personalized, the stress put on the
learning of social or professional skills, is different and may follow different routes, depending on
the situation of the young person: a young person who is not socially integrated, because it rejects
the group or because he/she has aggressive, conflicting behaviours, is first derived to activities that
help him to overcome these conflicts, and in the measure he goes reaching the goals, he will start developing the tasks of the occupation he/she wants to learn. Both, skills for coexistence, as well as the professional ones, are demanded together, for example, the labour market demands at the same time to be able to collaborate with the other workers, to complete the schedule, punctuality, to take care of tools, etc, as well as the knowledge of the techniques of the job position he/she has been hired for.

6. Success

In the following chapter, we present the analysis of the main features and elements leading to a valuation of success and/or failure on the part of the participants, the educators, the social workers, the experts and the administrations, under two complementary perspectives: on the one hand, a global vision about the perception of success or failure, and on the other hand, an individual vision according to the different case studies and experts.

6.1 Global valuation of success and / or failure

What means success for young people themselves, project workers and funders?

The best valued result by young people who participate in the projects is, in general, the availability of new opportunities after their participation in the training courses. This is due to the following reasons, or at least to some of them:

1. To get a certification, a credential, is to receive a degree which allows them to feel “safer” in their search for employment. Most of them say: “at least, I’ve got a paper saying I’ve achieved something”, that “I’m able to do something”. The “paper”, the “certificate”, the “degree” substitutes to the one they were not able to obtain when they were in the official system, so now they feel like the rest of young people, it has an effect of “equality” with regard to those who were successful at school: “I have also done something”, “I also have something”, “I am something too”. Apart from its real usefulness in getting a job related with their training, the degree operates as an element strengthening their personal safety, since it is the base to build their self-recognition from the external recognition obtained, something like: “I am useful because, finally! I’ve got a paper that says that I’m good in something”.

2. Young people who participate in the projects also think that the fact of being admitted in the training courses is already a success for them. To be doing something, not to be merely “looking for a job” but doing “something useful”, being recognised and valued by their
families and their peers, also helps to strengthen their self-esteem, seriously damaged by their “school failure” as well as by their lack of employment. The fact of being “learning an occupation” sets them in a better social position, in a higher status than that of “doing nothing”, to be simply “unemployed” or “looking for a job”. During their participation in the projects, they are doing something “socially recognised” and valued by their friends and families: learning an occupation.

3. However, the most important success for them would be to get “a stable job” related with their training, if ever they like this training, if this training is the one they wanted to do, which is not always the case. Nevertheless, even if they cannot achieve this goal, the two previous factors have strong influence on the improvement of their motivation, so the fact of getting a job is not so important in their final evaluation of their participation in the projects. If they do not get a job, or if the one they get is not related with what they have been trained for, the important thing is that they feel “recognised” and then be “able” to face the difficulties of looking for an employment.

4. In the case of those youngsters who are in situations if clear social exclusion, marginalisation, or even anomie, the best valued success factor is getting a job, any kind of job, being or not related to their training. For these youngsters, without forgetting what has been stressed in the previous factors, the fact of reaching a job opens them up the doors not only to the same perspectives than any other non-marginal young person, but also to the possibility of coming out from marginalisation, from exclusion, from the total and absolute lose of motivation and perspective.

*In which of these perspectives?*

The participation of all young people in the projects, without exception, produces a significant change in their life perspectives which is kept along their biographies. The main reason is the recognition they get in the projects, a recognition that means a turning point with regard to their previous experiences of school and labour failures.

After an unsatisfying transit within the educational system, which showed them that they are good in nothing, that they are unable, that they even do not reach the compulsory minimum, and after a transit also unsatisfying within the labour market, where they could see that they are not welcome because of not having been able to get some kind of professional degree, all young people who participate in the projects find an opportunity to recover their self-esteem after the damages suffered during the previous stigmatising processes.
Independently on whether they get or not a job they like after their participation in the projects, these help to recover an identity seriously hurt by the traumatic experience of the school and employment failures they have lived. Participating in the projects makes them to recover to some extent their self-confidence. It helps them to face life from a different perspective. Even though it is true that some of them will remain unemployed, and that some of them will even give up looking for a job, dropping out from the labour market, especially in the case of women, it is also true that all of them have lived the experience of “being recognised”, valued, not excluded, which as an “innovative” fact in their biographies introduces important changes in their vital perspectives which seem to remain along time.

In the worst case, if the training received has not been useful for them in terms of integration into the labour market, it may be useful in their personal life. They will be able to repair their relatives’ car or their own’s, they will know how to do their own dresses, they will make up or use a computer for their personal interests… but in any case, they leave the experience with the feeling of “doing something useful”.

This “usefulness” is not already valued in terms of “exchange” in the labour market, which was the expectation of most of them while they entered the projects; i.e. they give a “value of use” to what they learned, apart from the “value of change”. And without realising, they include in this value of use a changing of perspectives, of attitudes, of motivations, due to the simple fact of having been socially recognised for something, of being in some way comparable to the rest of young people who did not fail.

It is always better to be unemployed being a cabinetmaker, a carpenter, an auto body worker, a mechanic, a welder or a seamstress, than being unemployed and nothing else. In the first case, there is still the option of rebelling against the system: “I’m able, but they do not give me an opportunity”. In the second case, when the person lacks a school degree, and has not learnt an occupation, there is not even a chance to rebel and the critics can only be made against oneself: “of course they will not give me an opportunity because I’m not valid”, with the subsequent damages on a self-esteem which is already seriously damaged.

In the best of the cases, young people who have participated in the projects, being trained in something they were interested in, and who have got a job related with this training, start thinking of the same goals as the rest of young people, goals which will clearly lead them towards the adult stage: economic independence, personal autonomy, couple relationships, building of their own family, etc.

However, the most spectacular changes are observed within the group of excluded youth, marginal, who by means of their participation in the projects and their later labour insertion, they come out
from the dynamics of exclusion, leaving the trajectories that leaded them into prison, drug addiction and other similar problems. Even though many of them have falled again into these problems, it is always possible to see an improvement with respect to previous situations, once they have overcame the phases of returning to “misleading trajectories”.

_Critics of young people, project workers, funders, etc._

The critics made to these projects depend strongly on the level of implication as well as on the role played within them, varying consequently in their intensity and in their content.

Thus the critics made by the young people who have participated in the projects can be summarized as follows:

1. **Lack of interest towards the subjects of their vocational training.** Some youngsters say that they participated in these projects because they could not learn anything else. If the centre offered “hair dressing” this is what they studied, even though they would like to learn seaming, or vice versa. This is the most frequent critics made among those who entered the projects under the pressure of “doing something”, of not being inactive face to their peers and relatives.

2. **Lack of professional opportunities in the subjects they have been trained for.** It is a very similar case to the previous one, and is also formulated by almost the same group of young people who felt “obligated” to “do something”. Many youngsters having participated in the projects know that they will not be able to reach a job in these professions, due to a low labour market demand, but these are still present in the training supplies. However, due to the reasons already showed, they prefer to participate in the projects rather than doing nothing.

3. **Too much theoretical content instead of practical or applied.** This is a general criticism of most young people, which is normal taking into account that they have been “dismissed” from the educational system, whose main characteristic is the theoretical nature of the contents provided. Any subject reminding to “mathematics”, “language” or other topics reminding them to school, are immediately rejected. All of them experience their participation in the projects as a learning leading to the “development of an occupation”, so they explicitly reject any kind of content different from that orientation which, in their perspective, is meant to be practical or applied.

4. **A special, though much less frequent criticism, is that of young people who left the educational system with a good level of achievement; these youngsters consider the theoretical contents taught in the projects as “too low”, “insufficient” or “reiterative”.** This is
logical because these theoretical contents, in many occasions, are limited to repeating the
rules of elemental calculus or of basic written language, skills they already have.

5. A different claim is that made by ethnic minorities and women, saying that no matter if the
projects provide training on highly demanded occupations, they will not be able to get a job
because of ethnic or gender discrimination. This criticism is not actually addressed against the
projects themselves, but rather against the labour market.

On the other hand, the claims made by the project workers as well as by the promoters are the
following:

1. Labour precariousness (temporary jobs, low wages, bad labour conditions, etc.). One of the
most important criticisms relates to the involvement of the project workers to the period of
time of the project, with a subsequent temporary character of their contracts. On the other
hand, they all tend to compare their situation with that of other people having the same
degrees as them, who are working in similar positions in the public or in the private sector,
feeling discriminated in relation to them in terms of wages and of labour performance.

2. Lacking mid or long term guarantees to continue the projects. The high dependence on the
EU, national, regional or local fundings makes impossible to foresee what will happen at the
day of the present projects. The project workers know that the current projects are approved
and that they will have a job until this ends, but they do not know what will happen next
year, so they can not plan any other projects with a scope longer than one year.

3. Lack of autonomy to promote projects which may not be included in the budget lines. Most
workers complain about the lack of possibilities to promote projects which are not included
in the yearly budget lines. So either they want it or not, if a regional government will fund
this year a training line about “psychiatric assistance”, they will have to submit this kind of
project, even though they may consider that for them addresses it would be better to
implement a different kind of project.

4. Excess of bureaucracy. This is in many occasions something which delays and makes
difficult the management of the projects, rather than a guarantee of fulfilling the goals
foreseen. In many cases there is a criticism about the corset set up by bureaucracy instead of
helping to “reflect the reality”. The excess of bureaucracy makes that sometimes the
documents are more important than the reality of what is being done, even though these
papers may “disguise” the reality.

5. Delays in getting the fundings. Directly related to the previous one, this is the most
important claim made, being the base of most of the projects’ difficulties. If I do not get the
fundings on time, I will not be able to pay on time, no one will wish to work with me, if I
do not pay on time, I will not be able to justify my expenses, if I cannot justify my expenses, I will not get the fundings…

What are factors of success and failure.

To consolidate a professional staff which remain committed with the projects along the time, acquiring experience and using this experience to design new, more ambitious projects, is a key aspect of success, but it is hindered by the impossibility of planning work lines to a longer scope than one year, as well as by the delays in getting the fundings and by the precarious work conditions, always between “professional” and “voluntary” work.

If the continuity of the projects is not guaranteed, if fundings are delayed, if wages are low but the demanded dedication is high, only those who cannot “get something better”, or being very committed ideologically, will take a part in the projects as workers, so a consolidation is produced in the “low quality” of the workers, in a field where precisely the difficulties of the clients addressed would demand highly special, motivated and qualified staff.

On the other hand, the lack of continuity of the projects, the lack of guarantees for being able tomorrow to get benefits from the investments made today, make that in some training specialties demanding strong investments in machinery or technology good levels of use are not reached, being limited to the year when the fundings are received, and being stopped the year after. It would be necessary to think on more “flexible” models such as the free donation of these materials or tools or their recycling in any other way.

Funded lines should also become less “rigid”. When a new “employment location” emerges, each and every public institution become financially devoted to it, so soon the training supply overcomes the employment possibilities. And on the other hand, there are other original, specific training possibilities which are not funded because they are not involved in the “mainstreaming”, though they could provide a good response to concrete, specific local needs.

Apart from these specific issues, there is another one with broader implications, derived from the fact that these projects are a “parallel system” to that of formal school, being treated as a less category system than the official one.

One of the implications of this last question is that, in these projects, the conditions and possibilities for participation of all the agents (parents, teachers, students, non-teaching staff) are not regulated in such a perfect way as they are in the formal educational system. Participation does exist, it is important, it is allowed, but only because the project managers want to do so, there is no regulation about it.
This “secondary”, “alternative”, “parallel” character of the “misleading trajectories” system show clear lacks if compared with that of successful or simply standard transitions, its situations half-way between professional and voluntary work, between institutionalisation and subsidiarity.

Our case studies show that the success of the projects depend on the sense of “ideological community” of their managers, on their ability to overcome the lacks of the system with their own dedication, but it denotes the scarce institucionalisation of the alternatives, their poor “professionalisation” and “standardisation” as part of the general system of transitions towards active life.

Only from this perspective of “lack of standardisation” it is possible to understand that, besides this “sense of community” depending on the ideology of the project, or better on its organizational culture, a feature from which derives the capacity of implication in political and social issues, the following are also factors contributing to the success of the projects:

1) the existence of a group of voluntary workers who guarantee the continuity of the projects since the beginning of some funded employment-training activities until the beginning of the following; this group contributes to define the ideology of the projects, their organizational culture.

2) the possibility of being able to define trajectories inside the projects, starting as mere participants in training courses, to work on a voluntary basis afterwards, passing later on to carry out professional roles.

I.e., only due to the fact that the system of professional insertion used by young people who followed “misleading trajectories” is “inferior” to the official system, it is possible to explain the success of the projects according to this sense of “ideological community”, of the existence of a group of voluntary workers who guarantee the continuity of the projects and that at least in some of the projects, the possibility is guarantee to insert young people who participate first as voluntary workers and professional workers later on.

From this perspective the explanation would be the same, and it would be equally paradoxical, the fact of asking the project workers, who are under worse labour and wage conditions than those working in the official educational system, such abilities and skills that are not even demanded to the staff of public administration or private companies, among them, those already pointed out in previous reports:

1) ability of personal approach,

2) not making affective distances,

3) not being located out of the personal field, being limited to the contents,

4) to be committed in the support relationship beyond the professional issues,

5) to have a non-directive working style.
6.2 Individual analysis of the valuation of the success or failure of the projects, according to the different case studies and experts

We have collected the opinion of young people who attended the programs, as well as that of the internal experts, the public administration, the companies and the external experts to the different programmes.

The concept of “success” is different in each and every of the case studies analyzed; thus, we will indicate the approaches expressed in all of them and we will finish with the opinions expressed by the external experts.

*Case study “Infinite patience”, Parque Alcosa de Alfafar (Valencia).*

In this case study, the valuation of success is quite similar according to young people and to the internal experts.

**Young people**

Young people think that insertion is the real focus for the success of the programmes. And to be happy is the key goal during the insertion processes and the insertion itself. Not being forced to give up with personal projects, but to be able to maintain them, to diffuse them, to develop them until they become a means of life and a way of living:

“to be perfectly at liberty... in my own environment. In this project the most important thing is to give your opinion and to be free, to make your own life. Work has to make this possible. Ent.37, male, 25, worker, coop. Parque Alcosa (491 :493)

To build a system of values where commitment, responsibility and solidarity occupy the most important places;

“this is a group where everyone help each other in whatever they may need”. Ent. 41, male, 16, coop. Parque Alcosa (273)

Sharing projects and material among the different members of the programmes are also considered as indicators of success.

“This has changed everything in my life. And... another thing... I cannot say another thing, if I was not in the cooperative, I don’t know where I would be in this moment... I don’t really know. Now I know things are going well for me. I have a job, good friends, illusions, but the main thing is that I can trust in me. And thanks to my partners I could come out from drugs and so on, that is the main thing, and when coming out from there I met some good partners... the cooperative is all I have in this moment, and every project I can imagine will always be linked to the cooperative. Ent. 42, male, 30, worker, coop. Parque Alcosa (117: 125)
Coordinators of the programmes and the internal experts

For the responsible for the programme, the approaches are coincident with that expressed by the youngsters. There is a very high identification between the big group (coordinator and General Assembly) and the small group (the staff of the project) with regard to the companies or projects they set up. We can synthesize their criteria in the following: the initiatives of self-employment started must work and must create employment. They consider that the helps and funds provided by the administration must not become the most important item in the revenues, so the simple operation and continuity of the initiatives is already considered a success. The grants are considered as a support since they are usually scarce and sometimes they are not easy to get.

The labour initiatives started should also be self-sufficient, satisfy the needs of the members, let them be autonomous instead of depending on external help that may mortgage their identity. Independence, in this sense, is basic: independence, financial autonomy will allow them to assure the project’s independence and identity.

“We will lose our identity to get some fundings or a labour concession on the part of the city council. This would mean to give up with the whole project, which is to be responsible and free in our decisions”. EX-Ent.12, coord. Coop. Parque Alcosa (157:159)

If projects allow to live economically from the labour activity and the services provided, is also considered as an element for success.

To achieve an identification between the worker and his/her activity, helps people to feel good and be happy. This is a key element for those who, coming from social exclusion, are able to recover theirselves by means of work and through the solidarity they received from the rest of the members of the group. One of the most important wishes of this group is that people who participate and develop the projects, have enough capacity to assume other people who have primary social needs to be covered, and to share with them ideas and goods.

“We left the local open, we have even shared our housing with people who left the prison or with immigrants until they find a place to live” EX-Ent.11, socialworker, coop. Parque Alcosa (205:207).

To participate in the problems around them and to try to provide solutions is also an element for success according to this group.

“The problem is not that each of these youngsters get a modus vivendi through these employment initiatives, but rather that they see, they analyze the impact of all of this in the place where he or she lives, in the community where it is developed and how it affects to those who live with them… these youngsters, under this precariousness, are not the only ones, there are many more” EX-Ent. 12, coord. Coop. Parque Alcosa (383:387).
As a conclusion, we could say that for the community of Park Alcosa, the success of the programmes must produce an identification between young people and their activity from an autonomous, solidary perspective and in the framework of defense and commitment with their environment:

“Our main goal is not the incorporation to work; work is rather a means, an instrument, among other things; but we do believe that it is the central element of people: to be happy because they do what they want”. EX-Ent. 11 socialworker, coop. Parque Alcosa (147:149).

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Case Study: Laura Vicuña of Torrente

In this case study, the elements considered for success are different according to young people or to the experts.

According to the youngsters, the criteria to consider labour experiences as successful are: finding a job is the most important part of insertion; other youngsters consider work as a means, since they wish to build their own family. We also found some young people who think that the most important thing is the discovery of the social and/or religious commitment.

“Girls who leave of the school thinking that they are good in nothing, that they are not able, they discover suddenly that they have arrived somewhere where they are useful, they are able and respected, their opinions are taken into account, they participate, they are valued and thus they radically change their self-concept, that is something they know and they insist quite a lot in, in all the possible ways... they find an affective treatment in the Association, so after a time they remain in contact with the Centre, they get something they have not received for a long time”. EX-Ent.2 Prof. Uni. Valencia(267: 278).

Another criterium of success is getting economic revenues allowing them to be partially independent.

“They simply earned some money during three months (...) they earned a relatively good wage”. EX-Ent. 9, Socialworker Laura Vicuña(268-270).

“yes, they went every day and they did their job... they told us in an interview that this had been actually useful for them because they were in circulation again, that’s what they called it, then we said “what do you mean by being in circulation?”. To go out from your neighbourhood, to know some companies, to meet some people, then you start thinking about. For them, this was already a success”. EX-Ent. 9 Socialworker Laura Vicuña (274:279)

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For those responsible for the projects, success means to increase young people’s personal maturity.

“For them, the topic of labour insertion is the topic of personal maturity”. EX-Ent. 2 Prof. Uni. Valencia (262)

Although the technical training they receive may not be enough to satisfy the demands of the labour market, the programmes are actually a good instrument to get a series of skills and values leading to new professional qualifications, and improving their self-esteem:

“courses are actually an excuse to achieve a change in their self-concept”. EX-Ent.2, Prof. Uni. Valencia (265 :266)

“The project in a way is labour insertion; then we went to a company, the company called them, most of them got a contract and maybe they were working there for three months after leaving the project. And this was considered a success, but I rather believe that there was the ability to manage, to act, to discover that there is something else, so for us the success is also made by the fact that 5 of the 10 girls participating in the project were finally inserted in the labour market”. EX-Ent. 9, 9 Socialworker Laura Vicuña (167:174)

The improvement of self-esteem is a part of success, being necessary to involve other sectors, such as the families, the companies, the local authorities... in the establishment of new social relationships which may promote an easier insertion.

“Girls who leave of the school thinking that they are good in nothing, that they are not able, they discover suddenly that they have arrived somewhere where they are useful, they are able and respected”. EX-Ent. 2, prof.Uni. Valencia (267: 269)

The family in this phase has become a basic institution of support, so we consider that:

“You cannot simply stay in the phase of labour insertion, I believe that a person is much more and must have many other spheres. Family, for example, we tried to approach the families of the youngest girls, in order to discover why they feel this way and what kind of relationship they have”. EX-Ent. 9 Socialworker Laura Vicuña (143:146)

“They also try to transfer to the families of the girls, trying to imply them in a change of relationship”. EX-Ent. 2, prof. Uni. Valencia (280: 281)

The permanency in the network –keeping the contact with the centre– masks possible to reach a higher degree of success, since social relationships are enlarged, further training is achieved and the contacts with the centre are longer.

“To be able to act on their own, to be as normal as possible, mainly to learn how to communicate, because they don't know how to communicate”. EX-Ent. 9 Socialworker Laura Vicuña (83: 84)

“At the personal level, if they needed to talk in some moment, because they have no self-esteem, the ability to feel they are loved and accepted”. EX-Ent. 9 Socialworker Laura Vicuña (116:119)
Case Study: Cooperativa Jovent (Mallorca).

According to young people, success is made possible by means of the recovery of the self-esteem and by getting the best possible insertion. The recovery of individual self-esteem has become one of the most important achievements in their life:

“I came to the program thinking that I had failed in everything, that I was nothing. But now I realise that I’m important, that I am actually useful, that’s why I believe that young people may go through this kind of courses”. Ent. 28, male, 17, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (140-142).

They feel strengthened, more autonomous, more able to live their own life and to prove themselves that a change is possible:

“I was a very shy, reserved girl, everything was embarrassing for me. I didn’t know what I could do, but now I feel much better: I go to the shops and to the factories to look for a job, I meet my colleagues and partners and I don’t feel embarrassed any more. And I have achieved this here, in the course, where they have always encouraged me and made me discover the positive things that I have”. Ent. 33, female, 17, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (160:180)

To feel better, to feel that they are valid, to enjoy a new consideration –from their families, from the environment, from themselves!- is a part of success.

“I am a young man who came to the courses being a school failure, a disaster. The school was boring for me, I didn’t want to go. I wanted to work. A friend of mine told me about these courses, and I have learned an occupation. It was different here! I was good in the workshop, I got a job in the company where I made the practice stage, and now even my father asks me about how to solve the problems with the car” Ent. 36, male, 17, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (160:163).

One may also highlight the fact of having learned an occupation, allowing them to be socially useful and able to reach a good labour insertion.

“My father is a self-employed worker, and I never wanted to work with him. I started working in a big company and now I think otherwise. When I have a better knowledge of the occupation, I will create my own workshop, because I want to create my own workshop... but an important one”. Ent. 32, male, 18, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (190:192).

To be able to elaborate their own life project and to forecast it on a future is also part of the success for these youngsters:

“When I entered the course, I wanted to learn an occupation to have a good job. Now I work in a company, I have a good wage and I am thinking about buying a flat to be able to go and live with my partner”. Ent. 29, male, 16, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (111:113)

For those responsible for the projects, the criteria of success are wide-ranging: organizational, technical -to reach the goals foreseen-, social and labour insertion, personal growth...
The fact that the youngsters achieve a good technical knowledge is one of the best valued features:

“I think that the technical part they learn here is important, it is important to be competitive in their job. After this, there is a personal element, they learn some habits and are able to assume their responsibilities... and to be responsible for the consequences of their decisions”. EX-Ent. 03, Psychologist, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (203: 206)

Social and labour insertion in the environment is also considered as one of the most important factors of success. But success is also attained by keeping in mind the economic and social conditions of the population, as well as characteristics of the place where they live:

“Around 85% of young people get a job contract. This rate is 100% in some branches. First I wanted to remark one thing we have said before, concerning the moment when the young peson finishes the training. During their stay here, we are highly influenced by their age and by the kind of territory we are in. Some youngsters, in the middle of the process, start thinking about getting a job. Because the summer is coming, it is easy to get a job, there is some money inbetween, they are young in their 16 or 17. And the project itself allows to leave. What we do is to settle down with him or her a time when he can try to experience a job, and after that he or her can come back again to the project. The young person covers his or her expectations, to work, and later on he can continue with the project. This works really well if we do it with a personal project, agreed and with clear goals”. EX-Ent. 10 Coord. Coop. Jovent Mallorca, (695: 704).

In this sense, training, the attitudes as well as the habits of personal development promoted have a double meaning: on the one hand, to overcome those factors that caused the failure of their personal trajectories, and on the other hand, those elements that will be positively valued in the insertion process are introduced as necessary to reach the success of the programmes:

“Attendance and punctuality are the main habits, and also being tidy in everything related with work. But here the main ones are punctuality and attendance”. EX-Ent. 3 Psychologist, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (210: 211).

The behaviours developed are a symbiosis between the demands of the labour market and those personal and educational deficiencies that produced failure in their previous life.

“I mean, you may not take into account if a very qualified worker comes late to work in some moments, it doesn’t matter, but when they are in apprenticeship... this it is not the reality, these boys will be better valued if they are serious, if we want to prepare them for work it is necessary to demand it. They must respect the schedule, they must fulfill their obligations and agreements, the tasks they are told to do. We cannot forget that the history of school failure is usually a history of school absenteeism, so working this issue is a pedagogical matter” EX-Ent. 3 Psychologist, coop. Jovent, Mallorca (221: 227).

Reaching the autonomy of the youngsters involved becomes a central goal:

“How could I say... to be able to choose the kind of life they want to live, what they want to do, and to be consequent with this trajectory without waiting their dad or mom to solve their problems. I mean, if they decide to work instead of studying, they have to learn how to look for a job, how to send their curriculum,
“that’s what I mean, they have to go on developing things promoting their personal autonomy and independence from their families”. EX-Ent. 10 (388:389).

The success of the programmes cannot be valued just by means of training and insertion; it is necessary to carry out the evaluation of the programmes and the follow-up of these youngsters.

“Our commitment cannot finish with the project, but with the insertion process, when the young person is finally inserted. So I would say that our commitment goes further on. We make a follow-up in the short term, after 15 - 45 days and afterwards we carry out another one after 6, 12 and 24 months. So this means that we make the follow-up until 2 years later after they end up with the project and their first real labour experiences.” EX-Ent. 10 (211:216).

In short, they synthesize the criteria for success or failure in a project like:

“the criteria are the following: the demand, the index of dropping out and the insertion”. ENT. 10 (250)

6.3 Valuation of the programmes on the part of the experts

The internal experts consider that the criteria of success used by the administration are very different to the ones indicated by young people involved, by the technicians and by the internal experts to the programmes, and even to that of the external experts.

The administration gives a positive value to the courses whenever the following conditions are accomplished:

- The foreseen schedule is respected
- The youngsters attend to the course and the attendance control is fulfilled.
- The youngsters carry out a number of practice stages in the companies, no matter if they achieve or not a job in the end.

One can observe that those are formalist criteria, which do not take into account the circumstances and the context that young people are involved in: initial contexts, personal difficulties, failures accumulated along their life, as well as the final context of insertion.

This kind of valuation of the programmes lacks four important features:

1. Labour insertion is more valued than social insertion, the latter being even not considered or just paid a formal attention:

   “the problem with the programmes is always time, I mean, they start this day and they have to end up in that day, but what will happen to those youngsters when... the programme is finished”? EX-Ent. 10 (170: 172).

2. Second, there is a deep deficit concerning the tasks of follow-up once the courses have concluded.
“because they don't demand any commitment from you apart from the period you’ve been funded.” EX-Ent. 10 (197:198)

This opinion is shared by other experts: follow-up after the end of the training is not taken into account:

“We do it, but it is our own decision”. EX-Ent. 5 (150).
However, the Job Training Cooperative Jovent, considers the follow up (during the programme and after the end of the same) as an important feature to have a real knowledge about the insertion processes and thus to be able to plan them with more realism and effectiveness.

“Follow up is our great strength”. EX-Ent. 10 (201).

“Sometimes the centre carries out follow-up after two years of ending up with the project”. EX-Ent. 3 (343:346)

3. In third place, the almost nonexistent worry for the labour conditions of insertion.

“I believe that, in general, these jobs are rather precarious than permanent... After a little period, some companies already offer them an apprenticeship contract or a temporary one, trying how they work, but many of them stay working”. EX-Ent. 3 (338:341)

4. The fourth deficiency to be highlighted consists in forgetting the fact that transitions involve other aspects of life, apart from the ones related with employment.

“These aspects are usually treated while talking about abilities, since these go beyond what is purely labour. And then we work with what we call skills for life.... sexual education, environmental education... and everything related with coping with all that happens in the world... from “I have to rent a flat” to whatever... “couples”... “how I imagine the independence from my family”. They do this with the educators, in the workshops and in the activities... they go through the center like a real axis of labour, social and human promotion”. EX-Ent. 3 (327:333).

Reaching the autonomy of the youngsters involved becomes a central goal:

“How could I say... to be able to choose the kind of life they want to live, what they want to do, and to be consequent with this trajectory without waiting their dad or mom to solve their problems. I mean, if they decide to work instead of studying, they have to learn how to look for a job, how to send their curriculum, how to make an interview, how to make their life apart from work”. EX-Ent. 3 (381:384).

6.4 Valuation of the programmes’ outcomes on the part of the external experts.

Talking about success in relation to the programmes, means that they have to contemplate the possibility to present to young people who had difficulties with education a second opportunity of being incorporated to the labour market, with some minimum conditions that guarantee their social and labour insertion as well as their personal development:
“We have always thought about... emphasising the fact that a person must not drop out from the educational and training tools allowing him or her to complete his or her qualification. It was about building a tool – defined as the last one- allowing them to improve their qualification, and I think that success was based on the capacity to increase this qualification”. EX-Ent.7 (151:155)

The programmes should involve the educational and training aspects of the individual, not only those related with employment:

“the restructuring of all the spheres of the individual. Of course, nowadays employment is a central issue. But first of all they have to be independent, get a job and then they will be able to structure many other things. Today a person who doesn’t have a job is out of everything. This is the reason why the main goal to achieve is social structuring. Because today, someone who doesn’t have a job, who has not developed his or her abilities, will be out of the system”. EX-Ent. 8 (153:158)

The programmes have to develop a number of social aspects which will increase the social and personal conscience of the youngsters involved, in order to discover, on their own, their place and their role within the social structure.

“The most important thing is to make people aware of their situation, to make them participating and responsible for their reality, in order to become the main actors and builders of the improvement of their situation. In that sense, we seek to give a different social reference stimulating the action, the... the... the growth and the development of their dignity. OK?. We want to fight against the social sedatives and to avoid them being passive, we want them to be more active. We start by awareness, then we give other social references and we work different values in order to make them grow concerning their individual and social responsibility”. EX-Ent. 5 (373:379).

For young people with social difficulties, learning and dominating the social skills is the key to live their own life, developing their social and communication values:

“To be able to act, to be as normal people as possible, but mainly to learn how to communicate, because they don't know how to communicate, they are aggressive, they don't really want to be, but they are aggressive because they have not learned to express themselves in another way”. EX-Ent. 9 (83: 86).

“At the personal level, if they needed to talk in some moment, because they have no self-esteem, the ability to feel they are loved and accepted”. EX-Ent. 9 (116:119)

The possibility of being socially inserted also goes together with an adaptation to the circumstances that life and work demand from them:

“the responsibility of what means having a job, respecting their schedule, going to work, and also hygiene I think also believes it is important”. EX-Ent. 9 (92:93)

Social and labour insertion of disadvantaged young people needs some degree of social support that cannot be just provided by the family:
“You cannot simply stay in the phase of labour insertion, I believe that a person is much more and must have many other spheres. Family, for example, we tried to approach the families of the youngest girls, in order to discover why they feel this way and what kind of relationship they have”. EX-Ent. 9 (143:146)

The projects can lead to an improvement of their life situation, changing their life trajectories:

“To achieve a vital trajectory which in the past has been misleading, some of the students are unstructured. I see many professionals trying to catch people to offer them not only a training action, but several measures allowing which in the mid term will make possible for those people to choose their own labour or educational option”. EX-Ent.6 (183:187).

Getting a job and be identified with it, not only leads to social insertion, but it also helps to personal development, affirming the individual as a worker.

“Apart from getting a job, which is our main goal, in order to solve this central issue of the individual, we pursue another objective, which is linked to feel safe, to feel good with themselves, to like their jobs”. EX-Ent.4 (224:227)

The success of the programmes should also look for happiness by means of the professional activity:

“To feel good, as a worker as well as an individual. That’s what we are looking for: people who don’t work just for working, in any work, but who work because they like their job”. EX-Ent. 4(228:230)

The programmes should not look for the insertion of young people into concrete positions, but rather collaborate in the search of answers to the questions and demands made by the labour market:

“We don't want to make courses just to make courses, but to detect and to solve the needs outlined by the labour market, because this is a way to answer to the needs of the workers. EX-Ent.4 (224:235)

6.5 Expectations of the companies and the public administration

According to the companies, the programmes should facilitate to solve other realities of the labour market. For them, it is important that the workforce knows the occupation in order not to have to invest in training, and they usually ask the administration to solve this problem. But the administration should also veil for practice training in the as well as the insertion processes be beneficial for the workers.

“In some projects it seems they are providing cheap workforce. I think that training in the companies or using the company to give training has to be an element good for the company and good for the student. EX-Ent.1 (218: 219)

“They look rather for operatives who will do the task, although they don't have any qualification, because this is much cheaper than hiring them at the end of the project, this is a good solution for them because these young people want to work, it’s a good workforce and it compensates them”. EX-Ent. 9 (238:241)

For the company, the success of the programmes would mean to have the possibility of finding in the labour market the workers needed under the best economic conditions.
“The company will consider it a success if there is a need of a worker and we can find it in this student, this is also a success, otherwise the company would not consider this as a success, it would just be a collaboration with the educational system”. EX-Ent.13 (360-362)

But the public administration should assure that the insertion process of those youngsters does not take place under precarious conditions:

“I think that in the end they are not looking for effectiveness. One has to keep in mind that an army of unemployed people, being well informed and trained, is not an army of unemployed people”. EX-Ent.7 (268:269)

Preparing the youngsters to start working is a criterium of success, since the companies, due to their precarious employment supply, are not an attractive offer for young people.

“We have to come back to the model of apprentice in the company, and I even think that the companies will be paid in the end to carry out this function, mainly in the case of those youngsters who don't have... who have abilities for employment but who don’t have skills neither knowledge to be incorporated to the labour world: communication, relationships, respect of the schedule... which are necessary for these realities. EX-Ent.1 (230 :234)

According to the administration, the organization and the operation of the courses are more appropriate for a propagandistic project that for a project seeking to solve the labour and qualification problems of disadvantaged young people:

“the courses have a very peculiar organization. You know the school year begins in September, and finishes in June; and the economic year starts on January 1st and finishes on December 31st, the year, let us say social, starts in June and finishes in October... (laughs) Do you know what I mean? And in fact the disadvantaged groups, which cannot be just taught about welding, but who need rather many more things, from respecting the schedule, to leave the towels in their place while they have a shower, etc... the problem is that in these months I can’t do anything, I have the sensation that... I want but they can’t, or I want and I can, but they don’t allow me. Because there is no position, I find it kind of an advertising: “yes, yes, those things are in the papers every day” but the reality is very different. EX-Ent.1 (315:323)

It seems that the efforts made to solve the problems of the young disadvantaged are not enough. It looks like if the goals are different, to pretend they are doing but in fact they do nothing:

“These youngsters have a lack of abilities and problems of social integration, so their situation is even more difficult in a culture of labour. They belong to residual unemployment, and the actions taken for them are decreasing. The truth is that very little work is done with people whose life references are in Picassent?, isn’t it?” EX-Ent.1 (259:262)

According to the public administration, the success of the programmes should be measured by means of the level of labour insertion reached and through the number of young people involved:

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7 Prison.
“Well, to be most of them, more than half of them, working in certain projects” EX-Ent. 9 (293)

“Not in the administration. When you present the project or the evaluation including the number of people inserted, they never ask what kind of job they have got, or what are the conditions or circumstances of this employment. I think that there is a worry about the educational aspects, or about training, but not about the conditions of labour... no” EX-Ent. 8 (239:243)

The administrations usually are not interested, or do not have the same goals than the projects, at least the ones we have studied which, first, are interested in the transitions of young people from an integral perspective, and the administrations are more worried to do something for young people, no matter what kind of actions.

“The transition initiatives developed are a part of the social policies, and as such, they do not care so much about effectiveness, about the achievements and the outcomes, the thing is that something is being done. And later on there is no evaluation about what has been done. There is no follow-up, no wish of planning any kind of itineraries, no initiative from the consumer's perspective”. EX-Ent.6 (116:122).

The administration gives a special value to the number of youngsters who attended the programmes, like a role of control rather than being worried for the quality of the jobs they reached:

“First, to have enough people in the courses, and avoiding them to drop out, the retention of the youngsters. The reasons to attend, as well as who is attending, are not so important. The important thing is the retention and the custody of the youngsters’ EX-Ent.6 (180:182).

7. Recommendations on political and policy levels

While presenting now a series of recommendations, it is necessary to keep in mind the analysis and presentation of the results of the “cases study” previously presented, avoiding to reduce them to some brief comments.

Along our analyses we had the possibility to “enter” in the lives and experiences of some youngsters, we have confirmed some of our previous knowledge in relation to transitions, being also able to discover the new survival strategies that young people go developing.

The transit of young people through the insertion projects we have analyzed, has meant the beginning of a personal development process, where self-trust, confidence in their personal possibilities and the increase of their self-esteem, have been the best experiences for them. This process has leaned on a qualitative change of motivation, on their self-confidence and on the facts of “being a person” and a social being.

One can find every day new evidence that, for many young people, productive work is necessary, but they consider it exclusively as a means to live, not as the centre of their lives (to realise themselves, to be happy), which means that transitions and social insertion take place out of the bounds of the process of labour insertion.
The section about “successes or failures of the cases study” shows that the concept of transitions, as well as that of youth (with the only criterion of age) used by the Administration to plan youth policies, to provide the benefits and services to young people, do not fit into the current life conditions of youth. We should talk about transition into adult life rather than transition to the world of work since this has become a scarce good. Real transitions to labour market need employment available, but they also require a change in the current sense of work (productive and salaried) present at the moment in the society. So, politics have to think about the relationship between the growing social insecurities, the “biographical insecurity” (Bonss / Hohl / Jacob, 2001) and the trust/mistrust of young people in the system itself.

Participation is an essential part of the democratic system, though it is not considered as one of the main axes for young people’s training and labour insertion. From those who simply do not consider it, or understand it like a part of the pedagogical method, to those who consider it like a part of the process of social education made by the individuals, the gap is too wide.

Participation is very limited or completely lacking, neither in the structures nor in the processes. While asking to the representatives of the projects about the role of young people’s participation, they say that young people come here and have to be adapted:

“No. Here there is no representation of teachers or young adults... etc.... The students and their families just come to attend to the classes, they have some obligations to fulfil, and that’s all. This is not the place for that. They always can give their opinion by means of surveys and that kind of things, or asking in the class or directly to the head. If it is possible, we’ll do it, and if it’s convenient, we’ll do it, if we can afford it, but there is no formal mechanism for participation or control of the students.” EX-Ent.4, Director (358:3658).

Participation is a process but also a goal in itself. Being a process, it needs to be learnt, but at the same time it involves a number of difficulties leading the youngsters to lose their motivation and not to look for participation.

“We tried to carry out some assemblies with them in order to elaborate together the general rules of the group. Also about the possible activities we may develop. But there are many difficulties. Participation is not only a wish but also a learning process, and these youngsters rather tend to passivity than to participation. You have to keep in mind that, in the moment when you talk about a course, they will always think about their experience at school. Thus, participation is something very limited. The time they stay with us as well as the space they use is very limited, so the organization of this participation must also be this way”. EX-Ent.5 (315:321)

It is necessary to build institutional bridges for young people to be able to develop their own personal projects:

“In the beginning we made a kind of training contract, trying to commit the youngster in his or her own training, and where he/she was the only (he stresses this sentence) responsible for the usefulness of this learning. I think this is a very important task. To commit them in their own wishes and projects is very
important to motivate them and to make possible for them to be grown as individuals and to reach their social insertion. In the past, this was more frequent than now”. EX-Ent.5 (326:322).

Participation in the programmes will assure their success and that of the young people involved:

“We wish them to participate in the project which is presented to them, to take decisions which concern their own life. In this sense, we don’t want them to be passive and dominated by the circumstances of their lives. But this is a pedagogical approach. There is no other possible approach for their participation. We want to involve them in the analysis of the social situation, the world that influences them, in order to reach higher levels of autonomy, but we are not talking about other levels”. EX-Ent.5 (354:360).

We consider that participation must go together with true possibilities of exercising it, so it should be included in the requirements as well as in the evaluation demanded by the Administration to the companies which promote the programmes. It is a mistake to consider democracy (participation) as a system allowing to enjoy and to use the civil rights (education, voting...), without being necessary to apply it at the same time in micro-politics, to the most reduced spaces of social spheres, which are the nearest to the real citizens’ life. In this regard, the lack or limitation of participation, exclusively conceived as a strategy, is a limitation of democracy itself.

“If those individuals who have the problem do not get activated, if they don't react, there will not be a process of real resolution of the problems, in the singular as well as in the collective level”... Participating is the only possibility to stay inside the part and not to be excluded from the problems and questions we are interested in”. (Int. 12 (255:265 - coordinator of the Youth Platform of Parque Alcosa)

It is necessary that the administrations (the society) produce expectations, promote projects, support initiatives favouring and stimulating young people to participate in social construction, in the construction of their own future. The lack or shortage of these projects (social, employment etc) make social distrust, political absenteeism, and in occasions the rejection towards political institutions to be developed within them.

If one wants to avoid that citizens believe that the insertion programmes adressed to young people are thought to produce an image that the Administration does something (or to create work positions for trainers, teachers, social workers, educators, sociologists or researches) rather than to provide a true response to young people’s insecurities, youth policies should keep in mind some of the successful experiences we have presented above.

Among them we would like to stress that the most successful ones have been those which have kept in mind the following premises:

a) The projects that have taken into account young people’s social environment. The projects are linked to concrete actions responding to concrete needs emerging from the environment itself.
b) Those where the most important thing was to promote the dignity of the individual in the design of the programmes.
c) Those programmes conceived as periods to reach the goals foreseen instead of being restricted by limitations of time or funding.

d) The “cases study” analysed lied on a professional staff whose stability and continuity was assured, either by political or religious reasons.

It would be urgent and necessary that this stability and continuity of the professional staffs was made sure by the administration itself.

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- Memoria y Proyectos del año 2001: a)Memoria colectivo jóvenes; b) Memoria centro de día; c)Memoria de la coordinadora de colectivos de jóvenes; d)Proyecto de jóvenes; e)Proyecto de jóvenes sometidos a medidas judiciales; f) Algunos programas referentes a los talleres laborales y culturales

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Annexes

9.1 Transition tables of WP 2 and WP 5 interviewees

9.2 List of expert interviews (fully transcribed):
The experts interviewed were distributed as follows:

- Project Park Alcosa: two experts, corresponding to the interviews number Ex11 and Ex12.
- Project Laura Vicuña: two experts, corresponding to the interviews number Ex2 and Ex9.
- Project Jovent: two experts, corresponding to the interviews number Ex3 and Ex10.
- Two experts from the two most important trade unions in Spain (UGT and CCOO). These are interviews Ex4 and Ex7. Those trade unions manage training courses for young people who are similar to those who participate in the analyzed programmes.
- The interviews Ex1 and Ex5 were made to two members of the Foundation Work and Culture.
- The interview number Ex6 was made to an university professor, head of programmes, evaluator of training courses directed to young people with special difficulties, and expert in social pedagogy.
- The interview Ex13 was carried out with a teacher being an expert in young people with social problems who develop his activity in projects managed by the UG; the interview number Ex8 was made to an expert who carries out his activity in a marginal neighbourhood in a project carried out by an NGO and funded by the town council.

Table: Features of the experts interviewed

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<tr>
<th>Nº Int</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Role played</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Boro</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Technician of the Foundation Work and Culture (Valencia). This foundation is specialized in managing training courses for young people and immigrants during their insertion process. It is based on Christianity and it belongs to the Catholic Church. Its activity does not depend economically on the programmes. He works as an expert on a voluntary basis (he is an economist). He makes the contact with the companies in order to promote the insertion of the young people involved. Thus he has a wide experience</td>
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8 The numbers from Ex 1 to Ex 13, after each quotation, refers to the expert interviewed.
and knowledge of the difficulties involved in the insertion process. External expert.

2. Juan H  Technician / External Advisor of the Job Training Centre Laura Vicuña. University professor and expert in social pedagogy, social services and having direct experience with young people with difficulties to reach social insertion. External expert.

3. Psychologist M  Therapeutic psychologist of the Jove Cooperative – Job training centre for young people (Palm of Mallorca). Internal Expert to the same project. She carries out her activity in the youth centre. She is responsible for educational and vocational orientation and she establishes the contacts with the families. She is also in charge of managing the specific activities aimed to the recovery of young people.

4. Vicent H  Head of a centre to vocational and job training, which belongs to UGT trade union from Land Valencia. He is an external expert but has a long experience in managing the problems linked to labour insertion through training. He is an industrial engineer. He is the head of the centre since it was founded. His contribution allowed us to know the perspective of the trade union and their devotion to youth who lack any kind of labour experience, as well as to those who have already worked in some companies but have lost their jobs so they need to improve their training.

5. Jaume H  Head of the Foundation Work and Culture. External expert. He is a pedagogue. He is responsible for the management, administration and internal evaluation of the programmes developed by the foundation. He also teaches in those programmes. Jaume provides us the vision of Administrative Management, the perspective of training and the design of programmes, and at the same time he gives the point of view of someone who works directly with young people.

6. Fernando H  Prof. Dr. of Pedagogy in the University of Valencia. External expert. Copartner in the White Book of Vocational Training of the Autonomous Region of Valencia. He has been head of
research to several projects about in the fields of vocational training and Social Guarantee programmes. He provides the point of view of an expert and appraiser of European projects as well as of the researcher in this kind of fields.

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<td>7</td>
<td>Kike</td>
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<td></td>
<td>It is the vision of the General Secretary of the Workers’ Commissions trade union in the District of Camp de Morvedre. He has a long tradition in coping with young people’s problems and difficulties. He has been head of the Vocational Training area at the Department of Culture, Education and Science of the Government of Valencia. As an external expert, he provides the vision of the trade union about the difficulties that young people live in their insertion into the labour market. He also provides his point of view about some specific difficulties of young workers.</td>
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| 8 | Joan | H |
|   | Responsible for employment programmes addressed to young people with specific problems within a NGO. External expert. He has a long experience with young people in marginal areas. At the moment he carries out projects for insertion and follow-up in one of the most conflicting districts of Valencia. He provides a useful, complete vision involving orientation, personal follow-up, as well as the relationships with the families and with the local authorities (city council). |

| 9 | Raquel | M |
|   | Teacher at Laura Vicuña. Internal expert. She presents us the vision of a professional who has to overcome the difficulties directly with young people. She has an important experience in this field, since she has participated in different projects. She also provides us the perspective of the employment situation of those professionals who develop their profession in this kind of projects. |

| 10 | Andreu | H |
|    | Head and Coordinator of the Job Training Centre Jovent. Internal expert. Founder and coordinator of the project. He provides us a wide vision allowing to concentrate on him a part of the origin, evolution and present of the project Jovent. Also the situation of another autonomous region with strong |
immigration, and where tourism is an important basis for the economy.

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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Amalia</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social worker of the project. Internal expert. She knows all kind of problems that young people may face. Although she is not one of the founders of the community, she knows the problems of young people and their families due to her activity. She also provides us her point of view about the difficulties of the labour market, the administration, the local authorities and the social context for young people with difficulties and social risk, due to the situation of high vulnerability and even marginalization of those youngsters they are working with. At the same time, she giver her point of view from the gender perspective and that of immigration.</td>
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| 12 | Antonio. | H |
|   | Head and Coordinator of the Alcosa Collective Platform. Internal Expert. Founder of the community, he synthesizes the history, the projects and the present moment of the community. He has a wide vision of the difficulties faced by this kind of youth in Spain. Antonio participates as lecturer in many of the coordination and diffusion activities about the problems of young people who have strong social difficulties and high levels of social exclusion. |

<p>| 13 | Sole | H |
|   | Technical teacher of the training centre of the UGT trade union. External expert. He shows the vision of a technician who, considering the difficulties of young people involved in initial and job training, seeks to adapt the knowledge and abilities of those youngsters to the needs and demands of the companies and of the environment itself. |</p>
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<tr>
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<td>lives with drug-addict brother. Takes care about him</td>
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