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## CUADERNOS DE SOFÍA EDITORIAL

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# YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL EFFECT OF LIFELONG LEARNING POLICIES IN EUROPE

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#### **Abstract**

The paper examines the perspectives of young people who were participants in lifelong learning programs evaluated by regional experts as being the most effective in two regions in each of nine European countries that were members of the consortium of an international comparative project. The analysis is informed by the theoretical framework of life course research. The evidence base of the paper comes predominantly from the 164 in-depth interviews with young people conducted in 2017 while also taking into consideration the policy analysis of 53 programs and initiative of public and private agencies and 121 semi-structured interviews with regional policy makers and street level professionals. It presents the policy effect as seen by the young themselves: the skills and other results they have achieved while facing a growing insecurity of youth transitions. In this article we have argued that young people in different localities in Europe were commonly willing to take the challenge of further studies and training for their successful integration in the labour market. They evaluated their experiences from the schemes/programs positively and considered that they had developed new skills and abilities that would be useful in the future phases of their life course. The analysis also showed that there were some mismatches from young adults' perspectives.

## **Keywords**

Lifelong learning policies – Social effect – Youth transitions – Young people – Europe

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## Introduction

Towards the end of the second decade of the 21 century in Europe the relationship between young people's credentials from school and their labour market integration is becoming more complex and problematic than ever before. The policy responses to the growing insecurity in both education and work to now have been mostly aiming to increase the pressure although not always the offer of various lifelong learning (LLL) schemes and initiatives<sup>1</sup>. The frequent changes in the educational policies which are so often unsustainable aim at achieving 'the employability' of the young which is expected to ensure both economic growth and social inclusion of young people. Behind the trend towards activation in welfare and learning there is often the implicit perception of policy makers that young people lack motivation as well as knowledge and skills that would make them employable. In many countries the focus in the LLL policies has been placed on an instrumental approach attempting to meet short-term labour market needs ignoring more holistic understanding of young people's needs and resources in their life course transitions. Apprenticeship has been proclaimed to be 'the magic bullet' against youth unemployment without giving much consideration to the transferability of the policy programs<sup>2</sup>. In this paper we attempt to uncover the perspectives of the young adults on the social effect of LLL whether the policies meet young people's personal life projects, educational and professional aspirations and more broadly, their needs for empowerment in the transition to adulthood.

## Theoretical and methodological framework

The potential implications of LLL policies and their intended and unintended effects on young adults' individual trajectories and life projects are best captured when explored by a life course perspective. Life course research is an inquiry into the life course transitions of individuals in 'through institutions and social structures and is embedded in relationships that constrain and support behaviour - both the individual life course and a person's developmental trajectory are interconnected with the lives and development of others'3. The focus of this perspective is on the dynamic interplay in human lives embedded in social structures, institutions and individual action<sup>4</sup>. Unlike the psychological life cycle approach. this perspective employs a contextualist approach linking individual lives to social time and place. The timing of key events<sup>5</sup> in the life course of an individual is studied in relation to the historical period in which the life is lived. The approach acknowledges the interaction of multiple layers of milieus: the macro social structures in terms of global and national economic developments, political and demographic processes, dominant cultures, trends in the educational system and welfare policies; the meso level of regional and local institutions. educational and labour market opportunities, local government and provision of social services, civil society organizations, social networks; and the micro level comprising of individual actors with their own skills and biographical perspectives, and their relations with family members, close friends and practitioners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. Walther; M. Parreira do Amaral; M. Cuconato and R. Dale (eds.) Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe: Pathways, Policy and Practice (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> D. Raffe, Cross-national differences in education-work transitions, in London (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of Lifelong Learning (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> G. Elder, "The Life Course as Developmental Theory", Child Development, Vol. 69 num 1 (1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> J. Mortimer & M. Shanahan (eds), Handbook of the Life Course (New York: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Furlong, (ed.), Handbook of youth and young adulthood. New perspectives and agendas (London: Routledge, 2009).

In this paper we explore the views and experiences of young people, aged 18 to 30, from participation in diverse LLL programs run by various governmental and private institutions across nine European countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom) which have been studied in the 'YOUNG\_ADULLLT' project. The project looked into the embeddedness of the policies in the regional economies and local labour markets in two regions in each of the nine project partner countries and aimed to study the potential of these policies to enhance young people's resources for developing and implementing their own life projects. The analysis in the paper builds upon 164 in-depth interviews with young people conducted in the period between March and July 2017 in 18 European regions. The young people to be interviewed were chosen from the participants in 53 measures and initiatives that were identified as significant for the LLL policies in the region on a previous stage of the research and belonged to the sectors of educational, employment, youth and welfare policies. The analysis was also informed by the results from the 121 semi-structured interviews with regional policy makers and street level professionals.

Access to the young interviewees was secured through the institutions implementing measures related to lifelong learning. The interviews in all 18 regions followed a common strategy starting with an open question prompting the interviewees to present themselves as they wished and tell the stories about their lives. The interview guide then proceeded with more focused questions about their learning trajectories, biographical turning points, encounters with LLL programs, employers, state and private training institutions and life projects in the near future. All interviews were fully transcribed in the language in which they were conducted. An extended summary in English was provided for each interview and shared among the consortium members. All interviews were coded according to the analytical guidelines advanced by Corbin and Strauss<sup>7</sup>. In respect of research ethics, the interviewees were informed about the methods and stages of the project and were asked to sign a form of consent. They could freely refuse to take part at all or refuse to answer any questions that they wished to skip.

## Young people's understandings of the impact of LLL policies

While the social effect of LLL policies includes a much wider range of intended and unintended consequences<sup>8</sup>, here we examine the results from the participation in LLL programs as seen and evaluated by the young adults themselves. We first look at the kind of skills that the young considered they had acquired in the process and those that they wished to acquire but could not<sup>9</sup>. Then we observe the wider effects that LLL policies had on the personal development and career prospects of the young women and men who were involved in the training.

Many of the interviewed young adults reported that they had developed the competences to work in the field which the program was designed to prepare them for. Their narratives contained enumeration of the occupational skills that they had acquired and provided evidence that their expectations from the courses were met. Such positive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M. Parreira do Amaral; S. Kovacheva & X. Rambla (eds), Lifelong Learning Policies for Young Adults in Europe. Navigating between Knowledge and Economy (Bristol: Policy Press, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> J. Corbin & A. Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria", Qualitative Sociology, Vol: 13 num 1 (1990): 3-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M. Parreira do Amaral; S. Kovacheva & X. Rambla (eds), Lifelong Learning Policies...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> V. Milenkova & S. Kovacheva, Regional Insights to Lifelong Learning Policies in Support of Young Adults in Bulgaria (Sofia: Avangard Prima, 2020).

assessment was most obvious in the interviews of the young adults in the context of the countries and regions with a well-structured training system. For example, in an engineering apprenticeship programme in Glasgow, Scotland, an 18-year-old young man who had emigrated with his family from Poland several years before was confident that he learnt how to use complex machinery - a skill that he wished to develop further. Another participant in the same program, a 21-year-old man whose father was an engineer with an extensive international experience, was also highly confident in the technical skills the course taught him. In a similar way, in the region of Frankfurt, Germany, the young adults from a training scheme made reference to the fact that they had learned a lot of practical skills in the workshops.

In the countries with long traditions in LLL policies such as Germany, Austria and Scotland in the UK, many trainees were retained in the companies where the training took place and continued to work with an employment contract. The programs were valued not only for the perspective to get a contract with the same company but also because of the transferability of the practical skills the young had developed in the training which could be young people's assets to work in other companies as well. A young man in Bremen saw the most positive result from his training in the following way: "I learned far more than basic skills, because we really learned a lot and lots of processing methods that can be transferred one to one to almost all crafts and trades and I think this brought me very fast forward in the craft of goldsmith."

In countries with less developed traditions in LLL and with contracting labour markets such effects of the training were much rarer. In Bulgaria, Croatia, Spain and Italy, however, the validation of the skills achieved in the training was an open question and caused significant concern. A young trainee in Genoa, Italy, pointed at this negative aspect of the program in which she was involved: "In my opinion, the path of the validation of competences has been poorly structured, the dossier of the competences in my opinion is a nonsense document, structured as it is now, in the sense that it was proposed ... it's just bureaucratic, it is very confusing...even my tutor at the time did not have clear ideas, but not because he was incompetent, but simply because he did not have the means. There was no upstream preparation. This is something that we have suffered a lot."

Most programs which targeted early school leavers had as their main objectives the development of basic skills such as writing and mathematics. Learning the local language was a competence that was focused on young adults with immigrant status in Southern and Western Europe. For those with severe health problems achieving functional abilities was the most appreciated result. Nevertheless, most participants felt that they were building upon the skills they already possessed and saw a progress in their learning trajectories up towards acquiring competences on more complex levels.

Besides specific occupational skills that in all countries the interviewed young adults enumerated and valued, there were other competences that the young believed were normatively assigned to the 'good worker' in the local labour market and they thought would be highly appreciated by prospective employers in their countries. The interviewed young adults listed productivity, tidiness, responsibility, respect, commitment to the job among highly appreciated qualities. A young trainee in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, claimed that "to be disciplined and accurate are the most valuable skills". Skills that were considered more suitable for the precarious labour markets in Southern Europe were autonomy, creativity, ambition. Thus, a young woman from a training program in the civic service in Genova, Italy, summed up the effect of the experience in the following way: "Being proactive, being

enterprising, another ability is to know how to be a bit 'multitasking', that is, to know how to do many things at the same time, because now there are many inputs and ... you need to know how to manage them. To be organized to be a little flexible, flexible at the level not only of movement, because that is not a competence, that is more a personal availability ... flexible just in the sense of being able to quickly understand how you can solve a question [Interviewer says "Yes, yes"], almost as a sort of problem solving."

In all countries, communication skills were highly valued and used in young people's narratives interchangeably with the terms of 'soft', 'interpersonal' and 'relational' skills and 'social competences'. Mastering foreign languages, having first-hand experiences from different cultures and being able to work in a team were also mentioned by the young interviewees.

In contrast to those positive evaluations the young participants in some of the LLL programs gave negative assessments of the results from their participation. Some interviewees found that the training in occupational skills was not enough. For example, three of the participants in the Youth Guarantee in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, considered that they did not really learn anything new from the program apart from what they had already mastered in informal experiences. In Barcelona, Spain, there were also some accounts that the young felt overqualified for the scheme they were in. Even those young people who appreciated some aspects of the training and gave an overall positive evaluation of their experiences in the programs, underlined that they had more skills which they had developed outside of the programs and felt that the counsellors did not appreciate these enough. In the Osijek-Baranja County in Croatia, a 20-year-old woman considered that "More of my skills I have developed with the help of my sisters during secondary school." Similar accounts were given by young participants in Mikkeli, Finland, and Porto, Portugal, who perceived that they had acquired competences in accounting, farming, steel processing and car repairs through the Internet or from previous undeclared jobs. In Milan, Italy, a young woman – an immigrant from a Latin American country, stated: "I have administrative and accounting office skills, since when I attended school (where I got excellent evaluations) I've learned everything I could, afterwards [her drop-out] I've learned by myself, by making undeclared services of tax returns compilation for some friends."

An unintended consequence of some programs was that they prevented the young to get closer to the accomplishment of their life projects. Those who had hoped that they would stay with the employer with whom they took the training, found that they had to register with the Employment Office again or take another training. They felt that such fragmented experiences would give negative signals to employers. As a 29-year old woman from Plovdiv, Bulgaria, explained: "Now I am ashamed to submit my CV because it has been torn, torn with these (LLL) programs ...I did not imagine my career like this or at least I did not want it. It's like a history, I cannot hide it. So many programs, so many workplaces." Nevertheless, there were also success stories of young people who managed to make some steps towards achieving their life projects. Some trainees in the Youth Guarantee Scheme in Girona, Spain, managed to find jobs after completing the program and a young man in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, started self-employment in farming after finishing the LLL program of an NGO. Another consequence valued by young people was getting useful contacts with employers and with older and younger colleagues that could work as 'weak' ties<sup>10</sup> for new job applications. For some trainees, while not providing employment, the experience from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties", American Journal of Sociology, Vol: 78 num 6 (1973): 1360–1380.

the LLL schemes served as career guidance which was particularly effective for those without definite career plans. The orientation through training worked in both directions - the young finding out that they wanted or did not want to do. In Rheine-Main in Germany a young woman explained how the training helped her overcome psychological problems and become more confident in her career planning: "I didn't know what I wanted. I just knew that I didn't want to cook. But I didn't know what else to do [...] I didn't know which profession, I only knew the direction. And they tried to find out what I actually want with career-choice-tests and such things; and helped me to find a psychologist. We have searched for such things [...] Then he [staff] thought how he could help me. Some things, like going outside, overcoming my fears, seeing that nothing bad happens..."

Finally, for many the most significant effect of the programs was that the experience contributed to the young person's identity development. As a participant in Lisbon, Portugal, put it: "We not only learn the necessary skills to apply in the labour market but we also learn on a personal level." In Barcelona, Spain, one participant associated the wider effects of the training with becoming able to make decisions on his own. Many young people pointed at their increased self-confidence and self-esteem, fun and love for learning and working. A man from Glasgow, the UK, described his experiences from the program as a self-discovery: "It's a lot of fun. It's so much fun. I enjoyed it. I really did. They really make you bring out the person you didn't think you were. Like, you feel a lot more confident, speak a lot better. It just really brings out the true you. They try to focus on making you come out of your shell." Many young people found out that they gained not only higher self-confidence but also prestige in the eyes of their parents and friends. A 23-year-old woman in Milan, Italy, explained that her parents who had been very disappointed by her dropping out from school, felt 'happy' for her traineeship, saying "You are finally awake!"

## **Conclusions**

Young people's narratives about their life projects and the effect of participation in LLL policies contained descriptions of what they had learnt in different settings and reported valuable gains. Definitely, they did not consider themselves incapable and unsuited for the labour market. The young saw and appreciated much wider effects of their enrolment in the training schemes besides the hard-occupational skills: soft skills, abilities to plan and manage the course of their life to a better degree.

On their part, the policymakers when measuring the effect of LLL programmes, were usually concerned with the take-up and completion of the training courses, and then, at best, with the insertion of the trainees in the labour market<sup>11</sup>. Rarely were young people's views asked for and analysed. Young people's competencies acquired informally in their previous various activities were not enough appreciated by the practitioners as valuable and were not used in the learning process. A major deficiency of conventional policy evaluation is the neglect of the degree of subjectively meaningful experiences of the young participants in a program<sup>12</sup>. Rarely was there a consideration whether the completion of a course had increased young people's capacity to successfully manage the multiple transitions that the life stage of youth involves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> M. Parreira do Amaral; S. Kovacheva & X. Rambla (eds.) Lifelong Learning Policies...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> M. Cuconato, "School to work transitions in Europe: choice and constraints", Educational Research for Policy and Practice. Vol. 16 (2017): 43 – 59.

Our study confirms previous research findings about the increasing non-linearity of educational trajectories in present-day European societies<sup>13</sup>. In most EU countries access to education is no longer a guarantee of educational success and many students fall into situations in which they are excluded from meaningful and satisfactory educational experiences regardless of their enrolment in formal education<sup>14</sup>. Educational and employment policies have started to construct their target group – present-day youth – as a vulnerable cohort at risk of precariousness<sup>15</sup>. To have a greater social effect the policies should listen to the voices of the young, accept their views and life projects as significant and recognize the present-day young generation as willing and capable to take the challenge of further studies and training for their successful integration in the labour market.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M. Bloomer & P. Hodkinson, "Learning careers: continuity and change in young people's dispositions to learning", British Educational Research Journal, Vol: 26 num 5 (2000): 583-597.

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