"Making Capabilities Work – Vulnerable young people in Europe and the issue of full citizenship"

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

1. Main Teachings of the project

Holger Ziegler, Thierry Berthet, Roland Atzmüller, Jean-Michel Bonvin & Christian C. Kjeldsen

The textbook at hand was developed out of the insights and results of a collaborative research project with the title “Making Capabilities Work“. Within this project 13 partner institutions from different disciplines (educational science, sociology, economics, philosophy, political studies and social work) which are located in 10 European countries have collaborated in a multidimensional research process. The task of this project was to assess the policy strategies dealing with local youngsters education, labor-market demands and regional inequalities with respect to their potential of enabling young people to participate in working life and society.

Applying the so called “Capabilities Approach” as a heuristic framework, the project combined three levels of analyses:

1) a comparative institutional mapping and analysis of vocational and labor market policies in the different educational regimes;

2) case studies to reconstruct the conceptions, aspirations and practices of local actors implementing educational and training programs;

3) quantitative secondary analyses of national and European longitudinal data revealing how effectively these strategies enhance economic performance and close the capability gap for young people.

Central considerations of the “Making Capabilities Work“ project

While strengthening economic competitiveness is currently the main aim of youth, labor market and social policy it seems to be obvious that also the development of strategies for enhancing the social sustainability of Europe is still an unfinished task. The central argument of the “Making Capabilities Work“ project is that such strategies have to be able to deal with local labor-market demands and regional inequalities and need to be focused on the capabilities of young people to actively shape their personal and work lives and to cope with economic, cultural, demographic and technological challenges. With respect to this task it seems to be clear that strategies which focus on individual knowledge, skills and

competencies on the one hand or individual motivations and behaviors on the other one must fail if the complex social, cultural and institutional factors which allow young people to convert such individual features into capabilities to function as fully participating active citizens are ignored.

The results of the project indicate that the assumption that European societies are shaped by a diversity of economic conditions and political traditions resulting in different national and regional policies and practices, different welfare policy arrangements and different vocational and educational regimes is by and large still valid. Yet it also became apparent that beyond all these differences, in more or less all European societies political and institutional strategies have to cope with the challenge of considerable rates of youth unemployment, early school leaving and dropouts from upper secondary education. With respect to unemployment rates there is no doubt that all over Europe the proportion of unemployed young persons is generally higher than the overall rate of unemployment. In this respect the different countries vary. In Germany for instance, the proportion of unemployed young persons in relation to general unemployment is 1,5 : 1 whereas in other countries such as Sweden or Italy it is more than 3 :1. Yet these numbers depend on the question what is counted as "unemployment", as in some countries – as for instance in Germany - unemployed young persons who are in labour market policy measures which are conceptualized as "educational" typically do not count as "unemployed".

Furthermore the mere unemployment rates do not give much information about the quality, the stability and the durability of the jobs. There is some evidence that with respect to the prospect to get a kind of education and employment which they have reason to value, in particular the young adults often exhibit multiple strains and remain stuck longer in a transitional state between insecure employment conditions, short-term educational and employment support projects and educational and social welfare support systems.

Currently most strategies of youth, education, labor market and social policy in European societies at least rhetorically (respectively in terms of legitimatory claims) emphasize the necessity to promote skills and competencies of young people that are seen as conducive to improving the economic productivity and competitiveness of the given countries of Europe as a whole. Yet there is empirical doubt that the actual policies for those young people that failed in the standard educational path are really geared towards promoting skills and competencies. At least in some strategies the focus on "skills and competences" seems to be or less tantamount with disciplinary strategies to enhance the allegedly low willingness of marginalized young persons to work under increasingly precarious conditions.

Yet beyond the question the promotion of skills and competencies is seen as actually task and not only as legitimatory claim and beyond the question how successful the strategies of the different countries actually are with respect to *this* task it is debatable whether the task itself is appropriately formulated. Even if Europe would succeed with respect to such economic performance indicators the problem is still that such a metric of economic returns of investments in young persons does hardly grasp the extent of young people's capabilities to function as fully participating active citizens in not only economically but also democratically well performing societies.

Thus European societies seem to be confronted with the unfulfilled task to develop transversal strategies integrating central economic, educational and social issues in order to

close the capability gap in the young and particularly the inadequacies between education and training and the requisites of modern societies to which they, and, above all, the more disadvantaged are exposed.

The textbook at hand argues that deprivation in terms of education and technical and non-technical knowledge and skills is not just a burden to economic productivity, growth and competitiveness and the social cohesion of European member states. Rather it focuses on the fact that it also diminishes individual well-being and future prospects for the young people concerned in terms of labor-market chances, financial security, democratic participation and opportunities for self-realization.

The starting point of the analyses of the volume is the observation that a considerable number of young people are exposed to social disqualification and even disaffiliation in social life. From this observation a main objective is clearly to derive: What policies are needed in order to extend young people's capabilities to function as fully participating citizens in modern European societies? The volume argues that to give an answer to this question is not only central for the young people themselves but also for a future Europe endangered by the exclusion of young people from education and the labor market, as well as their non-participation in political and community life.

This perspective broadens a current perspective which is not necessarily wrong but as the results of the Making Capabilities Work project suggest too narrow and too one-sided. It is hardly to deny that in policies all over Europe, educational strategies in the form of investments in human capital are increasingly regarded as the primary means to tackle the challenges of demographic and technological change but also the risk of social disruption. At first glance there might be reason to suggest that strategies are rational and appropriate. There is little doubt that levels of education can still be raised significantly across the EU and that the levels of education are – at least statistically – associated with the employment rate, the degree of unemployment and the quality of labor. A range of prospective studies indicate that, particularly due to technological change, labor demand will increase relative to supply for more highly educated people while there will simultaneously be "a considerable replacement demand for less skilled people, especially in EU-15 countries" (European Commission 2007: 59). Thus investments in human capital that enhance the development of knowledge, dispositions, skills and competencies – and, therefore the quality of the labor-force – might well be perceived as investments in an area with relatively high social and economic returns. This is particularly the case when a match between the supply of skills and labor-market demand is ensured. This common wisdom seems to be generally valid and there is not much doubt that investments in education and training before, during and after unemployment generally increase reemployment chances and reduce scarring effects. However, results of the Making Capabilities Work project suggest that the specific requirements of this match do vary between European countries. Thus the relation of investments in educational and vocational training and social and economic returns is not always and everywhere the same and it is not always strictly linear, and strategies which seem to be effective in "bringing young people into jobs" were not necessarily helpful with respect to the job quality and stability once they were (re-)employed, let alone with respect to their broader wellbeing.

Nevertheless the Lisbon strategy of the EU underlines that pursuing the goal of making the European Union respectively the members of the union a competitive, wealthy and dynamic knowledge-based economy entails the demand for a strategy for European multi-level governance in order to create realms of possibility for the ongoing development of skills through education and training. Actually a broad range of human-capital and employability-oriented approaches to education have been developed. These strategies emphasize tailor-made active labor-market policies which promise investments in the potentials of individuals in order to promote labor and social integration within society.

At least rhetorically promoting the task of increasing employment opportunities by ensuring that (young) people acquire and maintain 'marketable' skills, knowledge and competencies seems to be the overarching task in all the countries involved in the project. Yet the strategies of ensuring employability – but also of mediating the relation between unemployment deprivation and vulnerability - vary significantly.

Broadly speaking three general strategies may be identified.

1) Initiative employability, is a strategy which insists on developing individual employability and on the individual responsibility for this (i.e. the state ought to retreat in order to oblige individuals to take up their responsibilities). The matching between supply- and demand-side policies is mainly conceived in terms of individual adaptability. These strategies often go alongside with the development of fixed quantitative targets and policy evaluation instruments in order to monitor not only the benefit recipients' behaviors but also the officers' practices within local service agencies.

2) ***Interactive or embedded employability*** is a strategy which stresses the joint responsibility of the state and companies to develop individual's employability. This strategy differs from the latter in particular in terms of the realm of negotiating with respect to the content of employability policies and in terms of the degree to which of a two-way adaptability is demanded, whereby two-way adaptability indicates that it is not only the responsibility of individuals to be equipped for labour markets, but also the task of labour markets to be equipped for individuals.

3) ***Flexicurity*** *strategies* are strategies which combine flexible contractual arrangements, (lifelong) training strategies, active labor market policies and modernized social security mechanisms. These strategies highlight the negotiation between the social partners as a key ingredient in the design and implementation of policies.

While all of these institutional strategies are focusing on the development of individual potential and trying to combine supply-side and demand-side policies they vary in terms of the aspects of employment they are focusing on. Furthermore these strategies vary in terms of their responsiveness with respect to the fact that increases in average skill requirements, coupled with the risk of skill polarization, imply the need of a reform of educational processes and outputs in terms of a shift from specialized skills towards broader, more analytic generic skills. In this respect strategies which stress the need of two-way adaptability seem to be more appropriate than programs which are only focusing on short term individual adaptability to current labor market demands. Eventually these strategies also vary with respect to their implications on labor market regulation, the way education and training and other compensatory programs for unemployed youth are organized and

finally even in their concepts of the 'disadvantages' they are intended to tackle. Yet the task of "Making Capabilities Work" project was not only to classify and evaluate different given strategies but also to elaborate strategies which go beyond employability perspectives, i.e. to develop and justify an evaluative metric which balances demands from employment systems and life worlds beyond the economy and takes into account the options of young persons to make choices about the life path they have reason to value.

A central aspect of the theoretical considerations of the project is that the tendency to reduce educational processes to investment in human capital runs the manifest risk to ignore or even to positively undermine the notion of education in terms of practical reasoning and reflexive judgment concerning the creation of one's own life project but also those abilities and competences that are indismissable to reproduce the social conditions of capitalist market economies. These effects of the market appear as problems of individuals and in particular of young people to have a stable life course. Thus a central conclusion of the "Making Capabilities Work" project is the argument that – at least in the long run – only when people have the ability to choose the life they have reason of value the economy may have the prospect to be reproduced in a socially sustainable way.

To envisage and acknowledge the fundamental place of work in human life and to acknowledge the relevance of education in terms of training and expertise is therefore not the same as to reduce and to streamline education into human capital production and it is obviously not the same as to impose "employability" as an indisputable objective. Therefore the "Making Capabilities Work" project largely draws on the capability approach developed by the economist Amartya Sen and the philosopher Martha Nussbaum. This approach is an increasingly influential attempt to reconcile the competing demands which are associated with the fundamental conceptions of equality, recognition and liberty and offers an alternative evaluative framework for assessing both the life perspectives of individuals and the social quality of policies and social arrangements, which moves the attention towards the issue of autonomy and "agency freedom" of young persons. Analytically this approach promises offering solutions to the problem of full and effective social participation while simultaneously adapted to the changing work conditions with their demand not only for competencies and skills but also flexibility and autonomy.

The differences between an employability- and a capability perspective might be summarized as such: Competence-oriented employability is centered on individuals and consists in a combination of knowledge, know-how, experiences and attitudes implemented in a given context. Therefore evaluating the employability respectively the (ability to) work in given job options is by and large equated with an evaluation of the person. Yet the "Making Capabilities Work" project provides evidence that the development and realization of such competencies requires knowledge, will, the power to act (agency) and recognition. These are not only individual features. In particular agency and the recognition of competencies largely depend on the institutional contexts and the opportunities provided in these contexts. Thus equation of employability with individual features of the person might foster the tendency to weaken collective frameworks and supports, to inappropriately responsibilize eventually those unable to fulfill their personal task, update their competencies in accordance to the demands of the labor market. A capabilities perspective, in contrast, denotes a persons' potential, that is, in this connection, the capacity for work and achievement, the scope of possibilities a person can effectively achieve. This concept thus aims at effective freedom in

life and work, that is, freedom on the labor market, at work and in the design, implementation and assessment of educational and training interventions themselves.

The expansion of public investments to enhance capabilities is conceptualized as a collective responsibility aiming at, for example, establishing collective guarantees ensuring the transferability of expertise acquired by young people.

On the fundament of the capability approach the "Making Capabilities Work" project investigates the significance of educational and other strategies to support people who fail to travel the standard routes of education and transition to employment, not only in term of investments in human capital or instruments for enhancing employability but in a broader sense of enabling individuals to develop a range of capabilities that allow them to lead the life they have reason to value. These capabilities are about choice in terms of valuable options, and not only about having useful and marketable capacities and skills.

There is an inherent yet tense relationship between the concept of capabilities and the very notion of education. On the one handside there is reason to argue that every educational process somehow supports capability formation. The "Making Capabilities Work" project identified a number of strategies which do so only implicitly. The advantage of the capabilities perspective is to provide analytical tools to grasp this influence and to support the aim of making this a rational strategy for individuals and political actors. On the other handside there are some strategies which seem to aim at creating something like "capabilities" on a surface level. Yet sometimes the legitimatory claim of creating capabilities seems eventually to dovetail well with a kind of secret curriculum, which may for instance reconstructed with respect to the function of the dual system to integrate young workers into a hierarchical order with strong gendered notions etc.

It is important to note that the question what education and which educational strategies contribute to creating capabilities is a complex and multidimensional empirical issue rather than an issue of sound proclamations and legitimatory claims.

Nevertheless an important result of the project is the insight that education may play a critical role in the conversion of potential resources and opportunities into real and effective capacities that possess a practical relevance for conducting a life characterized by meaningful work but also by autonomy and voice. Yet this role of education presupposes that it is not instrumentally narrowed into an activation tool for work-first strategies. The concept of "conversion factors" i.e. the features, structures and processes which allow a person to transform resources or services into the achievement of beings and doings he or she has reason to value was of significant relevance for the "Making Capabilities Work" project. The project focused on the complex interplay between personal and social or institutional conversion factors. These conversion factors might be analytically disentangled and differentiated, practically however they seem to be highly related. Personal conversion factors indicate internal enabling skills as well as faculties, abilities, aspirations and attitudes (all of which are not only individual features but features with might be acquired through educational processes). With respect to the issue of such personal conversion factors it is worthwhile to mention that there is some evidence from the local research of the "Making Capabilities Work" project that the ability of a young person to develop and express his or her preferences is not a generally given individual feature but largely structured by

education and institutionally arranged opportunity sets. This is one aspect of what we call "opportunity for voice".

Social and institutional conversion factors might be considered as socially structured sets of a person's attainable opportunities and life-paths. On a socio-structural level, social norms, gender roles, power relations, discriminatory practices etc. function as such conversion factors. On the level of institutional practices, entitlements, welfare and educational arrangements, collective provisions but also the rationalities of collective decision-making processes turned out to function as important conversion factors. Particularly interesting might be the fact that institutional classifications of persons into categories turned out to be an important part of institutional conversion factors which may generate inequalities and constraints in the access to the means and freedoms of full social participation. Public organizations and programs tend to enable or constrain particular life courses and ways of conducting one's life by implying more or less restrictive views of what is a valuable being or doing. Therefore management reforms such as for instance towards more standardized managerial forms of service provision are not only a side issue but indeed a significant aspect of enhancing or diminishing the capabilities of the beneficiaries of social or educational services.

In order to grasp the potentials of educational strategies the "Making Capabilities Work" project has elaborated a research focus which argues that the number of people integrated into the labor market (with a certain quality of work) is an important, but not the only criterion to assess the effectiveness of educational, social, and labor market policy. The task is to investigate which capabilities are important for young people in order to not only adapt to currently prevalent conditions but also actively steer their own future development and in order to enhance the complex range and quality of what young people are effectively able to do and to be. These capabilities turned out to be tantamount to key competencies permitting continuous flexibility in skills acquisition and enabling young people to cope with discontinuities in their private and working biographies, the uncertainties of social and economic conditions.

In the project it became apparent that a broadening of the informational basis was a prerequisite for appropriately assessing the policies in different educational and labor-market regimes. This necessity was clearly recognizable in particular when young person's own perspectives and his or her own choice of pathways was taken into account. Therefore the project developed a concept which entails a combination of the key labor-market functionings of employability, participation, well-being, and agency. The central performance indicator is the expansion of the capabilities of young persons enabling them to live in and shape a democratic society by functioning as fully participating citizens. These capabilities were conceptualized in terms of a young person's potential or substantive freedom to achieve alternative combinations of states or activities he or she has reason to value.

In order to underline the significance of both personal and contextual conditions for the construction and exploitation of capabilities, the project distinguished analytically between

> internal capabilities involving skills, knowledge, attitudes, a sense of initiative, self-efficacy, creativity etc. located in person-related characteristics; and

> external capabilities relating to economically, culturally and institutionally structured sets of attainable life paths that make it necessary to analyze whether and how gender, class position, ethnic background or spatial segregation impede the development of young people's opportunities and abilities to achieve full participation.

In essence, the evaluative metric of the project tried to grasp the essential fulcrum between opportunities, institutional structures, personal and external resources, and human achievements. This analytically complex frame turned out to be necessary in order to assess more carefully the possibilities that are open to young persons, the amount and quality of effective freedoms they possess as well the obstacles that impede their life perspectives and most of all the possible public actions available to enhance their possibilities and to diminish the inequalities in their capabilities.

A central insight of the "Making Capabilities Work" project is the relevance of the difference of opportunities which are experienced as *real* and not merely as hypothetical and formal. This difference is particularly critical when opportunities are perceived as largely formal but the task and responsibility to make use of these "opportunities" is attributed to the young persons themselves. It is not only the opportunity set of a society which is largely structured by general economic conditions but also the local practices of public policies and the meaning-making or signifying practices of services sector institutions which ensure or impede opportunities for young persons to fully participate and especially to succeed to convert them into capabilities in the sense of "real" opportunities.

Given the often vulnerable life situations of young persons, it seems to be fair to suggest that education and training for the labor market is one of the most significant contexts of providing and mediating prospects of positive development in current European societies. As this context is a major determinant of not only individual life chances but also the preconditions for participating in collective decisions it is most vital to look at education from a holistic perspective. The capability approach seems to be appropriate to provide an analytical fundament to develop such a perspective. The results of the "Making Capabilities Work" project indicate that in particular three interrelated dimensions of capabilities are of central architectonic relevance for the life prospects of vulnerable young persons. These capabilities point to the freedoms of young persons to navigate the complex interplay between education, work and community and might be described as

(a) being able to work, i.e. to choose a self-valued professional life and securely access the labor market

(b) being able to be educated and to choose a self-valued educational career

(c) being able to participate in economical, political and social life.

Intentionally or not, all local policies in the countries analyzed in the project directly or indirectly affected the capabilities sets of young persons with respect to these dimensions and enabled or hindered young persons to convert institutional educational and vocational resources into capabilities, allowing them to function as active and fully participating citizens who are able to take autonomous decisions and to participate in the constitution of the new situations they have to face in the transition to adulthood.

In summary the "Making Capabilities Work" project highlighted the need to appropriately analyze the process of developing young people's skills as a process of capability building, which includes the need of recognizing the complex relations between formally institutionalized strategies of vocational education and training (VET). It turned out to be reasonable and appropriate to focus on the institutionally mediated complexity of different *conversion factors* rather than on youth characteristics in themselves and the resources or goods they obtain from the labor market and institutions. I.e. the significance of resources and services derives not only from the individual but also from the socially and institutionally embedded capability of young persons to convert them into valued states and actions. Following this consideration the "Making Capabilities Work" project analyzed the real possibilities which are open to young persons in different educational and labor market regimes but also the obstacles which impede their life prospects.

As it became apparent that public action consists not only in distributing individualized resources, but also in different strategies of addressing social and cultural factors of conversion for the individual, the project highlighted the local level of practical interaction between youth and institutions in terms of street-level bureaucracies, local employment agencies, educational agencies and devices. In a second step it reconstructed the relationships between these local levels of practical interaction and the more comprehensive context of educational and labor market regimes and their ongoing transformations. In the analyses of the "Making Capabilities Work" project, the perspectives of young people themselves were systematically taken into account. It became apparent that individuals have their own reasons to view pathways as a series of decisions that are not always and necessarily linear. It seems to be a major challenge to develop VET pathways that are more open to individual choice and changes of direction. Obviously some educational regimes are more able to accommodate this non-linearity not only into official programs but into real locally enacted strategies.

The following chapters will give detailed insights in the conception, theoretical foundation and the empirical significance of the dimensions outlined. Of course the insights of the "Making Capabilities Work" project are not sufficient to present a kind of master plan on how to tackle the situations and the capability gap of vulnerable young persons and public policy strategies dealing with the complex problems of local labor-market demands. However it might become apparent that the suggested capability perspective of enabling young people to participate in working life and society has the potential of providing a fundament for more appropriate alternative strategies which are of high practical significance to educational and labor market policies in Europe. For the reasons mentioned above, we have structured the volume in the following way. After this introduction the analytical and theoretical chapters are presented.

The first of these chapters: ***"The Capability Approach, Education and the Labour Market",*** is mainly the theoretical article and addresses the core idea and concepts within the capability approach and serves as an introduction to our conception of the approach for the readings of the other chapters in this volume. The concepts are presented in short and brought into their interdependent relations with a strong emphasis on the capability for education and work. Due to some differences between the conceptual understanding of capabilities between Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (Robeyns, 2005), we furthermore give our

suggestion for an accessible model, which brings together the strengths from each conceptual perspective.

After the first conception of the approach we turn our focus and relate it to multilevel governance. Multilevel governance is a result of the growing political capacity of the European Union and subnational actors, which assesses the weakening of the traditional state-centered regulation model. This is done in the chapter: ***"Multilevel governance and capability approach: What convergence?"*** where it is argued that three major dynamics are promoted by the multilevel governance scheme: territorialisation, hybridization and individualization. These dynamics are also core components of the education/employment/training policy nexus dedicated to vulnerable youth. Hence, one question emerges: what kind of links can be made between the Capability Approach developed by Amartya Sen, and this new political regulation scheme? In this chapter, the compatibility of the multilevel governance model with the capability approach is discussed in a theoretical mode and with references to vulnerable youth policies.

The before mentioned chapter is followed up with: ***"Critical aspects of the transformation of work and welfare from a Capability perspective"***, where the author shows the relevance of the capability approach for critical analysis of welfare states (and vice versa) because, by starting off with the individual's options to live the life one has reason to appreciate the former helps to understand why the contested character of social policies raises normative questions concerning the creation and implementation of measures and strategies that can support the freedom of the individual. The author argues that in particular the transition to a knowledge-based economy and the rise of activation policies have put the adaption of the abilities and competences of individuals at the centre of political conflicts and debates. The CA provides an evaluative tool not only to understand this but also to propose adequate policies and intervention. By analysing the social investment approach to welfare which highlights the productive aspects of social policies and aims to prepare individuals to economic changes through mainly investment in human capital formation, in the light of the CA, a critical analysis of the ambiguities and contradictions of this concept is proposed.

Based on EU-SILC longitudinal data set from 2007 and 2008 the following chapter **"Labour market trajectories and young Europeans' capabilities to avoid poverty, social exclusion and independency: A comparative analysis of 23 European countries"** shows how labour market trajectories are related to poverty, deprivation, and also lack of independent living. The analysis reveals how the capabilities of young persons to lead a life they have reason to value is dependent on the country they are living in and on their labour market related trajectories in each of these countries. Yet the results of the study also imply that even the fact of being in a stage of a more or less positive transition from education to employment may still go alongside with lacking basic capabilities.

Now we change focus from the macro level and bring the focus on the individuals: ***"Free Choice of Education? "***. This chapter deals with the reconciliation of (pre-)conditions and possibilities of access and choice of education and the contemporary educational dominating discourse in Danish education policies, i.e. the culture of testing and competition. Thus the author uses among others the theoretical approach of the Capability Approach to sort out opportunities and processes of freedom in order to provide a theoretical framework and to describe with respect to the discourse of competition

dominant influences, like for example the family background as well as international organizations, on possibilities of having actual free access to attain the education one reasons to value. The probability of having free choice of education is not at least related to both individual and external conversion factors whereas the latter is severe affected by education (almost exclusively) to labor disregarding the lack of preconditions and therefore worsening the situation of vulnerable youth. Pursuing the logic of the framework of the Capability Approach the notion of external and individual capabilities are applied in order to point out individual, institutional and societal obstacles concerning the aim of accessing free choice of the educational trajectory one reasons to value.

The free choice of education with a departure in the particular cases is further followed up in the chapter: ***"Development of capabilities of vulnerable youth. Voice and public action in the context of transition from education to labour market.".*** This chapter discusses the theoretical question of mechanisms contributing to and constraining the development of freedom among vulnerable youth. The empirical evidence comes from case studies of two educational programmes addressing young people with low basic and vocational skills in Italy and Poland. Both educational initiatives might be considered examples of public action involving, respectively, the third sector organisations and businesses. They have been created in response to unsuccessful public policies, which have been constantly failing to bring solutions to the problem of reproduction of inequalities. By applying Amartya's Sen capability approach, the authors analyse what are the decisive factors working in favour of or against building capabilities of young people in vulnerable situations, be it – as in Italian case – a combination of disadvantages concentrated in one territory such as poverty, unemployment, criminality or – as in Polish case – reproduction of lower social position of parents through vocational education system that suffers from decreasing quality, financial problems, out-dated infrastructure, low qualifications of staff and a weak linkage to labour market.

Then we turn to the chapter:***"New Conditions of Professional Work or Fall of Professions? On Managerialism and Professionalism".*** This chapter presents and discusses the relationship between professionalism and managerialism. In the framework of the WorkAble Project it becomes relevant to develop a discussion on the changes of welfare policies, since the case studies in the project (whereas some have been presented in the prior chapters), have shown a number of shortcomings which partly is an outcome of the idea of economization of the social and educational. This chapter consists of three main sections and a short concluding discussion on this topic. The first deals with the changing societal conditions, pointing to the paradigmatic shift from welfare state to competitive state. Then a following section concentrates on the changing understanding of professionalism, which in turn is further followed up in a section three by presenting changes in professional practice (focusing on changed values of the public services, changed professional practices, and impacts of competition. The fourth section is a short conclusive discussion.

The following chapter: ***"Employability versus capability – European Strategies for Young People"*** intends to complement the rich harvest of scientific findings and information collected through the work carried out by the Workable research team, looking in an empirical (albeit non-exhaustive) way at which elements of CA can already be found within the European Union's education and employment strategies set up (mainly but not only) in the framework of Europe 2020 strategy for a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in

order to address the growing rates of youth unemployment. The search for a definition of the target group of the analysis moves from "Young people with fewer opportunities" to focus on young people Not in Education Employment or Training. The chapter describes the main strategies that the EU has put in place to match the education-related headline targets set by Europe 2020, paying particular attention to the EC strategy to reduce Early School Leaving, the measures put in place through the Youth Opportunity Initiative to tackle youth unemployment as well as to the EU policy cooperation realized through the European Youth Strategy. The following section aims to identify CA-friendly elements within some of the above mentioned policy measures developed and implemented by the EU, followed by recommendations for policy makers emphasizing the need to reshape their approach towards youth (un)employment first and foremost by putting the empowerment of young people at the centre of the measures set up to facilitate the transition from school to work and adult life.

We then turn to the: ***"European Strategies and Higher Education".*** This chapter discusses EU-level developments in policy thinking in the area of higher education, training, and labour markets based on the analysis of a major large-scale strategy promoted by the European Commission in the 2000s: "Education and Training 2010" (ET 2010, launched in 2001, followed by a new strategy for the next decade, "Education and Training 2020", ET 2020). The strategy shows major EU-level conceptualizations in the areas of education, training and labour market policies. The major focus of this analysis of the most relevant documents debated within this strategy is youth, students, and graduates; in particular in connection with higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. The EU-level strategy is linked here to the formerly existing Lisbon Strategy and to the new Europe 2020 Strategy for "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth".

At the end, after having the theoretical and analytical chapters presented we turn our focus to the connections between theory and empirical findings in the chapter ***"Operationalisation of the Capability Approach".*** While the Capability Approach offers a rich, comprehensive and innovative way to analyse well-being, its operationalisation is a demanding task, posing several conceptual, methodological and empirical challenges. This chapter provides an overview of the current state of the art of the application of the Capability Approach in economically developed countries to labour market and education research. The intrinsic complexity and multi-layered structure of the Capability Approach seems to be particularly suitable for conceptualising and contextualising the integration of different aspects of the education-employment-community nexus. The education to work transition is used as an example, where a comparative perspective is taken to analyse employment and educational policies at the local, regional, national and European levels. The chapter presents methodological and empirical strategies to highlight how the issues of suitably capturing and measuring young people's capabilities can be addressed. In doing so the chapter presents interesting perspectives and examples for those who wish to make use of the Capability Approach for future investigation.

PART II: ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL CHAPTHERS

2. The Capability Approach, Education and the Labour Market

Christian Christrup Kjeldsen & Jean-Michel Bonvin

Abstract

This mainly theoretical article addresses the core idea and concepts within the capability approach and serves as an introduction to our conception of the approach for the readings of the other articles in this volume. The concepts will be presented in short and brought into their interdependent relations with a strong emphasis on the capability for education and work. Due to some differences between the conceptual understanding of capabilities between Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (Robeyns, 2005), we will furthermore give our suggestion for an accessible model, which brings together the strengths from each conceptual perspective.

Keywords: *commodities, capability, functionings, capability for education, capability for work, human capital vs. human capabilities*

1. Introduction

Europe experiences its worst economic crisis since World War II. The present situation within European labour markets raises important questions regarding future opportunities for a great proportion of vulnerable young people. Even though a large share of the young persons in the age group 16-24 are enrolled in education (EUROSTAT, April 2012), it is worth noticing that among the young jobseekers the *"unemployment rate in the EU-27 was around twice as high as the rate for the total population throughout the last decade"* (ibid.). This trend in the unemployment rate of the total labour force and of the young people in particular calls for decisions and innovative solutions for the 24.667 million unemployed men and women within the EU 27 (EUROSTAT, June 2012). The prescribed "medicine" has until now shown to be insufficient: *"flexibility and a willingness to adapt have not been enough to ensure re-employment for many years. Neither does the repeated demand for mobility guarantee a job."* (Schneider & Otto, 2009: 8).

A closer scrutiny shows that the opportunity structures in terms of employment are unequally distributed within each country. At the same time there are large differences between countries. We can also observe a clear gap in the employment rate along age lines within the EU 27. The unemployment rate for young people under 25 is higher and these may therefore be considered as disadvantaged in relation to other age groups. The latest figures emphasize the precarious situation of many EU citizens facing an unemployment rate of 11% for the former EU countries (EU17) and 10.3% for the EU 27 (EUROSTAT, June 2012). But the gap between the 16-24 years and the total population has developed even more dramatically since 22.5% of the young are job-seekers - more than twice the overall rate. In other words, more than every fifth young person that these data covers (which do not count young people within education) *"are available to start work within the next two weeks"* and they have *"actively sought employment at some time during the previous four weeks"* (EUROSTAT, June 2012), but without any success.

This of course raises concerns in relation to EU economic competitiveness, no doubt about it. But the risks are at the same time very high for the future of each of the young people outside the labour market and the question is whether this will not become an even more threatening situation for Europe. Indeed, a whole generation of young people is at risk of losing faith or even trust in the future, because of the experience of uncertain income, lack of job security and missed fulfilment of job aspirations etc. This will raise other crucial issues if it results in a *"process of increasing job insecurity and increasingly-precarious living standards – a process which tends to destabilize society as a whole"* (Schultheis, 2009: 79). Being without a stable job influences the level of *well being* people experience, mainly because it relates to the level of income the individual has for living. But as Amartya Sen argued in his famous *Equality of what?* (Sen, 1980), this is not the whole problem. There is more in life than money making - as Aristotle reminds us: *"The life of money-making is one undertaken under compulsion, and wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else."* (Aristotle, 1995: 1732).

The WorkAble project strives to tackle precisely these issues, as it has promised to find new solutions and insights in relation to the most vulnerable young people by applying the capability approach for *analyzing the present* and giving *suggestions for the future*. In the following, we have brought some of the results of this theoretical development together with labour market concerns.[1]

We will firstly present our interpretation and reading of the capability approach. Secondly we will point out how this approach has been conceptualized in relation to the project aims. Finally, we will discuss these issues with an emphasis on the human capital vs. human capability debate. Let us therefore start by addressing the question: which concepts are central to the capability approach?

[1] This article builds partly upon a drafted working paper presented and discussed with the WorkAble partners in Lausanne, on 17th November 2010, as well as a presentation of the initial results at The international 'Social Work & Society' Academy (TiSSA) 2011.

2. Main concepts, their mutual relations and the two key dimensions within the approach

A description of the core concepts can be found in Robeyns. Following her, *"The major constituents of the capability approach are functionings and capabilities"* (Robeyns, 2003: 11). Though, following *The Human Development and Capability Association,* we could also argue that "*The central terms in the capability approach are: Functionings, Capabilities, Agency"* (Alkire, 2005). Amartya Sen has in various contexts emphasized these terms and brought them together in different ways. In many ways all the mentioned concepts are constitutive for the approach, but they are similarly related to other concepts that we will include in the main concepts, because these cannot be understood without them. We therefore argue that *commodities* as well as their *characteristics* have to be taken into account. A departure from bundles of commodities to an understanding of the set of characteristics is an idea presented by Lancaster as a "*breaking away from the traditional approach that goods are the direct objects of utility and, instead, supposing that it is the properties or characteristics of the goods from which utility is derived* [...] *Utility or preference orderings are assumed to rank collections of characteristics and only to rank collections of goods indirectly through the characteristics that they possess"* (Lancaster, 1966: 133). This idea has been taken into account by Sen, even though he is arguing that it *per se* is an insufficient measure for accessing the standard of living, because: *"the right focus is neither commodities, nor characteristics (in the sense of Gorman and Lancaster), nor utility, but something that may be called a person's capability."* (Sen, 1983: 160). Also, the notion of *conversion factors* represents an important core concept that is very relevant in the understanding of education and work life circumstances. All together, the main concepts relate to what is called *the informational basis of judgment in justice*, which is highly relevant for our purpose since it represents the information considered as relevant when assessing an individual or a social situation such as the employment status of the individual. Therefore we end up with the following ideas, notions and concepts:

- **Commodities**
    - Commodity Characteristics
- **Conversion factors**
- **Capability**
    - Capability set
    - Choice
- **Functionings**
    - Functionings vector
- **Informational basis for the judgment of justice (IBJJ)**

The relation between these concepts is not linear; it is more complex as we will now demonstrate. When bringing all these elements together in a single framework, we find that the approach has two main dimensions which have to be taken into consideration. These dimensions have been sorted out differently during the course of the WorkAble project, but from a merely theoretical viewpoint we suggest distinguishing the *empowerment dimension* and the *freedom to choose dimension*. Conceptually, the two dimensions are represented through the distinctions between *commodities* and *capabilities* on the empowerment side,

and *capabilities* and *functionings* on the freedom to choose side. By combining these two dimensional sides of the capability approach, we end up with an original and highly sensitive and promising approach when it comes to investigating the situation of young vulnerable people in the labour market in the present European state of crisis. The reasons for this are that liberals tend to insist only on freedom to choose without caring to empower people and thereby risk to fall into Marx's objection of formal freedom (this liberal position also seems to forget that "*Freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means"* (Sen, 1999: 10), i.e. means for other more important ends, such as well-being or even citizenship). By contrast, some radical versions of social democracy focus mainly on the material empowerment of people and end in another pitfall, failing to adequately guarantee freedom to choose. Both dimensions have to be taken into account: hence, securing only social benefits for young people outside the labor market, guaranteeing no possibility to have a say and a real freedom of choice in relation to a job one has reason to value, could end in a situation where *"The loss of freedom in the absence of employment choice and in the tyrannical form of work can itself be a major deprivation"* (Sen, 1999: 112). Such a pitfall could be illustrated by some of the contemporary workfare programs or empirically be sketched out in some of the case studies in the WorkAble project, ending up in a risk of falling into the trap of paternalism or moralization (Kjeldsen, Ley, Jensen and Otto 2012: 6). Taking *commodities*, such as money, as a measure of welfare would also, according to Sen, be to fall into the trap that Karl Marx described as "commodity fetishism" where commodities are seen as important ends and not purely as means for other fundamental ends such as well-being and the freedom to choose. Commodity can be seen as an important mean for enhancing empowerment, but should not be seen as an end *per se*. It is in many ways these tensions that the capability approach seeks to overcome. But let us go a bit deeper, firstly with the understanding of commodities and their characteristics (characteristic vector).

1.1 Commodities and their characteristics

Following Robeyns, *commodities* designate all goods, services and incomes available to a person. Therefore wages, transfer incomes from the welfare state (such as social benefits etc.) have to be taken into account. Not only the quantity, but also the quality (i.e. the way they are valued in a specific social context) matter here. In our view point it is equally important to look not only at the commodities possessed by the single individual, but take notice of those commodities that the individual has access to (command over). For instance: you do not necessarily need to possess this textbook, if you have the free access to lend it at a state library or from a friend you will also have the freedom to read it. If we list up *all of* (i.e. if we are able to do so) the commodity possessions (and command) one person has, we will end up with the commodity vector. Sen denotes the commodity vector **x*i*** **-** the list of commodities a person *i* possesses (is in command of). Empirically it would be an overwhelming task to unveil such a list for each single individual. Instead, this could be replaced by evaluating whether a certain important subset of the commodity vector is in fact available. Hereby is meant a subset of commodities that is in relation to the capabilities investigated. This points to the relevance and importance of the linkage between the chosen subset of "important" commodities and the *informational basis of judgment in justice.* Another aspect that need not be overseen is the fact that individuals have exchange

possibilities of some commodities against others (for instance money can be turned into other goods, which you then can choose to sell etc.).

If we then list up all uses or special characteristics that each owned commodity has (for each element of the commodity vector), we end up with all characteristics and possible uses of the possessed commodities summarized in a vector of characteristics. A frequently used example for this is the commodity "bread". Bread can be used by individuals to be nourished. It has some specific characteristics such as proteins, vitamins etc. which differ from one kind of bread to another. At the same time, bread can in some social contexts have a social function, since it is part of the individual's ability to invite guests or perhaps it is an important part of a religious rituals (communion bread for instance). Depending on the situation, bread may have different uses and characteristics. Consequently, a person possessing a certain commodity bundle possesses an even larger set of possible uses. This means that the volume of applications is far greater than the quantity of commodities. Sen names the abstract function (in a mathematical sense) that converts a commodity vector into a vector of commodity characteristics: c(·).

As Erik Schokkaert points out, it is essential to bear in mind that the different characteristics of the commodities are person-independent (Schokkaert, 2007). Expressed in Sen's words, *"Wheat, rice, potatoes, etc., are commodities, while calories, protein, vitamins, etc., are characteristics of these commodities that consumers seek"* (Sen, 1982: 24). This will be important when the theory has to be operationalised for empirical work. In conceptual terms, the individual's degree of use of a commodity due to his or her conversion factors can vary, while the *commodity characteristics vector* is still interpersonal-independent. Instead, the possible individual utility of a commodity (and its characteristics) is represented by the conversion factor function *f(.)*.

How can this be relevant in the context of peoples' possibilities in education and the working life? We will try to state this by an example. One of the key politicians in Denmark, which for decades has been the major political stakeholder within the educational *field* (to use a Bourdieusian term), has (while he was Minister of education) stated the following: *"IT development is the best thing that has happened to school; in a couple of years, it will become obvious that the children must have a laptop - just as it is obvious that they need a bike"* (Jyllands Posten, 2009). Just as it is seen as parent's responsibility to provide their children with a bike, Haarder advocates that it will soon be as natural that parents provide their children with a laptop for their school work. This is quite right and the logic is also to be found within the project for the developing world *"One Laptop Per Child"* (OLPC, 2010), which has the mission to make laptops affordable and "*designed for collaborative, joyful, self-empowered learning."* (OLPC, 2010). Sen provides an almost similar example:

> In West Europe or North America a child might not be able to follow his school program unless the child happens to have access to a television… the child without a television in Britain or in Ireland would be clearly worse off - have a lower standard of living - in this respect than a child, say, in Tanzania without a television… the fact remains that the television is a necessity for the British child for school education in a way it is not for the Tanzanian child (Sen, 1983: 162).

In other words, there are different commodities which have a range of characteristics. Some of these characteristics can, when applied within education, support the individual's real

freedom to choose a valuable life. In this understanding, they can be claimed to have a great impact on the capability for education as well as for work and life. This type of commodities are relational in the sense that their importance changes over time and in-between societies (the possession of a small blackboard for the training of letters is no more demanded in most Western countries whereas it is of great importance in some parts of the developing world) . Therefore the logic advocated here is in many ways similar to Adam Smith´s notion of commodities needed to appear in public without shame (which can be seen as a capability) and its changes over time and context (Smith, 2007 [1776]: 676). Therefore, we need to keep these possible differences in mind when comparing across countries and across individuals or groups.

The judgment of which commodities to include in such a subset, needs further scrutiny in each application of the approach, because of the fact that different commodities have many possible uses due to their different characteristics. Let us shortly give another example that builds on three different capabilities in relation to just one commodity - namely the already mentioned laptop computer. A laptop computer can serve you with the possibility of playing chess without partner and therefore having the capability for play that Martha Nussbaum counts as a central human capability (Nussbaum, 2011: 32-35). On the other hand, it can also serve as an indispensable tool for writing a paper and thereby be related to the capability for work, e.g. academic writings of articles such as this. At the same time, it can be seen as an essential compensating tool for the dyslectic young person (capability for education). This clearly raises issues of empirical complexity. If thought together, the bundle of commodities and the characteristics it entails could be seen as "means for achievement" (Robeyns, 2003: 11), but before looking at the freedom to achieve represented by the capability concept, we will have a look at *functionings*, i.e. what is actually achieved.

1.2 Functionings

They designate the beings or doings of a person, i.e. what s/he actually is or does, by contrast with what s/he can be or do (i.e. his/her capabilities). What a person does, his actual state stands in relation to his well-being, but *"On what does the claim of functionings to reflect well-being rest? "* (Sen, 1999: 19). Sen's answer is: *"Basically, the claim builds on the straightforward fact that how well a person is must be a matter of what kind of life he or she is living, and what the person is succeeding in ´doing´ or ´being´." (*Sen, 1999: 19). The distinction between *capabilities* and *functionings* is key in our application of the approach in the WorkAble project and also when assessing new configurations in the European labour market situation. Indeed, if the focus of public policies is on capabilities rather than functionings, it makes a huge difference – and not only for empirical research, where a discussion on the empirical difficulties in placing the concern on capabilities instead of functionings has been emerging. The objective will not be to adequately equip young people in terms of resources or skills and competencies, but to provide them with capabilities, i.e. with as much real freedom to choose their way of living as possible. Thus, the passage between capabilities and functionings is envisaged as a matter of individual free choice, which implies that society should encourage such individual freedom of choice for all its members. This points to the issue of the *informational basis of judgment in justice:* indeed, if society or collective rationality privileges a specified or restrictive informational basis of

judgment in justice (IBJJ), it means that a restrictive view of what is a valuable being or doing will prevail. By contrast, Sen insists on two key issues:

1. the IBJJ promoted by society should be as incomplete as possible so as to allow individual rationalities to express themselves and flourish as much as possible. Indeed there is no single view of rationality, contrary to what e.g. defenders of rational choice would claim: as Sen puts it, the issue of rationality is fundamentally undecidable (Sen, 2002), which does not mean that there is no such thing as rationality, but that this issue needs to be tackled in a contextualized way. What is rational cannot be decided in an abstract and universalist way, it has to be debated in situation, thus allowing all individual views about what is rational to express themselves;

2. as a consequence, collective rationality should be as democratic as possible with a view to promoting the constructive dimension of democracy (Sen, 1999b, 2009), i.e. democracy is the most equitable way to connect individual preferences and collective decisions. It is certainly impossible to fully avoid clashes between individual preferences and collective rationality, but the construction of collective decisions via genuine democracy and public reasoning (strongly emphasized in *The Idea of Justice*) is certainly the best way to tackle this issue.

With respect to our topic, this requires investigating to what extent are youth allowed to have their say in collective decision-making processes concerning them? Following Otto and Ziegler, we have to bear in mind *"the creation of places where individuals get the opportunity in public and social work action to express their own opinion, as well as the creation of a space for the 'meta-capability' of reflection"* (Otto & Ziegler 2006: 283). To use Hirschman's words, the question could be put as follows: are youth constrained to loyalty to decisions made by others? Or are they able to voice their concerns and make them count in the collective decision-making process? Or, if they do not wish to be involved in such processes, what are the consequences of this behaviour, which can be assimilated to Hirschman's exit option? (Hirschman, 1970) In analytical terms, then, this implies to investigate decision-making processes and assess to what extent youth are entitled to these three options, exit, voice and loyalty when confronted with active labour market programs or the like. This implies that he/she can choose between either loyalty to the collective prescriptions or norms, or voice in order to contest or negotiate the content of such prescriptions without being subject to heavy sanctions, or exit so as to be able to escape these collective norms at an affordable cost (e.g. by refusing to take up a badly remunerated job without having to abide by excessive financial penalties). (Bonvin 2012)

1.3 Capabilities

> *"Capability reflects a person's freedom to choose between different ways of living. The underlying motivation–the focusing on freedom–is well captured by Marx's claim that what we need is ´replacing the domination of circumstances and chance over individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances´"* (Sen, 1989: 44)

Within the understanding of labour market needs and the outcome of education, *knowledge*, *skills* and *competences* are often at the centre of the discussion. As the *European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training* argues, *"The knowledge, skills and competences Europe needs to compete successfully in a global labour market is a major question on the European Union policy agenda. It is a question directly relevant to European citizens who want to know which knowledge, skills and competences will help them find or keep a job."* (CEDEFOP 2008: 1). These elements are without doubt important but the question also relates to what kind of outcome we are in fact seeking: economy for its own sake? well-being? Or are we seeking in a broader sense to *"enable young people to act as capable citizens in the labour markets of European knowledge societies"* (WorkAble objective)? When looking at labour market needs in the perspective of this last objective, i.e. through the capability lenses, we find that the former objectives miss important issues related to the freedom to choose a job, to reconcile work and life, etc. At the same time, focusing on outcomes of education in terms of knowledge, skills and competences, conveys a reductionist conception of education and training which are then *"valued primarily for their economically productive potential"* (Baptiste, 2001: 185).

Therefore in order to capture the difference between internal skills or competences on the one hand, and external circumstances such as liberties through legislation, commodity command etc. on the other hand, a number of theorists, including Martha Nussbaum, distinguish internal capabilities and external circumstances or, as Otto and Schrödter put it, *"I-Capabilities"* and *"E-Capabilities"* (Otto & Schrödter 2009). In Nussbaum's earlier writings, this was also called external capabilities, which Nussbaum changed after Crocker's criticism (Crocker, 1995: 161 and Nussbaum, 2001: 84). The ability to participate in society through democratic actions illustrates the relevance of this distinction. The individual may have the ability, skill or competence to act democratically and raise his or her voice (internal capability), but in order to have the real possibility to participate democratically, one also needs favourable external circumstances, e.g. the right to vote, to express one's opinions and the freedom from repression. For instance, even though the women movement in Denmark promoted the voice of many women of the time, it was only in the year 1915 that women in Denmark were given the right to vote. Until this external circumstance was secured, even though women had the internal capability for reasoning and shaping their ideas, they did not enjoy the freedom to participate democratically in the voting procedure. Likewise, situations may easily be found where formal rights and entitlements envisaged as external circumstances are not actualized due to a lack of internal capabilities to use these formal rights. As such, they will remain empty formal rights.

Sen includes both parts within his concept of capability, while Nussbaum first separates internal and external dimensions, and then synthesizes them in what she calls 'combined capability' which is equal to the real possibility to lead a life one has reason to value (Nussbaum, 2006: 11-12; Otto & Schrödter, 2009). Nussbaum justifies this as follows: *"People come into the world with rudimentary abilities to lead a dignified life. These abilities, however, need support from the world, especially the political world, if they are to develop and become effective. First, they need internal cultivation, usually supplied above all by a nation's system of education — together with whatever support people receive from their families and other voluntary institutions. I call the developed form of innate abilities "internal capabilities"* (Nussbaum, 2006: 11).

Each person can have many capabilities that can be combined in many different ways. Sen grasps this with the notion of a Capability Set – all the achievable functionings within individual reach.

"The formal representation of the capability set of a person is that of a set of functioning n-tuples (or vectors, when the functionings can be numerically measured) from which a person can choose." (Sen, 1987: 32).

This represents then all the possible functioning vectors which constitute the individual´s set of capabilities. This set of real freedoms to achieve is connected to the understanding of the functioning vector in a way where "*The capability set gives us information on the various functioning vectors that are within reach of a person, and this information is important - no matter how exactly well-being is characterized"* (Sen, 1995 [1992]: 41). Whereas, in the space of commodities, the "budget set", which is the bundle of goods the person can afford given his income and the existing prices (Takayama, 1985; Chakravarty, 2005 [2002]: 52-55), represents a person's possible choice to buy different bundles of commodities, *"the ´capability set´ in the functioning space reflects the person´s freedom to choose from possible livings"* (Sen 1995 [1992]: 40). As mentioned earlier, there is a distinction between the actual achieved state of living (functioning) and the freedom or opportunity to live differently. In the same way, Sen insists on the difference between "agency achievement" and "well-being achievement" on the one hand, and "agency freedom" and "well-being freedom" on the other hand, and he states that *"it is the latter that is best reflected by a person´s capability set"* (Sen 1995 [1992]: 57).

Another way is to distinguish between conversion factors, that can be internal or external, and capabilities. Sen's seminal example in this respect is that of the bike. It illustrates that the possession of a commodity is not enough to guarantee the full enjoyment of a capability. The presence of adequate conversion factors is needed to translate or convert resources into capabilities. In the case of the bike, skills and competencies are required from the user (these belong to what Robeyns calls individual conversion factors), as well as tolerant social norms allowing all people to ride a bike (if such norms prevent some categories from using bikes, then the resource cannot be converted into a capability) or adequate infrastructure (roads or the like). Thus, capabilities that designate the real freedom to choose the life one has reason to value, require the presence of a whole configuration of adequate resources (or commodities) and conversion factors: if one is missing, capabilities are equally missed. This is an adequate comprehension of what we can call the "empowerment side" of the capability approach. With regard to our topic, i.e. education and youth, a key issue is to identify the resources and conversion factors pertaining to this configuration: what individual and social conversion factors are decisive when it comes to enhancing the capabilities of (marginalized) youth? In other words, what skills or competencies should be provided via training, but also how should schools, the labour market, towns, and society at large be made more inclusive so that they make place for people belonging to this target group? What resources or commodities should be provided (money, time, infrastructure, etc.) and to whom (schools, families, third sector associations, etc.)? One of the main objectives in WorkAble was to empirically identify this bundle of resources and conversion factors, and to assess to what extent it actually promotes (or maybe obstructs, insofar as so-called conversion factors can also act as obstruction factors) the enhancement of young peoples' capabilities.

But what capabilities should count as important? In such cases we are tempted to turn to Nussbaum's list of central capabilities, but in situations that are similar to those explored in the Workable project she states: *"Much depends on our purpose. On the one hand, if our intention is simply comparative, all sorts of capabilities suggest interesting comparisons across nations and regions, and there is no reason to prescribe in advance: new problems may suggest new comparisons"* (Nussbaum, 2011: 29). So, there is a task in identifying relevant capabilities or, as Sen points it out: *"The theory of inequality evaluation has close links with that of assessment of poverty, and the choice of space becomes a central concern"* (Sen, 1995 [1992]: 9). Sen insists that equality can be envisaged along different competing ideologies; as such it raises central and fundamental issues. The objective of (some sort of) equality is not the main difference between these ideologies. Rather, the difference relates to the space within which equality is sought and in which inequalities are considered as acceptable or inacceptable (Sen, 1995 [1992]: 16-26; 2006 [2004]: 22-23). In relation to our topic we find three "spaces" that are of importance, namely the capability for work, education and voice. These three dimensions ought to be taken into account when investigating the freedoms of young people in relation to the labour market. They have been conceptualized throughout the project and have been brought into the following discussion about the differentiation between human capital thinking and the human capability or human flourishing approach.

2 Discussion

2.1 Human Capital vs. Human Capability in relation to Education and the Labour Market

Therefore education has different aspects to be taken into consideration when addressing the problems mentioned in the introduction. First of all education has a social and an instrumental role. The public debate and dialogue often requires some level of literacy for being able to partake and thereby have a real influence on social and political affairs. Instrumentally, a sound education can be seen as a necessary prerequisite in the support of our ability to participate in decision making whether at home, in the local community or even nationally (or transnationally). Thereby, it becomes an important ingredient for individual empowerment (in that sense education can support the disadvantaged, marginalized and excluded groups' ability to organize themselves politically and have effective voice). The importance of education for economic growth and as a material means for welfare has been emphasized since the mid 60s, when Gary S. Becker presented his book *Human Capital* (Becker, 1993 [1964]). Already at that time there were critics of this concept. With his own words, *"Passions are easily aroused on this subject and even people who are generally in favour of education, medical care, and the like often dislike the phrase ´human capital´ and still more any emphasis on its economic effects"* (Becker, 1993 [1964]: 12). Our main criticism relates to the idea of return on investment purported by the notion of human capital. The assessment of education's "return on investment" was in Becker's view linked to economic growth, and the investment was of different types, such as investments in schools, higher education and training, which had diverse rates of return. Other scientists and

economists than Becker could have been named as fathers of this paradigm. In fact this idea is by no means new. Already Adam Smith had an eye for the relationship between education and training and the varied investments made in this respect, and the increasing total sum of wealth for society. As he stated:

> "A man educated at the expense of much labour and time to any of those employments which require extraordinary dexterity and skill, may be compared to one of those expensive machines. The work which he learns, it must be expected, over and above the usual wages of common labour, will replace to him the whole expense of his education, with at least the ordinary profits of an equally valuable capital… The difference between the wages of skilled labour and those of common labour is founded on this principle" (Smith, 2007 [1776]: 84).

Here again we find the emphasis on skills and competences. What the Workable project suggests by contrast is to apply the insights from the capability approach and develop the ideas of the utility of education further by challenging its main premises. In such a perspective, the primacy of the economic effects of education is a problem. Instead, the focus is placed on the freedoms to live the life one have reason to value. In that light *"However, the ability to exercise freedom may, to a considerable extent, be directly dependent on the education we have received, and thus the development of the educational sector may have a foundational connection with the capability-based approach."* (Sen, 1989: 55). Having such a different stand in the mean/ends position of education vis-à-vis the economy, may pave the way for a departure from the human capital path and its pitfalls. Economic growth and returns on educational investment may certainly be good means for other ends, such as well-being or valuable opportunities to flourish in areas like art, music etc. but if these economic effects are taken as the only aim, we then end in commodity fetishism. In other words, education has many other roles to play for the individual and society that Sen identifies as education 1) for productivity, 2) for a better distribution of national income, 3) as a personal conversion factor, 4) as a promoter of "*intelligent choice between different types of lives that a person can lead."* (Sen, 1989: 55). Still, this is only half of the story. The other part is related to the labour market, because following the human capital approach, returns on investment can only happen when related to work, no matter the content of such work (i.e. whether it is a creative or a physical activity). Here the logic and argumentation of the human capital thinking raises further problems that the capability approach seems to overcome.

In relation to work and the labour market, Nussbaum argues that it is a governmental responsibility to offer people the opportunity to have control over their environment. She introduces this as one of the central human functionings on her list of ten capabilities, which is *"supposed to provide a focus for quality of life assessment"*. This central capability also implies *"having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others* […] *in work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers"* (Nussbaum, 2011: 33-34; 1999: 235). In this perspective, it becomes clear that also work can be understood as an important mean for other ends than money making, no matter whether it is for the individual's sake or for society's sake. It is the individual's real opportunity to lead a good life, that he or she values, which then becomes the genuine end of public action. Still one has to bear in mind the liberal foundation of the capability approach. People should have the

freedom to exit in the Hirschmanian sense (Hirschman, 1970), but this does not exclude the possibility that they actually prefer to work with an *"intense dedication that precludes recreation and play",* because *"a person who has opportunities for play can always choose a workaholic life: again there is a great difference between that chosen life and a life constrained by insufficient maximum-hour protections"* (Nussbaum, 1999: 237-8). Still, the primacy placed on individual freedoms raises a voice against the human capital work-first perspective, because the main objective of public action in the field of welfare should not be to put people back to work at all costs (i.e. a functioning), but to enhance their real freedom of choice with regard to the labour market (Bonvin, 2012).

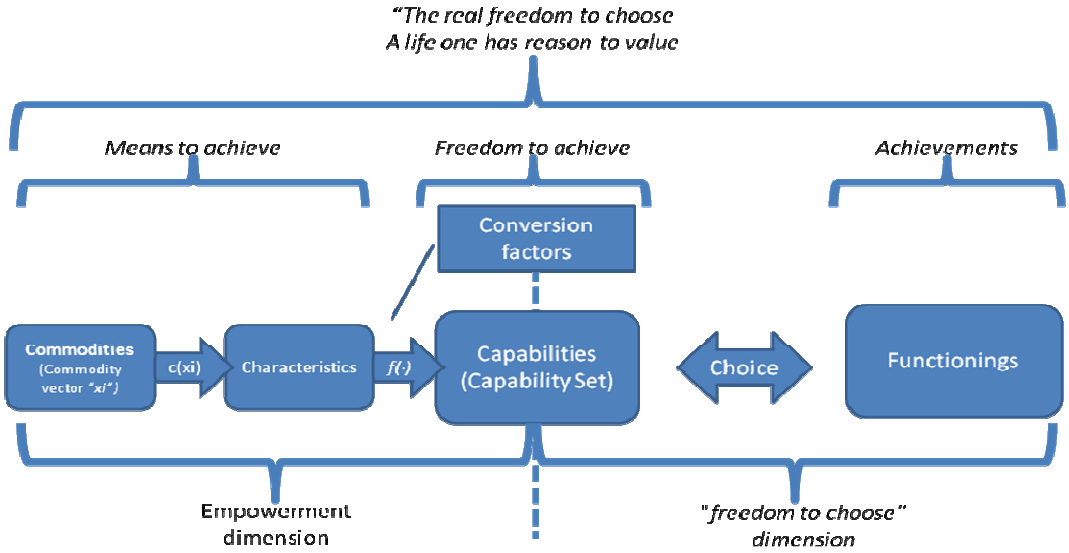
We started this paper by sketching the problems raised by unemployment and their scope for millions of European citizens (both young and in total). If we take the capability approach and its emphasis on capabilities instead of functionings seriously, the measures of the achieved *doings* and *beings* do not say everything about the set of possible beings and doings enjoyed by European citizens. If we assume, just for a moment, that we ought to measure the freedom to seek and get a job, then is it reasonable to claim that this substantial freedom or capability for work is better secured through the expansion in the individual human capital? If we on the contrary think that the good life should be considered as the genuine end, and training and education as means for reaching this end, then this analytical focus requires exploring new avenues and new ways to solve the problems faced by the EU nowadays. It becomes much more complex too, because while the human capital approach values the economy and economic growth as the main aim to be pursued, the capability approach considers that the value of the economy must be assessed against its capacity to support the development of valuable opportunities for human growth and flourishing, where development is seen as the expansion of freedoms to live the life one has reason to value. Following Elaine Unterhalter, Sen has emphasized the difference between these two approaches, and insists that human capital *"concentrates on the agency of human beings – through skill and knowledge as well as their effort – in augmenting production possibilities"*, whereas the capability approach "*focuses on the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the substantive choices they have"* (Sen 1997 cited by Unterhalter 2009 p. 212).

3 Conclusion

The challenge raised by the implementation of the capability approach lies in holding together all dimensions of the approach, i.e. to integrate in the same analytical grid resources (commodities), conversion factors, capabilities, collective and individual decision-making processes and their relation to individual preferences (with the issues of exit, voice and loyalty), and functionings. And to do all this without losing sight that the focus ought to be placed on capabilities, i.e. what is measured or assessed is not resources or functionings, but capabilities. In relation to the circumstances prevailing in the European crisis context, we have argued that it is crucial to put the emphasis on the development of individual freedoms to shape and choose the life one has reason to value. This theoretically stands in sharp contrast to the "work-first" perspective that the human capital thinking pushes forward. Instead, the capabilities for work, voice and education, envisaged as real freedoms, seem more promising. Following Nussbaum, we therefore recommend to take account of the

central role of education as a necessary prerequisite for a truly human life. As a matter of fact, education should be considered as an important end and not merely as a mean for getting people into work. This is in line with Nussbaum's insertion, in the list of the 10 fundamental capabilities, of the issue of "senses, imagination & thought", which covers the ability for reasoning and the use of one´s senses and reason in a way that is "informed and cultivated by an adequate education". This goes far beyond an instrumental view of education.

Being well aware that this does not catch the full complexity of the approach, we suggest bringing the two dimensions and the core concepts together in a heuristic model that shortly illustrates the complexities of their mutual inter-relations[2] and paves the way for further investigations in this subject matter. This model should not be understood as a linear relation, but as a dynamic model (circulating between the concepts).



[2] The relational illustration is partly inspired by Robeyns 2003 and Sen´s conceptual description presented in his book Commodities and Capabilities. The illustration has been further developed by the authors of this article.

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3. Multilevel governance and capability approach: What convergence?

Thierry Berthet

Abstract:

Multilevel governance is a result of the growing political capacity of the European union and subnational actors, which assesses the weakening of the traditional state-centered regulation model. Three major dynamics are promoted by the multilevel governance scheme: territorialisation, hybridization and individualization. These dynamics are also core components of the education/employment/training policy nexus dedicated to vulnerable youth. Hence, one question emerges: what kind of links can be made between the Capability Approach developed by Amartya Sen, and this new political regulation scheme? In this chapter, the compatibility of the multilevel governance model with the capability approach is discussed in a theoretical mode and with references to vulnerable youth policies.

Keywords: *Multilevel governance, capabilities, individualization, territorialisation, governance*

"Things are no longer what they used to be" is a common observation in social sciences and quite a well-known point of departure for building new concepts aiming at describing a "new" perspective or set of social practices. The notion of multilevel governance belongs to this kind of premises. This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the theoretical relations that can be made between the capability approach and the notion of multilevel governance. A first section is dedicated to presenting the notion of multilevel governance and its relation to policy analysis. In a second section, the possible convergence and meeting points between the capability approach (CA) and the concept of multilevel governance (MLG) will be discussed.

1 Multilevel policy making: what do we mean by this?

The idea of governance was promoted by social scientists - and especially political scientists - to describe the emergence of new modes of regulation based on coordination rather than authority. These modes of regulation include public as well as private actors in arenas where constitutive types of policies (Lowi, 1972) and technical knowledge are getting more and more central. In other words, the traditional authoritarian state-centered domination is challenged by new forms of regulation based on a larger diffusion of power and a general process of bargaining in policy making. The analysis of reforms in British urban policies represents one of the first attempts to describe a process of authority reallocation (Le Gales,

1995). Although the territorial dimension was closely linked to the development of the concept of governance, this framework was not at first designed to seize processes of re-territorialisation. The focus was rather put on changing governing techniques than on the territorial rescaling of power relations.

1.1 A European-born concept

Bringing into the political debate the notion of multilevel governance (MLG) introduced the idea of a territorialized reallocation of power. If local politics was the starting point of the academic work on governance, European studies played the same role for multilevel governance. Starting from Gary Marks' seminal work on the European structural policy (Marks, 1993), the notion of multilevel governance has progressively become more popular. Once again, the starting assessment was a major change in regulation that the former traditional framework of analysis could not describe properly. "*The first, and for a long time only, application of MLG theory was in the realm of [European] cohesion policy, as it was in this realm that unconventional mobilization dynamics and decision making patterns were most apparent*" (Piattoni, 2009, p.5). The transformation of relationships between European institutions, national states and subnational political bodies, has drawn the attention of political scientists and specialists of the European integration. Among this community of experts a strong cleavage opposes intergovernmentalists and supranationalists. The first ones are pleading for realism, and argue that national states remain the central political actor. Based on a functionalist perspective, the second argue in favor of a federalization trend. The MLG approach is presented as an alternative to this cleavage. This approach relies on the following criticism of these two opposite positions: although they differ in their analysis of the political leadership, both of them stem that European decisions are taken in a political arena dominated by national and supranational institutions (Jeffery, 1997). In so doing, they miss the increasing development of an all set of complex power relations between local, regional, national and European actors. They also disregard the fact that contemporary policies streams are based more and more on coordination and competition of territorial levels. The notion of multilevel is an attempt to take these dimensions into consideration and to focus this analysis on the concrete practices and political exchanges of the various stakeholders participating to the policy making process. The fact that this conceptual discussion was initiated from European studies and more precisely from the study of the cohesion/structural/regional policy of the EU is significant. This area of research is a front row seat to observe the way by which the national traditional policy making process is bypassed by infra and supranational public and private actors. In particular, the guiding principles (subsidiarity, additionality, partnership, evaluation) as well as the implementation of the structural funds (ESF, ERDF, CAP) has led to the development of new policy networks where the Commission plays a leading role to the benefit of regional decisional actors. Such a large margin of decision led to the Commission in the allocation of financial resources to subnational governments (Marks, 1993) as well as the policymaking method used appear new and does not really fit in either the intergovernmentalist or the functionalist perspective. As reminded by Charlie Jeffery (1997), the bargaining process related to European summits, the negotiation of treaties and the implementation of the cohesion policy have given subnational actors the opportunity to acquire the political resources necessary to participate in the European decision making process. Thus, the

interdependence of actors and of level of governments has been increased and institutionalized. This process results in the overwhelming of a "simple" bipolar decision making process between national states and the EU authorities through a complex multilevel and multistakeholders governance framework. This somehow new mode of regulation was rapidly identified as a multilevel governance one.

1.2 A definition

Defining precisely what is intended by MLG has been one of the tasks of political scientists convinced by this perspective. Several definitions have been given, some insisting on the multiscalarity of MLG (Stubbs, 2005), some on the negotiation dimension of a governance process (Peters & Pierre, 2001), others on the "dispersion of decision-making away from central states" (Hooghe & Marks, 2003). Before we go any further in discussing the question of MLG from a capability perspective it is necessary to ground our analysis on a precise definition of MLG. Following Philippe Schmitter's definition, by multilevel governance we will intend here *"an arrangement for making binding decisions that engages a multiplicity of politically independent but otherwise interdependent actors – private and public – at different levels of territorial aggregation in more-or-less continuous negotiation/deliberation/implementation, and that does not assign exclusive policy competence or assert a stable hierarchy of political authority to any of these levels*" (Schmitter 2004, 49). This detailed definition is useful for the dimension it introduces. The authoritarian dimension of regulation and policymaking is necessarily part of MLG as the decisions reached are compulsory. The jurisdictional question in MLG also clearly deals with interdependent actors and organizations participating together to a broad governance scheme. One of the interesting points in MLG is the unstable organizational dimension. As noticed by Philippe Schmitter in his definition, this policymaking does (until now) result in processes of devolution or on discussing the transfer of competences between territorial levels. Connected to this point, the idea of a mixed set of private/public actors is also a characteristic of the governance of the policymaking process. It represents a key issue in terms of empowerment of the civil society from a capability perspective. Finally, the territorial dimension is also central as MLG supposes in order to identify political streams between levels of government and in order to analyze the real authority and leadership exercised by localized actors.

1.3 Public policy dimensions of MLG

Many points arise when studying MLG from a public policy perspective.

First, concerning the use of the notion, the MLG idea went through the same process than many other theoretical concepts. It was at first designed to describe social reality from an analytical point of view. But, as the concept became popular and due to a growing porosity of the academic and political spheres, policymakers started to use this analytical concept and hence immediately transformed it in a normative one.

The analytical use of MLG is designed to unpack social practices insufficiently understood by the previous theoretical frameworks (here intergovernmentalism and functionalism). In a process of paradigm succession well informed by the epistemology of sciences [Kuhn, 1983], the MLG concept aims at providing new and more efficient tools of analysis. Once adopted by policymakers, the concept stops to be an analytical one to become a prescriptive one. Far from aiming at unpacking social practices, it starts to pack them and tries to orientate them in a certain way. In other words, the normative use of MLG recommend what to do and how to generate good multilevel governance! A good example of this process is given by the publication of the Committee of the regions' white paper on multilevel governance (COR, 2009). This white paper states that "*establishing genuine multilevel governance in Europe has always been the strategic priority of the Committee of the Regions. It has now become a condition of good European governance. This White Paper acknowledges this priority, proposes clear policy options for improving European governance and recommends specific mechanisms and instruments for stimulating all stages of the European decision-making process*" (COR, 2009, p.5). It is quite important to identify this shift in the use of the notion because it has direct effects on the policymaking process itself. Once the MLG concept has become so trendy that international organization, national and local stakeholders promote it and provide management recipes to achieve its implementation, it starts to influence the political process. In that sense, multilevel governance practices once observed by political scientists as an upcoming phenomenon tend to develop and become a norm imposed by policymakers.

Another way of problematizing the MLG notion can be to confront it to two theoretical models of public policy analysis: the sequential analysis of public policy cycles and the well-known typology politics/polity/policy.

Introduced by Charles Jones in the beginning of the seventies, the sequential model presents the policymaking process as a cycle made of successive stages [Jones, 1970]. We can then distinguish between 3 main sequences: problem framing and agenda setting, decision making and implementation. How does the MLG model connect to this idea of policy cycle? It can be noticed that as formulated above, MLG should intervene at each sequence of the policy cycle. With regards to the definition of public problems, several examples can be given. It can be at first observed that the EU is more and more a key actor in shaping public problems at the national and regional level. In the field of training and education, the Commission pushed forward a conception of lifelong learning policies as well the idea of a common set of basic skills. Hence, it shapes the way these topics are discussed in member states. In another way, national and EU authorities closely monitor local experimentations in the field of employment and professional integration in order to integrate and disseminate the so-called "good practices". In the decision making process, MLG plays a key role. Most of the analyses conducted on MLG have focused on that dimension. The MLG perspective provides a framework for analyzing the complex set of relation built in the decision making process between policy stakeholders located at various territorial levels. Analyzing the decision making process from a MLG point of view means several things.

Firstly it means taking into consideration the fact that political power of the nation states is shared with subnational and supranational political entities. It acknowledges the growing political capacity of both regional/local and European policymakers. In that perspective, decentralization means the transfer of such capacity in decision making to both the EU and

subnational actors. It signifies that a growing number of decision are not only taken in a bipolarized relation between the European community and member states but also in a complex system of political relations between multiple levels of actors overwhelming the nation state constitutional power upward and downward.

It also means assessing the fact that regional and local actors are more and more lobbying and acting at the European level to raise political decision in accordance with their own interests. In certain matters - such as the regional policy of the EU -, subnational actors have gained resources allowing them to participate in the European decision making process without referring to their central governments.

Finally, the MLG perspective acknowledges the fact that the range of actors involved in the decision making process has enlarged. On the one hand, the decision making process does not clearly separates policymakers and receivers anymore. The beneficiaries of this process are actively acting to shape and influence the decisions raised. On the other hand, the former strong boundary between public and private actors seems more and more blurred. Private actors (companies, third sector, lobbies) are involved in the decision making process. This governance mode of regulation has raised and is being encouraged by EU authorities, which provide recipes to implement an open mode of governance while encouraging at the same time the development of a soft influential regulation with member states (i.e. the open method of coordination).

Implementation is also a stage in policymaking where the MLG perspective provides interesting insights. The idea of bringing together in an implementation chain a large range of private and public actors from different territorial levels supposes to move away from the traditional functionalist executive scheme. The notion of state public administration and civil servants acting as sole responsible agents in charge of the executive function seems outdated. The actual process of policy implementing provides a more complex process. Subnational entities are being transferred more and more responsibility in implementing national as well as their own policies, while NGOs and private sector organizations are more often involved in implementation through the development of public tenders and externalization. In the field of employment and training policies, this externalization/contractualisation scheme became increasingly significant over the last two decades with the support of the EU and a strong implication of local authorities (Berthet, 2010).

The well-known policy/polity/politics' typology in policy analysis is another way to assess the development of MLG practices in the political world. If the MLG perspective is mainly based on analyzing public policies, its implication on both the polity and the politics are to be taken into account.

Regarding the politics dimension, the development of MLG policymaking processes changes the game. In the first instance, the development of a strong and sometimes coordinated political activity has led to the renewal and development of the politics. New scenes have emerged, new categories of politicians have come to the forefront and new skills including a deep knowledge of the European and local policymaking specificities have become necessary to play a significant role in this MLG scheme. On a structural level, a multiplication of forums and arenas can be observed. They bring in new figures of political activity (experts, technicians, NGOs, etc.). These new stages have transformed the political debate into a

more complex and specialized one. Of course this process is not directly caused by the development of MLG practices, but they have undoubtedly reinforced it.

Although it is generally not evoked by academics working on the MLG processes, the polity and the citizenship question is another important dimension to study in policymaking analysis. If the political authority of member states is deeply rooted in the history of nation building, European and local authorities – especially for centralized states such as France – do not necessarily enjoy such strong legitimacy. Building up the polity dimension is a significant challenge for them and MLG is a powerful tool in that perspective. The redistributive capacity of the EU and especially the structural funds play a great role in building a positive image of the community. The local implementation of the European structural policy is one of the major fields supporting the development of the MLG analysis. It shows how policymaking is connected to polity and politics.

Efforts are made to enhance the visibility of these funding for EU citizens. These programs are highlighting a set of coordinated policies for local communities' development. Indirectly, they also support and make use of the local political identity. In a series of economic sectors, territorial identity has become a core component of competitiveness [Smith, Jullien & Cuntigh, 2005]. As shown by Garcia & Genyes [2005], in some territories, structural funds have been used to develop and strengthen such identity in order to support and promote localized economic activities (tourism, wine industry, food industry). By doing so, they constitute a strong political capital for local politicians lobbying at the European level to capture these grants in order to build their own local legitimacy. New local elites connected to European spheres are emerging. Local identity and politics are at the same time supported and changed by these policies.

Another typology is interesting to present in order to conclude this short presentation of multilevel governance. Gary Marks and Lisbeth Hooghes (2003) elaborated it in order to clarify the structural dimension of this process of political regulation. As a starting point to this typification attempt, they raise up four questions aiming at building a set of ideal-types.

> *1.* "*Should jurisdictions be designed around particular* communities*, or should they be designed around particular* problems*?*
>
> *2. Should jurisdictions bundle* competencies *or should they be functionally* specific*?*
>
> *3. Should jurisdictions be* limited *in numbers, or should they* proliferate*?*
>
> 4. *Should jurisdictions be designed to* last*, or should they be* fluid?" [Marks & Hooghes, 2003, 236]

From these variables emerged two ideal-types: type II and I presented in the following table.

Types of Multi-level Governance	
TYPE I	TYPE II
General-purpose jurisdictions *Nonintersecting* memberships	*Task-specific* jurisdictions *Intersecting* memberships

Jurisdiction at a *limited number of levels* *System wide architecture*	*No limit* to the number of jurisdictional levels *Flexible design*

The first model is close to the federalist system with a stable and strongly institutionalized mode of regulation while the second one is more blurred and theoretical. It relies on goal oriented cooperation, weak institutionalization and overlapping memberships. As noticed by Skelcher, the first type is more familiar at first sight because it resembles to the "*predominant mode within national politics*" [Skelcher, 2005, 94]. It reminds us that MLG is a routinized practice in federalist systems. But the second one appears to be more convenient to seize the local level where contemporary local governance schemes seem to offer a fertile ground for its development. It should be reminded here that these two models are ideal-types. They can be used analytically to describe emerging forms of multilevel regulation and confront it to other theoretical devices such as the capability approach.

2 Multilevel governance and capability analysis: what compatibility? What value-added for vulnerable youth?

Discussing the relationship between multilevel governance and the capability approach raises a series of questions: what are the main implications of a capability approach in terms of policymaking? Is multilevel policymaking favorable to the development of individual capabilities? On what conditions?

2.1 Capability approach and multilevel governance: what's the problem?

Most of the reflections on capability approach (CA) and public action focused on the aims of public policies. As a normative theory, the CA engages primarily the discussion on what should be the objectives of public policies. Focusing on individuals' freedom to choose what they find valuable for themselves invites to think about how individuals' choices and preferences could be the target of public action. Of course, the commodities/capabilities/conversion factors/functioning model proposed by Amartya Sen engages a reflection on the means set up by public policies. But it is more at the level of service delivery than at the more general level of policymaking design and intergovernmental relations. On the contrary, the MLG theory is at first interested in looking at how deliberation, decision and general implementation are structured in contemporary societies.

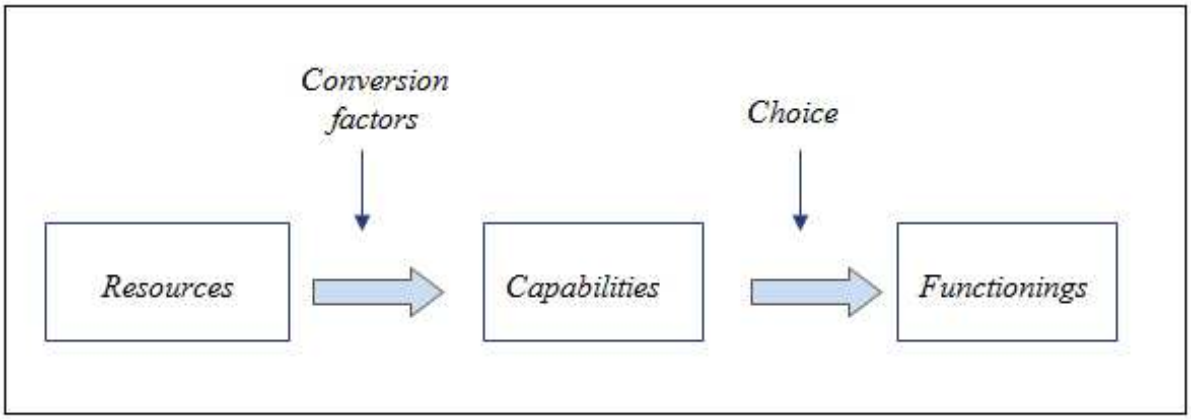
Thinking about how CA and MLG theories can match supposes to discuss in 2 directions:

1. The articulation of policymaking and concrete implementation. Or to put it in other words: how the CA can be introduced in a MLG policymaking process by offering a new set of aims and objectives;

2. The ability of the MLG perspective to take into consideration the CA's interest in the freedom of individual. It also means questioning how the CA can be used as an evaluation tool to assess the reality of MLG on one side and the effects of a multilevel public policy on the individual's capabilities on the other one.

The CA supposes to analyze public policies from a processual point of view. Hence, it is by studying internal qualities of this process that it is possible to assess its ability to improve individual's capabilities. Indeed the CA does not suppose or promote a specific method to decide and implement public policies. The normative dimension of this theoretical framework is not a matter of organization, but rather relies on the goals and aims of public policies. The CA assign to public action a general aim of promoting the development of individual's capabilities based on the freedom for individuals to choose what is valuable for them. The organizational means of such development are not indicate *prima facie.* They are more generally assessed in terms of their appropriateness to fulfill this general aim. Based on these premises and on the fact that MLG is at first a constitutive approach [Lowy, 1972], it could be argued that it is useless to question the compatibility of the MLG with the CA. If the first deals with the organization of contemporary public action and the second does not really care about organization while proposing a possible goal for it, it does not make a lot of sense to question their adequacy. But the question could also be to ask if all modes of policymaking are equal, or if some, like MLG, are more able than others to guarantee a better compatibility to the AC's prescriptions. We will try to assess this proposition by analyzing if the MLG could represent a favorable governance scheme to improve individual's capabilities.

The development of capabilities relies on the relations built between a series of well-known dimensions of the CA illustrated below :



In this model, the role of policymakers and of policy tools is to guarantee both the access to resources (commodities), and also the existence of the proper individual conversion factors to allow youngsters to freely choose what they have reason to value. The question is then: how some policymaking design forms, and in particular here the MLG, are able to:

1) Provide policy tools and organizations allowing to promote this process of individual capabilities development: *policy design*

2) Assign to this first dimension a general aim compatible with the AC shared by all stakeholders: *policy goals*.

Does the MLG provide a good frame to enhance these two dimensions? To answer this question, we then need to analyze both the organization mode and the main principles guiding its fulfillment.

2.2 Policy design: two logics of action

Following Schmitter's [2004] definition of MLG, two logics of actions have to be considered when trying to assess the compatibility of MLG with the CA.

On the one hand, MLG relies on a growing *territorialisation process* leading to a reinforced political capacity of the EU and subnational political authorities [Pasquier & Carter, 2010]. Territorialisation is a transversal logic that tends to be declined in different national spaces in Europe. The different European countries are all concerned with devolution processes to subnational entities being regional, meso (such as the French department or the Italian provincial) or municipal. Over the last decade, a clear shift from central states to a more decentralized implementation of employment and training policies has clearly occurred within the last ten years (and even – with a broader point of view – within the last fifteen years). Most of European countries acknowledge the need for "stronger" local authorities in employment and social cohesion policies. In the same time, a Europeanization process of major public policies such education, training and employment policies for youth at risk in the Workable case is occurring. The reinforced political capacity of local public authorities is followed by a growing influence of the European strategies on national policies. The different components of these strategies (OMC, Lisbon strategy, EES pillars, UE 2020 program, flexicurity principles, lifelong learning programs, ESF, etc.) are representing an influential reference for the national and subnational policies [Berthet & Conter, 2011 ; Radaelli, 2002; Palier & Surel, 2007].

With regards to the question of capabilities, this territorialisation process of policies towards vulnerable youth represents an added value as well as a risk. The added value relies on a proximity-based construction of institutional resources. Related to a growing individualization, decentralization appears as a main governance tool to promote proximity policies. Proximity is seen as a practical and efficient way to develop a tailor-made public intervention. This logic of proximity-based social policies can make way for an increased consideration of youngster's environment. It could lead to taking into account their social and environmental conversion factors. Nevertheless, it is only a potential, a favorable factor that does not guarantee that localized policies towards vulnerable youth will automatically take these conversion factors into account. Indeed, we have several examples of the contrary shown by the workable case studies. The risk is related to the possible imprisonment of deprived youngsters in very localized protection networks that are poorly connected to possibilities of geographical mobility. Geographical mobility, as a factor of social mobility in a globalized world, represents a crucial stake for professional and social integration of youngsters. Limiting their action and projection landscape to a closed territorialized settlement related to the assistance they receive could lower down their capability to build and assume their own choices.

On the other hand, it should be noticed that policymaking arenas tend to be more opened to non-governmental and private organizations. This enlargement leads to a growing

hybridization of the decisional arenas. Promoted by the governance logic, this hybridization results in including actors from the civil society and the economy world into the policymaking process. Actors cooperation and organization's coordination is quite a difficult kind of task to achieve. Bureaucratic inertia, corporatist's resistance, professional culture's barriers, or mutual ignorance, represent some of the well-known obstacles to the promotion of a multi-stakeholders' integration. Despite this general consideration proposed both by the governance theory, and the sociology of organizations, it should be noticed that most of the European countries have promoted more coordination between stakeholders. From a general point of view, policymakers foster stakeholders' cooperation under various patterns. This cooperation includes both public / public coordination and public / private partnership. These broad observations cover several level of intensity in coordination. On the public / public side, these relations can be cooperative or hierarchical, while on the public / private side, they can include governance when this partnership is large and related to the whole chain of policymaking, and externalization when it is limited to implementation.

- *Cooperative partnership* is sought when ministries are asked to join their fields of competencies in a multi-dimensional perspective.

- *Hierarchical coordination* is a traditional mode of partnership's regulation in the public sector.

- *Governance,* as a mean to include private and public actors in a multilevel policymaking scheme, can be illustrated by the German case of the dual system. A strong tradition of intense partnership between the government and social partners leads to a highly technical corporatist coordination in the matter of labour market's governance and reform.

- Finally, the most common pattern of multi-stakeholders' integration seems to be the *externalization* process. Contracting out is by far the most used way to coordinate public/private actors. It aims at reconciling the wish of national governments to keep employment and training policies policy under a close control; and their decreasing financial capacity reinforced by the 2008's crisis. Also fostered by the New Public Management theory, externalization has been introduced as a common way to implement employment's public policy.

In terms of capability approach, hybridization schemes could be an opportunity to enlarge the scope of employment, education and training policies of vulnerable youngsters. Introducing NGOs, employers, professional associations, local civil servants, parents and their representatives in the policymaking and implementing process is certainly a good way to provide youngsters more opportunities to fulfill their self-made choices, or not! In facts it depends on two factors: the kind of coordination institutionalized and the effectiveness of a deliberation process. Concerning the first factor, the cooperative partnership between public administrations from different policy fields can facilitate the development on an integrated approach for the vulnerable youth. Governance is also another potentially interesting scheme while hierarchical coordination and externalization seem to be less efficient in opening the policymaking process to individual's capabilities improvement. Concerning the second point, it leads to the question of the role left by policymakers to other actors. An opened and truly deliberative process where individual and collective preferences can be expressed and taken into account can represent a real opportunity to expand youngsters'

capabilities. On the opposite, a formal deliberative process locked by policymakers and street level bureaucrats can be a fertile ground for the development of contradictory injunctions and adaptive preferences.

In other words, the organizational processes promoted by MLG are not necessarily capability friendly. It is highly dependent on the goals and underlying principles guiding them.

2.3 Policy goals: the subsidiarity principle

Questionning the policy goals supposes to confront the guiding principles of the policymaking process. In the name of these principles the exercise of the power is legitimized and institutionalized[1] to the various stakeholders. One of the main aspects related to MLG is to recognize the multiplicity and interdependency of levels of governance. This specificity supposes also to organize these relations between these levels. The hierarchical regulation is a possible model and has been used for a long period of time to regulate the relations between levels of government. It is explicitly rejected by the idea of governance, which relates more on coordination and partnership rather than hierarchical authority. Another guiding rule has to be adopted to frame these multilevel relations. Supported by the EU and already experienced in most of federal countries, the idea of subsidiarity has been recognized as the main principle to organize these connections between territorialized sources of power.

Subsidiarity is an ancient guiding principle relying on the idea according to which the level of governance closest to the citizens should exercise the power over their problems. It then also provides a way to put in orders levels of regulation. The rule suggested/promoted by the subsidiarity principle consists in giving the priority to small regulation organizations and only allow superior authorities to intervene in case of failure or incapacity of the smaller ones to take in charge problems they cannot assume. This rule has been adopted as the principle guiding relations between the EU and national and subnational entities. It is defined as such by the Union Treaty (art. 5): « *Under the principle of subsidiarity, in areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Union shall act only if and insofar as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States, either at central level or at regional and local level, but can rather, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved at Union level* ».

The subsidiarity principle is a key notion to MLG as a way to rule relations between levels of government. In fact, it is interesting to observe that it rules precisely the field of MLG insofar as it applies firstly to matters that are not assigned to the jurisdiction of a specific level of government.

As a ruling principle, subsidiarity supposes that political matters that are not exclusively regulated by a specific territorial level should be regulated in an upward order through which political authorities intervene from the lowest to the highest level. The higher levels should only act when the lowest one cannot assume the duty and in a coordinated way. In so doing, it supports the territorialisation of policies.

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[1] We refer to the notion of institution in the sociological sense i.e. as a set of rules recognized as legitimate by the actors and that allows them to anticipate the roles and behaviour of others.

But it also strongly supports a growing individualization of public policies. Indeed the dynamic of empowering the smallest level of intervention puts the individual at the starting point of public policies. This is particularly true for social policies. As an inheritage of the aristotelician, christian and ordoliberal tradition, the subsidiarity principle supports a growing individualization, whether it is based on accountability or empowerment.

It is with regards to this individualization dimension that the subsidiarity principle can be connected to the CA. This principle relies on 3 conditions: « *The confidence in the capacity of social actors to support the general interest; the intuition that the authority is not by nature owning the absolute skill to qualify and realize the general interest; the will of actors to be autonomous and capable of initiative which supposes that they have not been broken at first by totalitarism or made childish by a paternal State* » [Millon-Delsol, 1993, 37-38, our translation].

Starting from the emphasis put on the individual's freedom and capability to act as a social actor, one of the main issue where MLG's subsidiarity principle and the CA can have a fruitful discussion is about the mechanism of tasks redistribution. "*Because free action contributes to existential dignity, and because proximity action is estimated to be more efficient, the competency will be at first devolved to the individual or the closest social group, to raise by degrees to the further in case of insufficiency. For a limited number of cases, the competency will be devolved to the superior level (…) if the exercise of the competence by the inferior level should be harmful for the general interest*" [Millon-Delsol, 1993, p. 69, our translation]. Individual's capability comes first and can only be compensated if it is estimated insufficient to fulfill its role. This process is then applied upward to all levels of government. Looking at it from the upper level, it means also a right or a duty to interfere if necessary to help and support, or if not possible to act in the place of the inferior level. Of course, one of the questions raised by this logic of action is who decides the appropriate level and assess its insufficiency. But more important is to distinguish between two sides of the interference process: a *negative dimension,* which is to prevent political authorities to act in the place of social groups or individuals if it is not necessary, and a *positive dimension* claiming that each level must help and support the inferior one, and as a last resort to compensate for failing actors. This positive/negative dimension of the subsidiarity principle shows many similarities with Isaiah Berlin's positive and negative freedom that is one of the main subsumption of Amartya Sen's capability model. In both cases, individual's freedom should be prevailing on or protected by organizational rules. Collective responsibility is protective and incentive. Individual responsibility is promoted inside a set of real opportunities offered by societal commodities, and can only be compensated when the individual's failure is clearly assessed.

3 Conclusion

At the philosophical level, common starting points of both the CA and the subsidiarity principle are the recognition of the importance of the individual's empowerment and the identification of the social responsibility to promote the individual's capability to be an expert of himself first.

. But this cognitive dimension of multilevel governance is generally ignored to the benefit of its sole organizational dimension.

At the operational level, the subsidiarity principle - as a core component of multilevel governance - is generally understood only as a mechanism of devolution at the exclusion of its positive dimension to promote the individual's role. In fact, the notion of subsidiarity is most often understood at worse as preserving the national governments from UE's intrusions in their field of competency, and at best as a way to give more power to subnational authorities. As such, its compatibility with the CA is only limited to the promotion of territorialisation and hybridization. As argued earlier, these two dimensions clearly present some interesting opportunities to promote some capability friendly policies, but they most certainly are not sufficient to argue that MLG and CA are strongly interconnected. It is only at the cognitive level that interesting bridges can be launched between these two theoretical frameworks. Regarding its theoretical proximity with the founding principle of MLG – the subsidiarity principle –; it could be argued, to conclude this chapter, that the capability approach can represent a good opportunity to question the meaning of a predominantly managerial conception of multilevel governance.

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4. Critical aspects of the transformation of work and welfare from a Capability perspective

Roland Atzmüller

Abstract:

The chapter shows the relevance of the capability approach for critical analysis of welfare states (and vice versa) because, by starting off with the indvidual's options to live the life one has reason to appreciate the former helps to understand why the contested character of social policies raises normative questions concerning the creation and implementation of measures and strategies that can support the freedom of the indvidual. The author argues that in particular the transition to a knowledge-based economy and the rise of activation policies have put the adaption of the abilities and competences of individuals at the centre of political conflicts and debates. The CA provides an evaluative tool not only to understand this but also to propose adequate policies and intervention. By analysing the social investment approach to welfare which highlights the productive aspects of social policies and aims to prepare individuals to economic changes through mainly investment in human capital formation, in the light of the CA, a critical analysis of the ambiguities and contradictions of this concept is proposed.

Introduction

Traditionally, critical analyses of welfare states, which aimed to identify their nationally and historically variegated functions that arise as specific, albeit temporary, limited and conflict prone solutions to the problems of capitalist market societies (Offe 1993b; Lessenich 2012; Gough 1979), raised severe reservations against normative accounts on the content of social policies. As Claus Offe and Gero Lenhardt have put it in a widely published paper on social policy:

"Thereby, normative research projects are open to the objection, first, that they are incapable of sustaining the validity and necessity of their normative presuppositions, and, second, that they habitually overestimate their capacity to induce at least some unease among those political actors to whom proof of the discrepancies between 'ought' and 'is' is presented (…)."(Offe 1993b: 90f)

Thus, they assume that little is achieved "in such attempts at normative definition" (Offe 1993b: 90), because many accounts on the question which social policies SHOULD be implemented to tackle certain social problems and reach certain social goals, rather highlight the normative criteria of those people who are in the social position to judge them, than to

identify the political relevance of such considerations (Offe 1993, 90). However, by assuming that it is possible to separate critical analysis of social policies from normative reasoning such considerations dismiss a crucial dimension of the scientific and political debates and conflicts about the welfare state in capitalist societies too hastily.

This is astounding as in the same article Offe and Lenhardt (1993) forcefully remind us on the gap between certain social policy regulations (codified in laws, organised in certain social policy apparatuses etc.) and their implementation. Thus, the latter creates a space of contradictions and social struggles which highlight the political rather than merely administrative character of the concrete processes of the implementation of social policies. Thus, when moving from a highly abstract attempt to identify the main functions of social policy, to a more dynamic analysis of changes and innovations within welfare, they reopen the field for normative questions again.

Furthermore, from an epistemological point of view, it is problematic to separate critical analyses of social policies and welfare state developments, which claim to be able to judge the conflicts and struggles surrounding welfare in particular as well as its dynamic in general without reflecting the explicit and implicit normative basis of such reasoning (Sayer 1999).

To show the relevance of the CA for critical analysis of the welfare states (and vice versa) I will first debate possibilities to combine the CA with critical analysis of social policies. Second, I will argue why recent social developments concerning work and welfare - in particular the transition to a knowledge-based economy and the rise of activation policies – put capability formation at the centre of debates about adequate education and social policy strategies. Based on this I will – as a third step – critically discuss a widely debated concept to reorganise the welfare state – the so called social investment paradigm because. This concepts tries to combine the need to adapt the abilities and competences of individuals with a renewed legitimation for welfare policies. By confronting this concept with the CA I will finally try to deepen the critical analysis of the ambiguities and contradictions of the social investment perspective.

1. The capability approach and critical analysis of social policies

The WORKABLE project tried to overcome this problem as it aimed to ground critical analyses of welfare state developments and the functions of social policy in a firm normative concept as provided by the now widely debated Capability Approach by Amartya Sen (2009; 2007) and Martha Nußbaum (2009) (for an introduction see *Christian Christrup Kjeldsen & Jean-Michel Bonvin* in this book).

According to Robert Salais,

“the upheaval introduced by the capability approach relates to the choice of the yardstick against which collective action (policies, legislation, procedures) should be devised, implemented and assessed. For Sen, the only ethically legitimate reference point for collective action is the person, and specifically his situation as regards the amount of real freedom he possesses to choose and conduct the life he wishes to lead.” (Translation taken from: (Lambert et al. 2012))

(Le grand basculement qu'introduit l'approche par les capacities est relatif au choix de la référence par rapport à laquelle l'action publique (les politiques, la législation, les procédures) doit être conçue, mise en oeuvre et évaluée. Pour Sen, la seule reference éthiquement légitime de l'action publique est la personne, précisément son état quant à l'étendue des libertés réelles dont elle dispose pour choisir et conduire la vie qu'elle entend mener.) (Salais 2005: 10)

At first sight this conceptual starting point seems to be a methodologically individualist attempt to avoid the dilemma highlighted by Offe and Lenhardt (1993) who refer to the problem that normative reasoning often says more about the position of the scientist than about social processes. Analysed more closely however, it becomes clear that Salais' consideration aims to overcome the false opposition and separation of individual utilities and preferences (or practices to use a more social scientific notion) on the one hand and macro-social processes and political interventions of different institutions to bring about certain social outcomes on the other by pointing towards their constitutive interdependence.

Furthermore, it shifts the perspective away from a narrow concept of social policy outcomes – which would rather correspond to functionings in the terminology of the CA (Sen 2009; 2007; Bonvin 2009a) – to the problem of the real freedom of individuals to live the life s/he has reason to value. Thus, this approach tries to give substance to the problem that the ability of someone to make free choices about his or her live is fundamentally tied to the social circumstances/conditions in which they take place. Nevertheless, this focus on the individual as only ethically legitimate reference point demands a shift in the understanding of public policies.

"In Amartya Sen's perspective, public action should not focus on functionings but on capabilities, which puts the concern for individual freedom of choice at the very centre of social intervention. As a result, the main objective of public action in the field of welfare should not be to put people back to work at all costs (i.e. a functioning), but to enhance their real freedom of choice with regard to the labour market." (Bonvin/Dif-Pradalier 2010: 95)

Thus, the material content of social policies has to move away from a focus of narrowly defined functionings - as conceptualised by the CA – to a wider concept of what people are actually able to do and achieve. This demands a shift in the hegemonic "Informational Basis of Judgement", as has been argued by WORKABLE forcefully (Bonvin/Dif-Pradalier 2010). Thus, for example the focus of work first is closely tied to the narrow focus on the employment rate, which has come to dominate social and employment policies on the European level, leading to a neglect of issues concerning the quality of jobs, the work-life-balance etc (Vero et al. 2012; Lambert et al. 2011; Vero 2012). Thus, a shift towards a capability perspective would demand not only a wider perspective on social policy outcomes but also the acceptance of the diversity of modern societies – i.e. people living different choices concerning their lives.

Thus, while (at least implicitly) accepting that a fundamental task of social policies in a capitalist society will be "the lasting transformation of non-wage-labourers into wage labourers" (Offe 1993), the centrality, which the debate about the CA ascribes to the opportunities people have to choose the life they have reason to value (and not just to obey the "silent compulsion of economic relations" (Marx)), clearly shows that the adaptation of social policies to the demands of the knowledge-based economy of finance-dominated

capitalism (Altvater 2010) poses a vast range of normative problems and conflicts. Of those, the WORKABLE project aimed to analyse and discuss a highly significant field, as it focused on the resources and institutional support young people need to develop and expand their capabilities "to function as fully participating citizens in emerging European knowledge societies" (Workable Proposal, 3).

It is obvious that this goal can still fall into the dilemma highlighted by Offe and Lenhardt (1993) easily as it rests on at least three highly disputed notions. Thus, it remains open which kind of activities are and will be covered by the notion "to function", what it would mean "to fully participate" and what constiutes a "citizen". Well aware of these problems, WORKABLE started by trying to specify the areas in which public intervention is crucial to secure the outlined capabilities of (young) people thereby trying to specify the issues at stake. These areas refer to those commodities and resources as well as conversion factors which make sure that people are (a) **being able to work**, (b) **being able to be educated**, and (c) **being able to participate in political and social life** (Workable Proposal, 5). This trias of capabilities are among the politically most contested because they concern a range of normative challenges which emerge from the on-going social conflicts about the adaptation and reconfiguration of welfare systems and the re-regulation of work and employment (see below).

2. The transition to a knowledge-based economy and the rise of activation policies

Thus, critical analyses of current and future perspectives of the welfare state and social policies would be badly advised to simply refute the objections against a normative reasoning as brought forward from a perspective of critical approaches to welfare (Lessenich 2012; Peck 2001; Atzmüller 2011b). Rather, it is necessary to ground critical analyses into normative concepts, such as the CA, to enlarge their evaluative and analytical strength through the latter's focus on the individual. Furthermore, it is also necessary to ask why the on-going changes of capitalist societies and the dynamics of social policies linked to them necessarily raise these problems and questions. This means, the issues and questions raised by normative accounts about welfare, freedom, the quality of life etc, have to be understood as attempts to solve problems which emerge from the contradictions and conflicts of changing societies, i.e. by individual and collective practices to influence, adapt and cope. This will help to identify the political spaces available for possible interventions to adapt social policies to new challenges.

Furthermore, this also means that it is necessary to make normative reasoning and debates about the material content of social policies and welfare an object of research. Thus, the topics, scope and ambitions of normative approach have to be analysed from the perspective of critical social sciences. Hence the question would be why for example the ability of being able to work or to be educated poses a crucial problem for society. This will help us to understand the conflicts and contradictions which emerge around changes in work and employment as well as welfare systems and social policies.

Hence, it would be inadequate to assume that it is scientists and philosophers who "invent"/create social problems on the one hand while at the same time "inventing" normative tools to evaluate and solve them from scratch. Rather it is necessary to ask which contradictions and conflicts of changing capitalist societies as well as creative practices of individuals and organised groups who are confronted with them, raise these issues. This means, it has to be asked why recent changes of capitalist societies and welfare systems as well as the social practices and struggles surrounding them raised the question about the ability of people to work and to be educated as well as to participate in society which lie at the heart of current conflicts about future social policies.

From this perspective at least two areas of social changes have to be highlighted.

a. With the emergence of so-called knowledge based economies (Jessop 2003) the dominant forms of labour utilisation have undergone massive changes which led to a loss of low qualified, simple jobs, the decline of manufacturing and the massive growth of service sector employment. Enterprises are confronted with rapid economic change and restructuring as global competition intensifies and new centres of economic growth emerge (Jessop 2002). This forces them to remain innovative and to keep reorganising quickly in order to succeed in increasingly globalised markets. These processes are understood to bring about an at least partial abandonment of the taylorist organisation of labour and production processes based on the deskilling of work, which was interpreted as an at least partial reversal of the division of labour and a rehabilitation of skilled work (Moldaschl/Voß 2002; Wolf 2004). Thus, tendencies such as the introduction of teamwork, the assignation of managerial tasks to the shopfloor, experiments with job enrichment and skills enlargement as well as the introduction of new managerial tools such as quality management, etc. are understood as attempts to overcome the alienating organisation of work under Taylorism (Gorz 2000). Furthermore the contingency and openness of concrete production processes that undermine full-scale scientific planning seemingly require more 'subjectifying' work performance and the mobilisation of the employees' 'tacit skills' (Böhle 2002). Thus, the narrow focus on functional and technical skills is increasingly complemented by an explicit reliance on subjective competences such as communication, cooperation, problem-solving, creativity and subjectivity (Kleemann et al. 2002; Moldaschl 2002). It is obvious that these dynamics should massively impact on work and employment conditions, forcing employees to adapt quickly to new production processes, to cope with changes and to support innovation processes at the shopfloor level. This means the shift towards a knowledge-based economy demands a (permanent) adaptation of the competences and skills of employees through learning to secure their employability, which explains the significance the concept of human capital for economic prosperity has gained (Atzmüller 2011a).

b. The necessary adaptation of the workforce to the changing demands of the knowledge based economy has also determined recent conflicts about the future shape of the welfare state. High levels of persistent unemployment, the deregulation of labour markets, growing flexibility of employment relations and the emergence of precarious employment circumscribe the main traits of the unfolding re-regulation of employment and the recommodification of work (Castel/Dörre 2009; Scherschel et

al. 2012). These dynamics are closely linked to the restructuring of welfare systems and social protection. Not just since the current crises are these based on welfare cuts, increasingly tightened eligibility criteria and attempts to privatise social security in the name of individual responsibility.

In particular the emergence of so called workfarist strategies of welfare reform, which are understood to increase control over the unemployed (King 1995), have gained in prominence over the last twenty years (Peck 2001) as more and more countries but also supranational institutions (European Employment Strategy) began to promote the activation of welfare systems. The workfarist reordering of social polices is based on strategies of tying social benefits to the willingness of the unemployed to participate in coaching and (re-)training measures, to participate in make-work-programmes and to take up any job available be it precarious or not (Peck 2001). These strategies are articulated with the almost pervasive importance which has been ascribed to education and investment in human capital in the current debates about the productivist restructuring of welfare systems and the conditions of economic growth. They are seen as the most important endogenous growth factors the state can still influence in an increasingly globalised economy. This is why in particular trade unions but also centre-left and social democrat parties promote an expansion of education and investment in human capital to secure the welfare state.

Against the background of the outlined changes being able to work and being able to be educated as well as being able to participate in society form crucial social challenges from the perspecitives of the individuals' abilities to live the life they have reason to value. Thus, the WORKABLE project started off with the acknowledgement that the adaptation and improvement of the abilities and competences of (potential) employees (and society in general) has become one of the most important fields of public intervention, human resource strategies of companies and individual activities to secure the availability of a highly skilled workforce to meet the challenges of the emerging knowledge-based economy.

In this context also human capital theory has gained considerable importance because it promises to provide a rationale for the activities of different actors through the reconciliation of individual aspirations with social and economic imperatives. This approach (see the chapter by Enrica Martinetti in this book) claims a close connection between (more or less) rational investment in and the cost-efficient allocation of resources to education and training processes, economic growth and individual and social well-being.

From the perspective of the CA, human capital theory provides too narrow an understanding of education processes and outcomes. Thus, it aims to re-establish the idea that people's competences and skills cannot be solely analysed through the lens of their role for economic production and for success or failure on the labour market (Robeyns 2006). Even more so, the issues raised invite the interpretation that the contents and goals of educational processes must be wider than a narrow focus on economically productive skills and competences (Nußbaum 2006; 2002). Thus, for WORKABLE the narrow concept of human capital is not sufficient to renew the normative basis of social policies in the welfare state during the crisis of the finance-led accumulation regime.

Only through the articulation of the analyses of the outlined dynamics with normative concepts as provided by the CA, which has the individual and his/her abilities to lead the live

s/he has reason to value as a starting point (see above) will it be possible to grasp the ambiguities of the outlined dynamics and the hegemonic policy strategies to tackle them in an adequate way. This is necessary because the importance strategies of human capital formation have gained in recent years are themselves based on a range of implicit normative assumptions why investment in education and human capital formation is good – at least better than what was before (i.e. Taylorism, unemployment and "passive" social policies) (for a critique see: Wolf 2002).

Critical accounts of the dynamics of capitalist market economies and their effects on have struggled hard to develop an adequate critique of the reorientation of public policies towards education and training which, in my opinion, results from highly problematic continuities of overcome critical epistemologies in the field of the critical analysis of work and welfare – its Informational Basis of Judgement (IBJJ) as one could say. In drawing a clear line of demarcation to Taylorism the assumption that (any form) of education, VET, re- and up-skilling will improve the position of (possible) employees in the knowledgebase economy and of society as a whole seems compelling. Notwithstanding the continuing significance of tayloristic strategies of labour organisation in some sectors and countries (Clement/Lacher 2006) and the fact that adequate educational provision is still (or again) a scarce good (Lauder et al. 2008) in many countries the implicit assumption about the preferability of strategies of human capital formation create severe problems not only for an adequate understanding of the dynamics of labour and production processes in the knowledge-based economy but also for the political conflicts which surround these developments and the policies which have to be created.

Viewing demand for new and higher skills, team-work, learning and personal skills as a way to overcome alienating forms of work tends to interpret changes at the shop-floor level through a certain judgemental lens based on the renunciation of the traditional (taylorist) forms of work. This interpretation tends to see any form of training as good. At the same time it tends to overlook the possible narrowing and one-sided strengthening of certain competences and skills (the ability to compete, profit orientation, etc.) linked to the strategy of employability and the social problems and contradictions which might follow from this.

Similarly, the increasing significance which is ascribed to education and (re-)training by many actors such as trade unions as the most important strategy to secure social integration through employment seems to assume that any form of improved knowledge will support social cohesion and integration of the unemployed without asking whether the competences provided are sufficient for this. Furthermore, one could even ask, whether there is an implicit curriculum in these measures, such as that e.g. the most important thing is about someone being willing to subject to educational measures provided through labour market and education policies because through this they will also learn those abilities and competences which support his/her integration into society.[1]

[1] This reference to an implicit curriculum of all kind of educational measures is important here because one could well interpret the focus on (technical) skills and competences as a kind of "universal equivalent" in a society based on exchange. From this point of view education and training would not presuppose a certain social order which would rather be the object of a separated area of politics. However, as all skills and competences in a society based on an ever growing division of labour are always "social" (Offe), in the sense that technics and technologies are always socially constructed, this would be an inadequate assumption.

3. Towards new perspectives for welfare? The social investment state

The outlined emphasis on activation, human capital formation and the improvement of employment opportunities through all kinds of supply side measures has been condensed to a rather new concept to secure the welfare state and renew its significance for economic prosperity and social well-being called social investment perspective/approach[2] in the last years (Morel et al. 2012b; Hemerijck 2010). This approach aims at nothing less than to renew and rejustify the welfare state by focusing on its so called productive aspects (Hemerijck/Vandenbroucke 2012).

This means two things. First proponents of the social investment state approach highlight the productive role of the welfare state for economic growth and competitiveness. Second, it also means that all welfare state activities have to be evaluated according to the question whether they are efficient and effective in supporting economic growth and prosperity. The assumption is that only when the economy is reconciled with the social the economy can prosper.

„The key idea, in terms of policy, was to ‚prepare' individuals, families and societies to adapt to various transformations, such as changing career patterns and working conditions, the development of new social risks, population ageing and climate change, instead of simply 'repairing' damage after passive social policies prove inadequate." (Hemerijck 2011: 13)

However, as this quote shows it is the social which has to be reconciled with the economy the latter increasingly defining the means and ends of the activities which are proposed. Even though some proponents refer to the CA by Amartya Sen as a point of reference as well (Perkins et al. 2004; Morel et al. 2012a) –its significance however remains unclear in most accounts – it should be obvious that such an account is at odds with this approach in many respects. An understanding of social policies which accepts the choices of individuals to lead the live they have reason to value (i.e. the social) only insofar as this does not contradict to (alleged) economic imperatives cuts off the potential scope of the CA for enhancing the real freedom of the members of society.

Furthermore, notwithstanding the claims of proponents of social investment approach to present a new legitimation of social policies it has to be clear that western welfare states

[2] It is quite a remarkable tendency by proponents of the social investment approach to present it as a new development. However, there is a longstanding debate not least within critical approaches about the economic and social functions of social policies for the capitalist mode of production from Gunnar Myrdal, Karl Polanyi (1978), James O'Connor (1974), Gosta Esping Andersen (1990) etc. Not later than in the middle of the 1970s Claus Offe defined "active" social policies as measures to multiply the exchange options between labour and capital (i.e. to maximise employment opportunities) (Offe 1975). This analysis was always part of attempts to understand the ambiguities and contradictions of the welfare state in the capitalist economy. For critical analysis welfare was never something which was totally at the expense of the capitalist economy. There was however, following Polanyi, a stronger emphasis on the necessarily autonomous logics of other social spheres. This meant that social policies would not necessarily aim at subordinating social needs such as education, family life, health etc to the demands of the capitalist economy.

have always provided a range of social investment activities such as (most prominently) education. Some commentators (Allmendinger/Leibfried 2003; Allmendinger/Nikolai 2010) have even pointed out that welfare states could be differentiated whether they relied more strongly on education as a means to provide opportunities for all as was the predominant strategy in anglo-saxon welfare models. Or whether they rather relied on redistribution and publicly provided full employment and an employment based welfare state such as in continental Europe and Scandinavia (Atzmüller 2012). Thus, different welfare models can be defined according to their variegated configurations between different social policies such as redistribution, education, full employment and employment based welfare. This means that the existing educational regimes and their articulation with the welfare state can be seen as important national variations of the social investment activities.

These social investment strategies in education and initial VET (CEDEFOP 2008; 2011; Estevez-Abe et al. 2001; Iversen/Stephens 2008; Crouch et al. 1999) as provided by (mainly) western welfare states can roughly be divided as follows. The first refers to the type of knowledge and competences, which are provided in the education system. The second refers to the actors which decide about educational investments and their mutual influence and independence. They include individuals, social partners, companies and of course different levels and branches of the state. The third refers to the institutions (public or private, for-profit and not-for profit etc) which provide education (for a detailed account about the following see: Atzmüller 2012).

1. Countries which rely on education which is mainly obtained through the academic pathway (chiefly) focusing on state-run educational institutions (schools and universities), focus on the production of so-called general skills. These are independent of professional and occupational segmentation as well as firm-specific demands. They are provided according to the educational ability of young persons and there can also be a high share of private education (the US would be such an example) (Verdier 2007). Thus, the state-administered regulation of educational processes is very important for the production of this type of skills (e.g. France, Italy). However, in countries which predominantly invest in general skills problems emerge for young people who are less inclined to this educational strategy. Furthermore, if there is not enough investment in the transition from school to work (Iversen/Stephens 2008), this educational regime is likely to be complemented by a market-based system of VET (e.g. Great Britain). This means for those people who are less successful in the academic route of education there are not adequate opportunities of initial VET (CEDEFOP 2008; Iversen/Stephens 2008; Crouch et al. 1999; Blossfeld 2006) that will enable them to integrate into employment. As they do not have many incentives for VET because this is more or less left to the market, this can lead to a polarised skills structure, the danger of social exclusion and the emergence of secondary labour markets based on flexible and unstable employment (Marsden 1999) for the low skilled who, at best, acquire firm-specific skills. This may lead to a so-called low skills-equilibrium based on under-investment in skill-formation and market failure (Crouch et al. 1999). It is only in countries with a long tradition of internal labour markets (e.g. Japan) that the concentration on firm-specific skills does not necessarily create a low-skills economy for those who fail in the general education system. Here, it is the companies which carry the burden of investment in VET. However, to prevent staff poaching, employees must be offered high levels of

employment protection and a stable career perspective by companies. From the perspective of the welfare of societies as whole this strategy is not very capability friendly as these educational regimes often go hand in hand with flexibilised employment systems as well as residual/liberal and fragmented welfare systems. Thus, young people face low wages, insecure employment contracts and unstable phases of transition into employment (Ryan 2001; Erzsébet et al. 2008; Hofäcker/Blossfeld 2011; Kurz et al. 2008).

2. Where educational investments in VET are geared towards a system of alternance or "dual system (i.e. a combination of training through work experience with education in a public institution, e.g. Germany, Austria, Switzerland) labour markets are organised according to occupational structures. Due to its symbolic significance this educational regime tends to invest massively into a structured transition from education to employment. Curricula as well as forms of certification are linked to corporatist forms of social partnership and the ability of unions, employer organisations and the state to commit their members to investment in VET, to low wages for apprentices and to the inter-company recognition of qualifications (Crouch et al. 1999). With its strong emphasis on the concept of "occupation"/"profession" (*Beruf*), this system is said to combine participation in employment with social identity and integration. This type of educational regime has traditionally been associated with conservative welfare regimes based on the preservation of social status reproduced through the "dual system" (Lauder et al. 2008) Nonetheless, this regime is increasingly subject to problems regarding the quality of training and the availability of apprenticeships for school leavers who do not continue in the academic path. From the perspective of the CA this educational regime is still very effective in integrating young people who succeed in completing an apprenticeship, into society as their transition into the labour market and thereby life-course is stabilised through the employment-centred conservative welfare regime associated with corporatist employment relations (Bosch 2009). Nevertheless this investment strategy creates severe problems in relation to the provision of equal opportunities for everyone, because it relies on an early selection of pupils. This forecloses more academic paths of education for a large number of young people at a very early stage (notwithstanding recent improvements to switch educational paths at a later stage). This reproduces social inequalities according to gender, migrant and family background. Furthermore, in recent years a growing number of youngsters have been unable to find company-based apprenticeship places (e.g. in Germany) due to social inequalities concerning family origins, social status, migrant background as well as failure at school (early school leavers) (Krekel and Ulrich 2009).

3. A third educational system is based on a (universalist) public system of education. It not only tries to provide general as well as vocational skills according to the abilities of pupils but also to guarantee the permeability of different educational routes. Thus, in comparison to the other systems these investment regime in skill formation lead to rather low social inequalities and compressed skills structures. This is said to be highly productive from the perspective of the economy as well as it allows these countries to adapt to new technologies quickly and to embark on a high value-added economic strategy (Lauder et al. 2008). Furthermore, the transition from education to employment is usually organised through an expanding system of active labour-

market policies to help young people adapt to changing labour-market requirements by means of retraining and up-skilling (Crouch et al. 1999; Iversen and Stephens 2008). Thus, from a capability perspective the risk of permanent social exclusion seems reduced for young people even in times of ever more flexible labour markets and increasingly precarious jobs. In this way, this type of educational regime roughly corresponds to the so-called universal welfare regime in place in the Scandinavian countries (Crouch et al. 1999) with its focus on high levels of social security, an expanded public sector providing a considerable number of jobs for e.g. women and solidaristic wage policies to fight inequalities among different groups of employees. Nevertheless, it is obvious that not all groups of young people benefit from this institutional setting in the same way. Thus, there is a significant share of young people who are failed by the universalist education system. Furthermore, the transition from the (public) education system into the labour market does not seem to be adequately institutionalised for all groups of young people, leading to relatively high levels of unemployment within this age group (Ryan 2001; Erzsébet et al. 2008; Kurz et al. 2008).

Apart from the fact that in most European countries similar groups of young people (such as migrants, school leavers with low educational attainment, early school leavers, women etc) face growing problem to integrate into the standard path of education and labour market transition the WORKABLE project revealed the emergence of similar strategies to adapt education, VET and the transition to employment which nevertheless work themselves out in nationally variegated forms in different countries (Atzmüller 2012). Thus, young people's growing problems to follow the standard routes from the educational system into stable employment have spawned intense search strategies to create and implement adequate institutions and measures to tackle this problem. They do not only serve to reorganise and – direct educational investments but also to rescale political decision making between national, regional and local institutions, and (sometimes also) to integrate new actors and to implement and create new institutions for the provision of measures. The professed goal of these developments is to bring educational investments, and in particular those that aim to tackle processes of social exclusion, closer to local communities and to the needs of the local economy, thereby trying to improve the matching process between young people looking for employment and companies searching for new employees.

Linked to this, is the attempt by most of the analysed measures and strategies to implement programmes which are tailor-made to the problems of the specific group of young people. However, as these problems are defined as failure of young people in the standard path of education and the transition to the labour market, it is companies, educational and labour market institutions, youth experts etc who define these problems and what constitutes a socially desirable way out and subsequent life style. Thus, the problems of young people are defined as deficiencies and needs, ranging from insufficient educational abilities, the lack of an adequate work ethic and adequate secondary virtues (discipline, responsibility, punctuality etc), to non-conformist life-styles, family background, migrant status etc. Less focus is put on the abilities and aspirations young people might have. This is neglected as many policies want young people to become more "realistic" and attuned with labour market demands, the former being of relevance only if they support individual employability. Furthermore, there are no adequate attempts in many countries to accompany youth related measures with employment policies which try to create sufficient

employment opportunities and to improve employment conditions through attempts to fight precarisation and instability. Rather, the aim is to spread the risk of unemployment but also precarious and flexible employment among a higher share of the workforce so as to overcome the segmentation of the labour market in this way.

Another remarkable development revealed by WORKABLE is that there is a search for strategies to bring the educational system, the labour market and the economy closer together. In this context, the symbolic role of the German dual system, which bases VET on a combination of on-the-job training and theoretically oriented education in public (vocational) schools, is worth mentioning (Bosch 2009). Even if an implementation of a German-system of alternation for educational investments all over Europe is unlikely, the idea of bringing schooling and working closer together has gained a strong foothold in European countries. This is especially true for the group of youth who lose out in the academic-oriented paths of the different educational regimes. From the perspective of the CA, the downside of these developments is of course a shift in educational concepts and goals towards employability and human capital.

4. Ambiguities and contradictions of the social investment approach – a tentative critique

The outlined analysis of different educational regimes and their articulation with welfare state regimes revealed a range of problems in relation to the ability of these systems to secure social integration, reduce inequalities and stabilise life paths of individuals (understood from the perspective of the CA as being able to lead the life one has reason the value). This problems and crisis tendencies are closely related to the changes and dynamics associated with the shift towards a knowledge-based economy (Jessop 2003) and its effect on changing forms of work and employment as well as the activation of welfare regimes and the transition to workfare (Lessenich 2009).

Against this, the main aim of the evolving social investment perspective is first to reconceptualise the (welfare) state and public institutions through the identification of new core areas for social policies AND the proposal of a range of policies. Second through this the social investment perspective wants to rejustify the (welfare) state and public institutions as legitimate actors which are not only able to reconcile the social and the economy but can also serve as productive factors to secure economic growth and competitiveness.

“Consequently, the social investment approach rest on policies that both invest in human capital development (early childhood education and care, education and lifelong training) and that help to make efficient use of human capital (through policies supporting women’s and lone parents’ employment, trough active labour market policies, but also through specific forms of labour market regulation and social protection institutions that promote flexible security) while fostering greater social inclusion (notably by facilitating access to the labour market for groups that have traditionally been excluded). Crucial to this new approach is the idea that social policies should be seen as productive factor, essential to economic development and to employment growth.” (Morel et al. 2012a: 2)

Thus, from a social investment perspective the debate is less about the question whether neoliberal attempts to trench back the welfare state have been successful in scaling back its decommodifying tendencies. Rather, it puts a strong emphasis on the emerging qualitative changes the institutional setting of welfare states was subject to as well as on the reconfiguration and implementation of (new) measures and programmes (Hemerijck 2011). The concept of the social investment state makes clear that the restructuring of the welfare state and the reorganisation of social policies cannot be separated from the wider changes in the economy (knowledge-based economy, post-taylorist forms of work), labour market (structural unemployment, precarious employment etc) and every day life (gender relations, migration) (Esping-Andersen/Miles 2009).

„In terms of concrete policy advice, linchpin policies of the social investment edifice included a child centered investment strategy, human capital formation, employment activation, labor market flexibility (…).“(Hemerijck 2011: 14)[3]

The concept of the social investment state claims to be an attempt to regulate the outlined social and economic changes and to organise them in socially sustainable way to secure social cohesion and prevent (long-term, permanent) social exclusion. However, the aim of the social investment state would not only be to protect individuals against a range of risks of the capitalist market but rather to make them active agents of innovation and change which contribute to economic growth and prosperity. Thus, the willingness as well as ability to adapt quickly and to learn permanently becomes a very important competence of individuals. This, however, leads to new demands concerning their subjective characteristics as well as the “choices” they make concerning their private lives etc (Voß 2010), which raise a range of questions for a critical perspective on these developments.

If following Claus Offe social policies emerge as conflict driven attempts to develop and implement a range institutional capacities to tackle those social outcomes of the capitalist market economy which are at best useless at worst dysfunctional then the outlined developments concerning the focus on the abilities and competences of individuals and their adaptation to a changing economic environment can be interpreted as an at least partial shift of the dominant mode of crisis management of capitalist market economices (Offe 1993a).

The so-called crisis of the welfare state as peculiar dimension of the crisis of crisis management became a very important field of conflict since the 1970s. It was, first, centred on the question whether the overcome setting of social policy was still able to stabilise/manage capitalist societies at the end of the Thirty Glorious Years (Lipietz 1998) of post-war growth. Second, it was based on the question – raised by neoliberal critics of the allegedly welfare excesses – whether the existing social provisions were increasingly undermining the very functioning of the capitalist economy or whether it was a kind of self-delusion and illusion of the people – as it was argued by the New Social Movements and New Left – which hindered the process of emancipation.

[3] Proponents of the social investment approach such as Hemerijck or Esping-Andersn point out that these strategies must not be at the cost of social security and other social services. Detailed analysis however have revealed that the expansion of social investment activities is very often pitched against social security and redistribution (Obinger 2012).

The articulation of the outlined changes in the economy and the labour market with the subsequent struggles and strategies to adapt welfare settings led to the emergence of a new welfare settlement for which the individual becomes the main agent of crisis management for the capitalist mode of production. This means that a social policy strategy was emerging which aims to tackle the contradictions, instabilities and risks of the on-going economic and social changes through an increasing reliance on the ability and competences of individuals to adapt and to cope. Thus, the progressive demand to re-embed the capitalist market economy in a polanyian sense to protect the individuals against its destructive effects is turned on its head. Instead of creating supportive resources it becomes a new burden on the abilities, adaptability and creativity. However, if this preliminary but attenuate analysis of the emerging mode of social policies in the knowledge-based economy, which corresponds to the social investment perspective, is adequate then the significance of the CA becomes obvious.

This is – as argued above – because the latter provides a yardstick which helps to evaluate the outlined changes from a capability perspective and to ask whether they contribute to the freedom individuals have to live the life they have reason to value.

Concluding remarks: Perspectives in the crisis

The outlined changes raise a range of questions from the perspective of the CA as they clearly pertain to the problem whether individuals can have (or even enlarge) real freedom to make informed choices about their lives, work and position in society more general or whether they have to adapt to the new demands of a globalised economy and an activating welfare system (Bonvin 2009b).

In this context it is necessary to point out that critics of workfare and activation have shown that activation strategies rest on the assumption that the unemployed have certain individual/subjective deficiencies (Peck 2001). These could range from the peculiar attitudes to work some unemployed display because they allegedly lack adequate work ethic, to a lack of adequate skills and competencies after failing in the standard paths of employment, to having worked in declining sectors or being unable to follow the speed of technological development. Workfare and activation aims at remedying these deficiencies through tailor-made measures and programmes. Thus, under the label of activation welfare reform does less aim to change markets to improve employment opportunities. Rather, they focus on the individual aspects of labour market processes trying to adapt the subjectivities of the workforce to the changing demands of the economy.

„(…) there is a regulatory imperative not only to numerically adjust the flows of workers into and out of the wage labour, but also to endeavour remaking workers themselves, their attitudes towards work and wages, their expectations about employment continuity and promotion prospects, their economic identities, and so on." (Peck 2001: 52)

It is here that the CA can help us to identify the historically and nationally concrete normative issues that lie behind the question what it means to be able to work and to be educated in the knowledge based economy and to identify and interpret the social

aspirations and demands which emerge in the everyday practices and struggles of (young) individuals and groups who try to cope with changing circumstances.

Thus, the articulation of the CA with critical analysis of the changes of work and welfare states can help us to identify their political and contested character. This is important because the strong emphasis which is currently put on human capital formation and education can be interpreted as the result of a fundamental shift in power relations – power being understood according to Karl W. Deutsch as the ability to afford NOT to learn. Thus the imperative to permanently learn and adapt is the result of a fundamental loss of power for employees and their organisations.

In the on-going shift towards a knowledge-based economy this has (at least) two effects. First it means that the onus of adaptation to a constantly changing economic environment is put on the employees and their ability to learn and change as quickly as possibility. If adaptation through learning is the most important precondition to secure one's competitiveness the very activities of employees themselves contribute to the general trend towards 'precarisation' as the skills and competences workers acquire are made obsolete through their very actions. This in turn not only contributes to destabilising their employment careers and live course but also contributes to the crisis of solidarity which accompanies the outlined changes of the welfare state (Atzmüller 2011a).

Second, in the current political conditions which are defined by neoliberal hegemony radicalising itself again in the crisis, this also means that the focus which is currently put on employability, life long learning and (permanent) investment in human capital is closely connected to the often described loss of power trade unions and other employee organisations experienced over the last two or three decades. The ability of these organisations to influence and control employment conditions such as working time, wage levels and other employment related regulations was rolled back in many countries. However limited the democratic scope of these organisations and the structures of conflicts and negotiations they tried to uphold was, this development is rather worrying from the perspective of the CA as very important institutions and actors which aim to foster the interests of employees concerning the availability of adequate resources and commodities as well as conversion factors have become severely restrained.

Since the crisis of finance-dominated accumulation has been transformed in a fiscal crisis of the (welfare) state the social polarisations which resulted from the welfare state transformation of the last two or three decades are massively deepened in many countries. Thus, in the first phase of the crisis its social effects on the so-called real economy and on the labour market could be held at bay (Vis et al. 2010; Farnsworth/Irving 2011) through investment programmes and an expansion of active labour market policies. The welfare system was used as a very important automatic stabiliser in the first phase of the financial crisis However, the subsequent socialisation of the costs of the financial crisis destabilised public budgets in many countries moving them to the brink of bankruptcy (Altvater 2010). The following massive austerity packages and encompassing welfare cuts go to the core of the welfare state.

It is obvious that these developments also put attempts to implement a social investment strategy under severe strain as the unfolding crisis is used to justify an attempt to fundamentally retrench the welfare state all over Europe (Obinger 2012; Cantillon 2011).

The concept of the welfare state being a productive force of its own has lost ground massively against the assumption that its costs and regulations strangle the economy.

Of course, from the perspective of the social investment state the retrenchment of the welfare state will not only deepen social inequalities and lead to social exclusion. Rather, the cuts will also threaten the productive aspects of the welfare system which will – in long run – also hit the economy by undermining its potential for innovation. However, this reasoning overlooks some of the ambiguities of the social-investment concept which lies at the heart of the separation of productive expenditures fostering growth and competitiveness on the one hand and allegedly passive costs of social transfers for certain social groups such as pensioners etc. This also contributes to an increasing delegitimation of welfare expenditures for all those deemed to be unproductive and a burden for the economy. Thus, it comes as no surprise that in the debates about budget consolidation and social welfare, expenditures for pensioners, civil servants, the "poor" are pitched against all investment expenditures in human capital formation, research and development and child care.

Against this background the CA provides a helpful evaluative too to highlight the effect of austerity measures on individuals, families and communities who are confronted with a massive degradation of the availability of ressources and commodities and subsequently conversion factors. Thus, the capability sets people can dispose of in the European Social Models are put under severe strain by these measures. Furthermore, people (such as youth) who would need an adequate provision of resources and commodities as well as conversion to develop their capabilities are at the very bottom of the social effects of austerity as can be seen in the growing number of young unemployed in many southern and eastern European States. From the perspective of the CA this will pose a severe threat to European societies as a whole.

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5. Labour market trajectories and young Europeans' capabilities to avoid poverty, social exclusion, and independency: comparative analyses of 23 European countries

Björn Halleröd & Hans Ekbrand

1 Introduction

Young people in today's Europe find it increasingly difficult to get a job, support themselves, and establish an independent household. At the same time, although there are large differences between countries, the young generation is better educated and possesses more formal human capital than ever. European countries are also ageing societies, which means that relatively large cohorts are about to retire from the labour market and that we are facing an increasing support burden on those who are working. Hence, at the same time as young people find it increasingly hard to make the transition into adulthood and there is an elaborated discussion about a threatening labour shortage - that to few have to support to many. Still many young Europeans find the transition from education to the labour market increasingly hard. This chapter builds on the not particularly bold assumption that young people want a life without economic hardship at the same time as they want to establish an independent household, i.e., being able to leave the nest. That is, we assume that these are functions that young people have reason to value. The question is why young Europeans to a large extent lack the capabilities to do so. More specifically we want to investigate the link between young peoples living conditions and their labour market related position.

Our point of departure is that all people are in a transitional phase, that a human life is a transition from birth to death that involves a chain of more or less significant changes. It is only when we look at the society trough a snapshot lens that we can make categorisations that provide a picture of, we would say, deceptive stability that makes it seemingly meaningful to talk about, for example, students, workers, single mothers, and unemployed as if they were fixed entities. If we instead accept that transition is the normal state we can not only see that some periods in life such as adolescence are more volatile than others but also investigate to what degree different types of trajectories have different implications on peoples' life.

If we look at transitions in modern societies it is impossible to overlook the labour market. Work forms the organizing nexus in most peoples' life and at any point of time people can be assigned a specific relationship to the labour market; full time employed, self employed, inactive, retired, student, unemployed etc. These positions are, from a longitudinal perspective, more or less temporal as individuals move from one position to another. As a consequence every labour market position that from a cross sectional perspective appears as fixed is from a life course perspective representing a more or less sequential situation.

Once we acknowledge this we also have to take into account that at any given point of time there exist several different types of, for example, unemployment (Furåker 2001; Strandh 2000).

Rather than dividing people into specific categories depending on their current labour market position, we should try to understand different employment positions as existing along a continuum of marginalization from total integration to total exclusion (Svedberg 1997). But it is not only about more or less, longer or shorter unemployment spells, it is also about types of transitions. It is one thing to be unemployed in the process of leaving higher education and establish oneself at the labour market, it as a very different thing to start as a full time worker and thereafter be pushed into unemployment and from there into an early retirement schema (Halleröd 2003). Hence, two individuals that during a given period of time are exposed to the same amount of unemployment can nevertheless be in very different labour market positions. One of them could be caught a in vicious circle, pushed out of employment and into poverty while the other might be in a process from education into labour market integration and economic security.

Given this, our aim in this chapter is to answer four specific research questions:

1. What types of dominating labour market related trajectories (LMRT:s) exists in within the EU?
2. What kind of LMRT:s are specifically common among young Europeans?
3. What kind of LMRT:s are especially related to poverty, social exclusion, and lack of independency among young Europeans?
4. Are there substantial differences between EU countries?

2 Data

We use the EU-SILC longitudinal data set from 2007 and 2008 from 22 EU countries plus the non-member Norway. Since our analysis builds on longitudinal data we are forced to restrict our analysis to countries that are covered by the EU-SILC longitudinal dataset. The include countries are: Austria (AT), Belgium (BE), Cyprus (CY), Czech Republic (CZ), Denmark (DK), Estonia (EE), Finland (FI), France (FR), Greece (GR), Hungary (HU), Ireland (IE), Italy (IT), Latvia (LV), Netherlands (NL), Norway (NO), Poland (PL), Portugal (PT), Slovakia (SK), Slovenia (SI), Spain (ES), Sweden (SE), and the United Kingdom (UK).

Data makes up a representative sample of the total population but in this case we have initially restricted our sample to the age spectra 16 – 65 but the main part of the analysis focus on young Europeans in the age span 16 – 25. The EU-SILC panel data follows a four year cycle, which means that every individual is followed for four years and that every year a forth of the sample is replaced by a new panel section. An effect of this system is that the fewer years we are using, the larger sample we get. In order to have a sufficient sample we have decided to use a three-year panel. In a first step we have selected those who participated during 2006 – 2008. In order to further boast the sample size we have also

added the sample section that participated during 2005 – 2007. The total working sample size is 142,251 and the age restricted (16-25) working sample size is 25,460.

3 Labour market related trajectories, poverty, deprivation, and independency

Longitudinal EU-SILC data contains monthly information about 'main activity'. At every annual interview respondents are asked to give a twelve months retrospective description of their main activity. For every month nine alternatives are offered:

- Employee (full time)
- Employee (part time)
- Self-employed (full time)
- Self-employed (part time)
- Unemployed
- Retired
- Student
- Other inactive
- Compulsory military service

Thus, for all individuals we have 36 months of consecutive measurements of main activity. We use this information to derive clusters of specific labour market trajectories. As a first step, before moving on with the cluster analysis, we reduce the number of main activity position. The ninth category is very small and exists only in some of the countries and therefore this group is excluded from the analysis. We also collapse full-time and part-time self-employed. Hence, the analysis is based on seven main activities position, which also means that seven clusters, those who do not change position during the observation period, are given from the beginning. Among the non-static, transitions are observed on a monthly basis during a three-year period, which gives 7^{35} theoretically possible transitions. Even though the actually observed trajectories are considerable less, 7^{35} is a very large figure, there is a need to systematize observed data. In order to do so a cluster analysis was conducted. The cluster analysis handle each observed month as a single variable looks for a solution that minimize the number of unique combinations of labour market related positions during the 36-months period.[1] The resulting clusters represent unstable labour-market status, transitions, over the measurement period. The clustering analysis reduced the complexity of the data into 34 clusters that describes different labour market trajectories. We reduced data further by merging clusters with similar main activities onto a categorization of 17 trajectories, of which seven were stable and, hence, ten are derived from the cluster analysis. The manual reduction mainly merged clusters that were similar regarding the type of transitions but differed when it came to timing of change between positions.

[1] To be able to cluster categorical data, with a large dataset of tens of thousands of cases, the distance matrix used by the clustering algorithm "clara" (Rousseeuw 1990) was based on a pseudo-Gower metric of dummy variables.

The first two columns of Table 1 give an overview of the total prime age population (16 – 64 years of age). Almost one third of the prime aged population (16-64 years of age) has been employed full time throughout the whole observation window. None of the other clusters exceeds ten per cent. The second largest cluster is made up by the consistently retired and the smallest cluster consists of the consistently unemployed, i.e., people that have experienced 36 months of unemployment. The two last columns of Table 1 shows the distribution between clusters among young Europeans.

Table 1 display the trajectories. The first seven are stable with a straightforward interpretation: The employed full time (EFT-stable) cluster consists of people that have been full time employed for 36 consecutive months. Students (Stud-stable) have been students for 36 months et cetera. In order to label the unstable trajectories the following logic has been used. The first part of the name describes the most common position within the cluster at the beginning of the observation window, i.e., the three-year period, while the second part of the name, consequently, describes the most common activity within the cluster by the end of the observation window. For example, the category 'Stud-EFT' consists of people whose main activity was 'student' at the beginning of the observation window and who predominately were full-time employed by the end of the period. Likewise, 'EFT-Retired' consists of full time employed that retires during the observed period. There are five trajectories that end with 'us'. Within these categories the main activity is the same both at the beginning and the end of the period, but it has not been stable through out the observed period. Those who belong to 'Stud-us' have mainly been studying during the whole period but during the three-year period they are also engaged in other activities, most predominately full-time or part-time work. In 'EFT-us' people have mainly been full-time employed but they have mixed this activity with, for example, unemployment and/or inactivity. The group 'Unemp-us consists of people that are moving back and forth between unemployment and other activities.

3.1 Trajectories

The first two columns of Table 1 give an overview of the total prime age population (16 – 64 years of age). Almost one third of the prime aged population (16-64 years of age) has been employed full time throughout the whole observation window. None of the other clusters exceeds ten per cent. The second largest cluster is made up by the consistently retired and the smallest cluster consists of the consistently unemployed, i.e., people that have experienced 36 months of unemployment. The two last columns of Table 1 shows the distribution between clusters among young Europeans.

Table 1. Clusters of main activity trajectories in 23 European countries

	16-64 years of age		16-25 years of age	
Trajectories	Frequency	Per cent	Frequency	Per cent
EFT-stable	46,298	32.5	3,123	12.3
EPT-stable	3,227	2.3	90	0.4

Self-stable	7,920	5.6	164	0.6
Stud-stable	7,705	5.4	7,550	29.7
Retired-stable	13,057	9.2	22	0.1
Unemp-stable	1,376	1.0	220	0.9
Inactive-stable	8,865	6.2	325	1.3
EFT-us	10,271	7.2	1,622	6.4
Empl-us	8,068	5.7	1,054	4.1
Self-us	6,411	4.5	407	1.6
Stud-us	6,411	4.5	5,231	20.6
Unemp-us	6,928	4.9	1,318	5.9
us-empl	2,944	2.1	730	2.9
Stud-EFT	3,201	2.3	2,709	10.6
EFT-retired	1,850	1.3	3	0.0
EFT-Unemp	2,436	1.7	369	1.5
Inactive-us	6,009	4.2	523	2.1
All	142,251	100	25,460	100

It is clear from The first two columns of Table 1 give an overview of the total prime age population (16 – 64 years of age). Almost one third of the prime aged population (16-64 years of age) has been employed full time throughout the whole observation window. None of the other clusters exceeds ten per cent. The second largest cluster is made up by the consistently retired and the smallest cluster consists of the consistently unemployed, i.e., people that have experienced 36 months of unemployment. The two last columns of Table 1 shows the distribution between clusters among young Europeans.

Table 1 that there are very few young people in some of the main activity categories. For some categories it is just a natural consequence of age specific circumstances, very few young are retired, a large share are students and relatively few have had time to find a stable full time employment. In other cases it is, even though the initial sample is very big, a result of the limited sample size. In order to achieve consistent estimates an additional reduction of LMRT:s is made. Table 2 shows how categories have been collapsed. The main rational has been to put all unstable trajectories that involve some kind of employment in one category labelled ‘Empl-us’. In this category we find young people that are about, but not without difficulties, to establish themselves at the labour market. We have distinguished this group from those who are found in categories where inactivity, or in very few cases retirement, is dominating. Our assumption is that this is a group that risks a more permanent labour market exclusion. We have labelled this group ‘Inactive-us’. Since very few, less than one per cent, are unemployed for 36 consecutive months this category has been merged

with the Unemp-us group, i.e., a category where unemployment has been the dominant but not sole main activity.

Table 2. Merged clusters of main activity trajectories

Trajectories	Merged trajectories	Frequency	Per cent
EFT-stable	EFT-stable	3,123	12.3
Student-stabel	Student-stable	7,550	29.7
Unemp-stabel Unemp-us	Unemp-us	1,538	6.0
EPT Self-employed EFT-us Empl-us Self-us	Empl-us	3,337	13.1
Retired Inactive EFT-retired Other inactive	Inactive-us	873	3.4
EFT-Unemp	EFT-Unemp	369	1.5
Stud-us	Stud-us	5,231	20.6
Stud-EFT	Stud-EFT	2,709	10.6
Us-empl	Us-empl.	730	2.9
Total		26,532	100

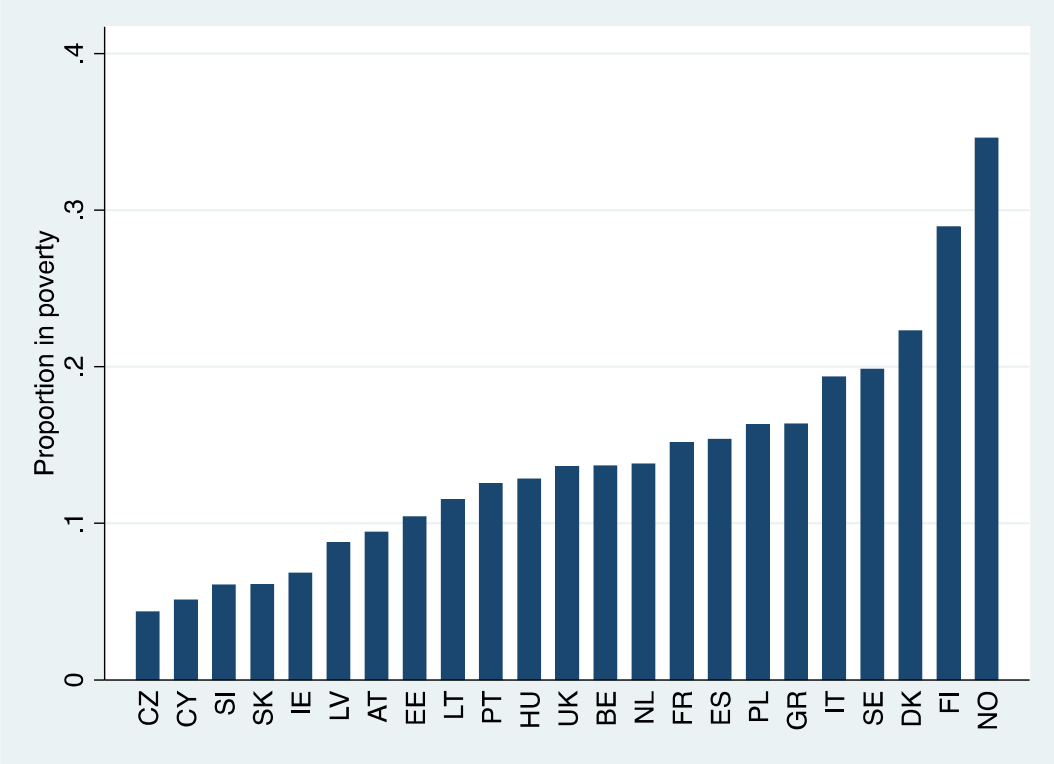
Looking at the overall European picture, Table 3, we can see that around 50 per cent of the young Europeans are either stable or unstable students. About 12 per cent are in stable employment, which is slightly less than the fraction we find in the unstable employment cluster. Just above 10 per cent are in transition from education to full time employment and additionally 3 per cent are moving various unstable positions into full time employment.

Only 3 per cent are in the inactive category and about as many are in a trajectory from full time employment to unemployment. Less than three per cent are in a transition from education to unemployment.

3.2 Poverty

In this chapter the term poverty refers to relative income poverty, that is, a person is poor if he or she lives in a household with an equivalent disposable household income that falls below 60 per cent of the median equivalent disposable income in the member stat where he or she lives. Hence, our poverty measure is equal to the measure of 'at-risk of poverty' used within the EU. The concept poverty is consistently referring to this definition throughout the chapter. Observe that we are measuring the poverty rate during the last observation year, which means that the analysis gives a picture of the LMRT:s that precedes the measured poverty spell.

Figure 1. Poverty rates among young (16-25) Europeans.



The poverty rate among young Europeans varies, as can be seen in Figure 1, a lot between different member states but the highest rate is found in a non EU-member Norway, every third young Norwegian lives in poverty. One has of course to notice that Norwegian poverty is measured in relation to the Norwegian median income. But our data shows, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, that following Norway in the upper end of the distribution is Finland, Denmark, and Sweden. In the lower end of the distribution we find the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ireland, and Latvia. Thus, the results are clearly at odds with the general perception of living conditions and welfare differences between countries. In the following sections we shall shed additional light on this somewhat puzzling results. For the moment we will just investigate whether there are any substantive differences that relates to main activity trajectories.

The second column of Table 3 shows the poverty rate in the different LMRT:s. As we can see the lowest poverty rate is found among the full time employed followed by students and others that are moving into full time employment. The highest rate is found among the group where unemployment has been the main activity; one third of this group is poor. We also find very high poverty rates among the inactive and, to somewhat lesser degree, among those who are moving into unemployment. The poverty rate is also high among the unstable student group, clearly higher than among the stable student group.

Table 3. LMRT:s and poverty, deprivation, and lack of independent living among young Europeans (< 26) in 23 European countries.

Merged trajectories	Per cent in poverty	Per cent deprived	Per cent not independent
EFT-stable	2.6	16.7	70.5
Stud-stable	12.9	16.6	96.0
Unemp-us	33.8	42.5	80.0
Empl-us	11.3	19.4	69.5
Inactive-us	26.2	38.4	54.9
Empl-Unemp	18.7	31.0	62.9
Stud-us	18.1	18.5	90.4
Stud-Empl	6.8	18.0	86.4
Us-empl	8.1	25.9	79.8
Total	13.5	20.3	83.8

Measures of relative income poverty give important information about the distributions of incomes within countries. In a more fundamental way it gives information about '…Individuals, families and groups in the population // that // lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the society to which they belong' (Townsend 1979, p 31). However, it says very little about what, in this case, young people in different EU countries can or cannot do. It also builds on the assumption that young Europeans are comparing themselves with other people within their own country, not with young people within the EU as a whole. This is not the place to get lost in the seemingly endless debate about how to understand and measure poverty (Halleröd 1991; Halleröd 1995; Halleröd 2006), we just want to conclude that: A) it is far from clear that young Europeans are making mainly within country comparisons when assessing their living conditions, hence it is not given that the nation state confines 'the society to which they belong'. B) We do not question that young people in Norway are facing a hard time, but when Norway, apart from Luxembourg, Europe's richest country, has the highest youth poverty rate we should at least look for other strategies to measure economic hardship.

3.3 Material deprivation

Our measure of deprivation builds on a tradition that started with the work of Townsend (1979) and was developed by Mack and Lansley in the early 1980s (Mack and Lansley 1985). It is not about how much money people have but what kind of goods and services they can or cannot consume. The method, often referred to as the 'consensual measure of poverty' has subsequently been refined (Halleröd, Larsson, Gordon, and Ritakallio 2006; Halleröd 1995) and found its way, in a albeit restricted form, into the EU-SILC. In this paper we largely follow the operationalization suggested by Bradshaw and Meyhew (Bradshaw and Mayhew 2011), which builds on the work conducted by Guio (2009).

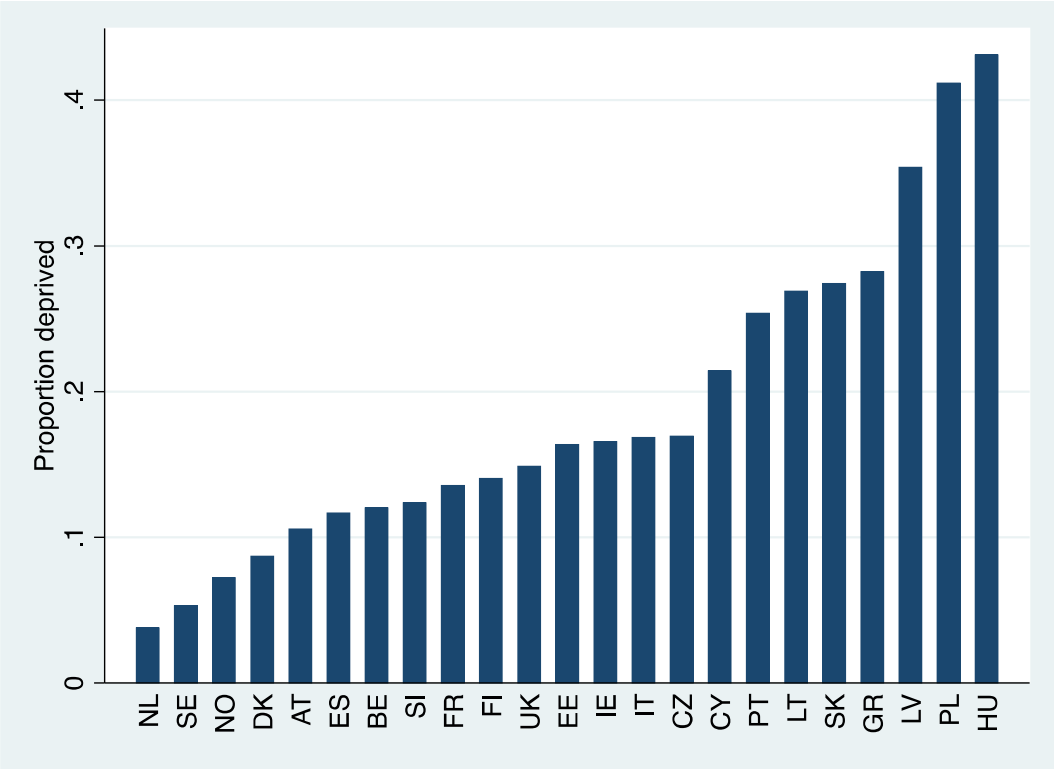
We use a set of eleven indicators to identify what the household can not afford:

- To face unexpected expenses
- One week annual holiday away from home
- To pay for arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills or hire purchase instalments)
- A meal with meat, chicken or fish every second day
- To keep home adequately warm
- To have a washing machine
- To have a telephone
- To have a personal car
- To have a computer
- No bath or shower
- No indoor flushing toilet for sole use of the household

Compared to the index used by Bradshaw and Meyhew we have excluded the item 'colour TV' and added 'computer'. The reason to exclude collar TV is that this particular item decreases the validity of the deprivation index. This is clear both from our analysis and Bradshaw and Meyhew's own analysis. This result is also confirmed by analyses using a more comprehensive set of deprivation indicators (Halleröd, Larsson, Gordon, and Ritakallio 2006). The reason to include computer is that it is an item that empirically contributes to the validity of the deprivation index and it is also an item that presumably is increasingly important, not least to young people. Making a simple additive index of the items results in a deprivation measure that ranges from zero to eleven, zero meaning that the respondent lives in a household that afford all of the item, elven that they cannot afford any of the item. Again following Bradshaw and Meyhew we set the dividing line between the deprived and non-deprived to three, i.e., anyone that scores three or higher on the deprivation index are defined as deprived. If this dividing line is more correct than any other line or if we indeed need a dividing line at all is a more or less open question, which we will not discuss further in this context (e.g. Bradshaw and Mayhew 2011; Halleröd, Larsson, Gordon, and Ritakallio 2006; Halleröd 1995). As is the case with poverty, deprivation is measured during the third year of the three-year observation window.

Figure 2 shows the deprivation rate among young Europeans in different EU-countries. Compared with the poverty rate the apparent difference is that the ranking of countries are markedly different. Hungary, Poland and Latvia are now found in the upper end of the distribution while the Nordic countries together with the Netherlands are found in the lower end. Thus, from a European perspective we can conclude that poor young people and deprived young people make up two fairly different populations. The question is than to see to what degree main activities trajectories relates to deprivation.

Figure 2. Deprivation rates among young (16-25) Europeans

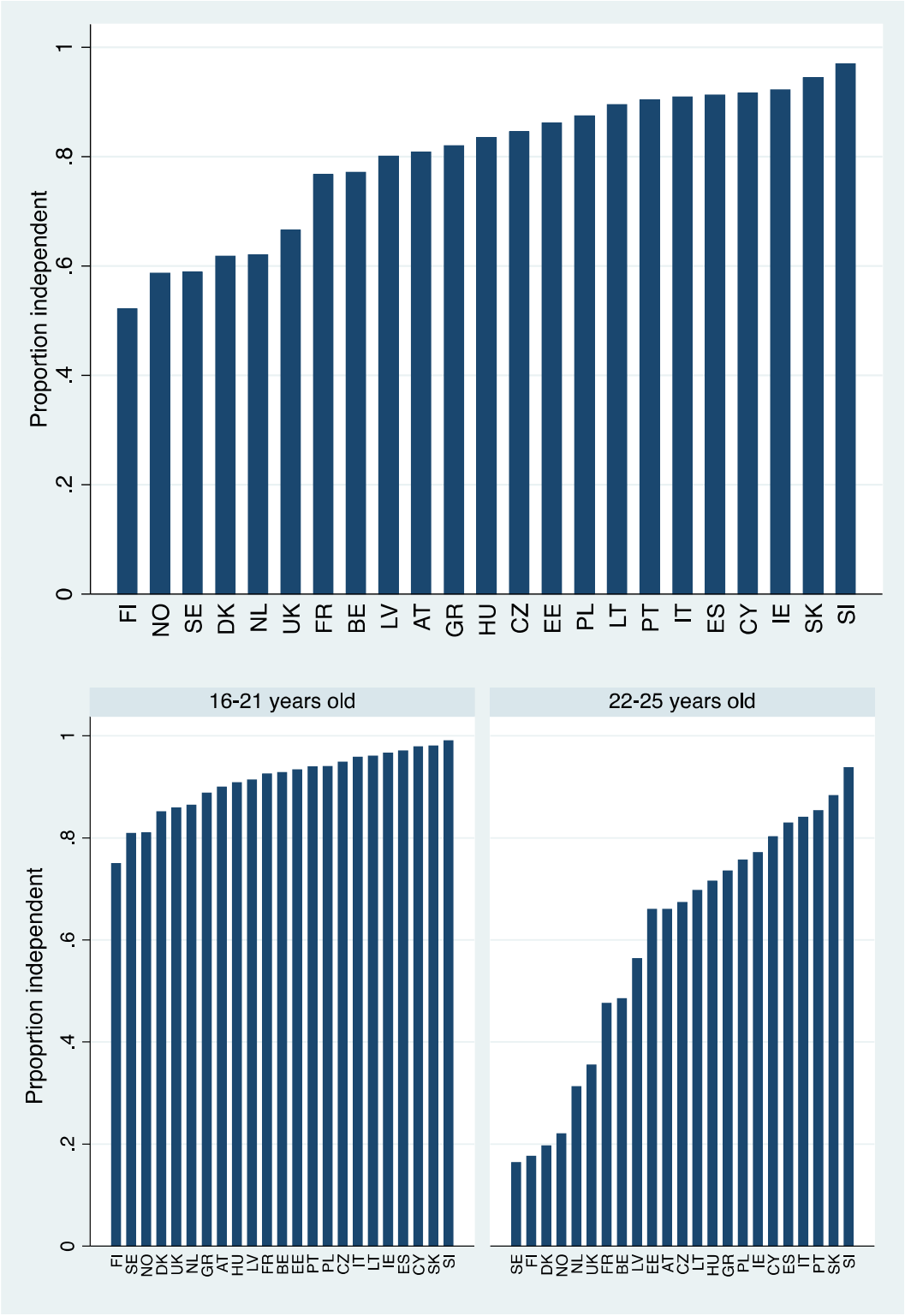


Going back to Table 3 we can see that compared to poverty a higher proportion of young Europeans are deprived, in fact every fifth young European are deprived. The most marked differences compared to poverty are, as can be seen from column three in the table, that the deprivation rate is clearly higher among full time employed (EFT) and lower among students. Otherwise we can se that weak labour market attachment is closely related also to deprivation.

3.4 Independent living

Being able to leave the nest and forming and independent household is an important aspect of young peoples capabilities. It is also important in relation to measures of both deprivation and poverty. As can bee, the large majority of young Europeans are part of their parents' household. However, there are again marked differences between countries, the Nordic countries followed by the Netherlands and the UK has the lowest fraction of young people living in the parental household.

Figure 3. Lack of independency rates among young Europeans (16-25 years)



The differences between countries becomes much clearer if we divide the population into those below 22 years of age and those between 22 and 25 years of age. The country differences are not that big when we look at the young-young, most of them have not left nest, but they are vast when we look at the old-young. In the Nordic countries less than 20 per cent remains in the nest when they reach the age of 22 to 25 while in the majority of

countries the figures vary from close to 70 per cent up to above 90 per cent. Hence, young Europeans live very different kind of lives.

Also independent living is measured during the third year of the observation window and relating independency to LMRT:s we can see that students are overrepresented among 'stayers' while those who are working and, somewhat surprising, inactive more often have left the nest. But, since both nest leaving and LMRT:s are highly age related there is no reason to speculate further on the basis of a bi-variate cross table.

4 A mixed-model analysis of the impact of labour market trajectories

In the following a set of mixed model analysis are presented. The analysis is based on the assumption that people are nested within countries, i.e, that each country are providing country specific circumstances for young people. These country specific circumstances are captured by the model's random effect. It is random because it varies between countries. The model also has fixed effects that are capturing individual effects that are assumed to be homogenous across countries. For example, if we estimate the difference between boys and girls as a fixed effect we assume that this effect is the same in all countries.

Starting with analysing the relationship between LMRT:s and household independency, i.e., whether or not young people have left the nest. We start with a null model, that is, a model that only estimates country differences. We thereafter include LMRT:s as at the individual level in order to find out if and to what degree LMRT:s affects individual probabilities and country differences. Thereafter we control for age, gender and education. In the final model we also control for GDP per capita. We thereafter repeat these steps using poverty as dependent variable. However, when analysing poverty in the third step we also control for nest leaving. Finally we analyse deprivation in the same manner but in this case in the third step we include also poverty as control variable.

The estimated models are so called linear probability models. There are two reasons why we have chosen a linear model instead of a logit-model. First, the linear model allows a straightforward interpretation of the results in terms of proportions and it has also been shown that a linear model basically do presents identical significance estimates as the logit model (Hellevik 2007). Thus the constant in the null-model in Table 4 shows the proportion of young people that have not left the nest. This proportion is .79, i.e., 79 per cent, which differs a lot from the overall figure of 84 per cent in Table 3. The reason to this dissimilarity is that the mixed regression model adjusts for differences in country sample sizes (basically assuming that all samples are equally large). Second, our stepwise approach means that we will compare the effects of LMRT:s between models with different sets of independent variables. Comparing logistic regression estimates, Log-Odds or Odds Ratios, from different models is not unproblematic. Logistic regression estimates relate to an unobserved underlying latent variable y^*. The problem is that the variance of y^* is not given, it will change as variables are added to the model. It does so because the residual variance of y^* is fixed to the standard logistic distribution of 3.29. So, the variance of y^* is bound to increase as we improve our model, which means that we change scale and the size of the regression

coefficient will be biased upwards as new variables are entered into the model (Mood 2009; Winship and Mare 1984). The linear model avoids this problem.

4.1 Independent living

As mentioned above, the fixed effect for the constant in the null-model is .79, which represents the mean value for all European countries. In the random part of the null-model we can see that the variance related to the constant is .017 and significant. Thus the sample value for the individual countries varies around the constant and the variation is significantly larger than zero, which means that we can be confident that differences between countries exists. The other random parameter is 'variance: residual' that refers to the remaining within in countries differences, i.e., that there are differences between individuals within each country. One reason to why there are differences between individuals within countries is that they have experienced different LMRT:s. So, in model 1 LMRT:s are added and in the fixed part of the model we see the fixed effect of trajectories on the probability to stay in the nest. They are fixed because they are supposed to be the same – fixed – in all countries. If we assume that LMRT:s will explain differences between countries we would like to se a decrease of the random parameter 'variance: constant'. It is important to make clear that since we estimate a fixed effect LMRT:s will only affect the between country difference if the size of the different clusters vary between the countries. In this case this parameter only change marginally, hence, the fixed LMRT:s effects only to a lesser degree explain country differences. However, they do explain more of the within country variance, which is shown by the decrease of the residual variance.

Table 4. Mixed model – LMRT:s and lack of independent living among young (16-25) people in the EU

	Null model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed effects				
Constant	0.789*	0.660*	1.500*	1.743*
LMRT:s				
Ref: EFT- stable		0	0	0
Stud-stable		0.240*	0.073*	0.073*
Unemp-us		0.077*	0.027*	0.027*
Empl-us		0.019*	-0.004	-0.004
Inactive-us		-0.155*	-0.161*	-0.161*
Empl-Unemp		-0.067*	-0.072*	-0.072*
Stud-us		0.229*	0.095*	0.095*
Stud-Empl		0.185*	0.091*	0.091*
Us-empl		0.079*	0.042*	0.041*

Sex (male)			0.084*	0.084*
Age			-0.042*	-0.042*
Education				
Primary			-0.083*	-0.083*
Lower secondary			-0.048*	-0.048*
Upper secondary			-0.022*	-0.023*
Ref: Post secondary			0	0
GDP				-0.002
Random effects				
Variance: constant	0.017*	0.016*	0.017*	0.011*
Variance: residual	0.123*	0.111*	0.101*	0.101*

Significance: *=p<0.05

Adding additional individual level variables, sex, age, and education, further reduces the residual variance but the not the constant variance, hence, it explains some of the within country difference but not differences between countries. The inclusion of age, sex, and education substantially decreases the impact of LMRT:s. Males are more likely to 'stay home', there is a strong age effect, and not having a post secondary education decrease the probability to remain in the parental household. Thus, it is the well educated that tend to remain in the nest, which presumably is explained by their prolonged education. Finally in model 3 we add the country level variable GDP per capita. This variable do not affect the impact of the individual level variables but it does impact on the between country variance. The effect of GDP is negative, i.e., the richer country, the more likely that young people able to form an independent living. If we make the assumption that young people across Europe have the same preferences when it comes to nest leaving, this result indicate that general economic constraints is an important factor restricting young Europeans' capability to form an independent household.

4.2 Poverty

As in the analysis above the null-model and the fixed part of model 1 basically reproduce distributions that are already known from the descriptive part. The random part of Table 5 shows that inclusion of LMRT:s explains part of the within country differences but very little about the between country differences. Hence, the different country compositions of LMRT:s do not contribute in any substantive way to our understanding of country differences in youth poverty. However, from model 3 we can see that there are other individual level variables that do contribute to our understanding of country differences. We can see that poverty is age related and less common among older youths. There is also an education component that basically shows that the lower education, the higher poverty risk.

The most important factor to understand country differences is, however, the ability to form an independent household. Staying in the parental home is a good insurance against poverty, or to put it more straightforward: parents' income offers protection against youth poverty. However, we have also included an interaction term between age and lack of independent living. By doing so we can see that it is especially the youngest young that are protected from poverty by staying in the parental home. Among the older young, parents offer less protection, which reasonably means that young people in poor families more than others lack the capability to leave the nest. Also, in relation to the findings about nest leaving, the results indicate that young people in richer countries become poor, relatively speaking, because they have the resources necessary to leave the nest. Since we use a relative poverty measure most of the impact of GDP is already discounted for (richer countries having higher poverty lines) and the impact of GDP is fairly limited and positive. Hence, the richer country the higher poverty risk, which further underpins the previous assumption that young people in rich countries are able to leave the nest.

Table 5. Mixed model – LMT:S and poverty among young (16-25) people in the EU

	Null model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed effects				
Constant	0.140*	0.037*	0.613*	0.486*
Ref: EFT-stable		0	0	0
Stud-stable		0.115*	0.117*	0.117*
Unemp-us		0.289*	0.273*	0.273*
Empl-us		0.067*	0.064*	0.064*
Inactive-us		0.238*	0.194*	0.195*
Empl-Unemp		0.149*	0.129*	0.129*
Stud-us		0.145*	0.155*	0.155*
Stud-Empl		0.036*	0.048*	0.048*
Us-empl		0.053*	0.050*	0.050*
Not independent			-0.609*	-0.611*
Not independent*age			0.024*	0.024*
Sex (male)			0.001	0.001
Age			-0.024*	-0.024*

Primary			0.166*	0.167*
Lower secondary			0.064*	0.065*
Upper secondary			0.017*	0.018*
Ref: Post secondary			0	0
GDP				0.001*
Random effects				
Variance: constant	0.005*	0.005*	0.003*	0.002*
Variance: residual	0.116*	0.111*	0.109*	0.109*

Significance: *=p<0.05

4.3 Deprivation

Also when it comes to deprivation we can conclude, comparing the random part of the null model with model 1, that LMRT:s explain part of the within country residuals but to lesser extent the between country variation. Including additional independent individual variables, in this case poverty, reduces as expected the impact of LMRT:s. Poverty increases the deprivation risk, while staying with parents decrease the risk but just as the case with poverty the older young are less protected by their parents. Among those who left the nest deprivation is decreasing with age. Low education increases the deprivation risk. The final model shows that GDP reduces the between country variance with about 50 per cent (this figure will in fact even be larger if we include an interaction between poverty and GDP, i.e., poverty in poor countries is worse than poverty in a rich country). Hence, the member states' economic development is more important for deprivation among young people than their individual labour market trajectories.

Table 6. Mixed model – LMT:S and deprivation among young (16-25) people in the EU

	Null model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Fixed effects				
Constant	0.188*	0.157*	0.442*	0.736*
Ref: EFT-stable		0	0	0
Stud-stable		-0.013	-0.067*	-0.067*
Unemp-us		0.241*	0.139*	0.139*
Empl-us		0.032*	0.009	0.009
Inactive-us		0.210*	0.096*	0.096*
Empl-Unemp		0.107*	0.055*	0.055*

Stud-us		0.025*	-0.015	-0.015
Stud-Empl		0.009*	0.009	0.009
Us-empl		0.070*	0.044*	0.044*
Poverty			0.224*	0.224*
Independent			-0.268*	-0.267*
Independent*age			0.011*	0.011*
Sex (male)			-0.008	-0.008
Age			-0.015	-0.015
Primary			0.277*	0.276*
Lower secondary			0.141*	0.141*
Upper secondary			0.063*	0.063*
Ref: Post secondary			0	0
GDP				-0.003*
Random effects				
Variance: constant	0.011*	0.010*	0.012*	0.004*
Variance: residual	0.150*	0.144*	0.134*	0.134*

5 Conclusion

Young people's living conditions vary greatly between European countries. The poverty rate, among young people varies from around 35 per cent in Norway to less than five per cent in the Czech Republic. In Hungary more than 40 per cent of the youth population is deprived. The corresponding figure in the Netherlands is less than 5 per cent. In Slovenia around 90 per cent of the population in the age category 22-25 is still living in the parental household. In Sweden the figure is less than 20 per cent. Thus, young people around Europe have very different capabilities to lead the life they have reason to value.

The main idea guiding the analysis is that people are experience different labour market related trajectories, i.e., their current situation can be related to previous experiences of employment, unemployment, studies and other types of labour market related activities. It is clear from the analysis that certain labour market trajectories are closely related to all three of our outcome indicators: poverty, deprivation, and lack of independent living. Unemployment, but also periods of unstable employment positions are problematic all around Europe. However, labour market trajectories could only explain a fraction of the between country differences. The differences when it comes to distribution of labour market

trajectories could thus not explain much of the differences in poverty, deprivation, and independent living between EU-countries. But, even though labour market related trajectories did not explain much of the variation between countries they are important at the individual level – young people that experience long term difficulties establish themselves at the labour market are experience economic hardship and lack of independency all around Europe. Important for the future is to investigate whether or not LMT:s have different effects in different countries, i.e., if the slopes are random, not fixed. This aspect is not explored in this paper but the research presented here does open up for such an analysis

The analysis show that youth poverty, i.e., living in a household with an income below 60 per cent of the median income, is most common in the Nordic countries and much less common in countries with considerable lower GDP per capita and less developed welfare states. Thus, youth poverty is most common in countries where we, given numerous results from comparative welfare state studies, should expect it the least. Looking at deprivation the picture was completely reversed and distribution between countries to a large extent follows the distribution of GDP per capita and that also confirms the general perception of living conditions in Europe. Why do we find this contra dictionary patter, this fundamental miss match between poverty and deprivation among young Europeans? One main reason is that young people in especially the Nordic countries leave the nest at early age and are therefore not protected from poverty by their parents' income. Hence, they often end up in a single adult household before they are fully established at the labour market. But, even though they leave the nest they are to a lesser extent deprived than most other young people in Europe. One reason for this is that even though they have a relatively low income compared to the median income in their home country, they have in a European perspective a relatively decent income. Another factor, very hard to investigate, is that many young people that leave the nest early continues to receive informal economic support from their parents. So, one conclusion is that particularly the Nordic countries have manage to build a system where young people have the capability to set up their own independent household in early age. It makes them relatively poor but not particularly deprived and it might be that they think that poverty is a price worth to be paid for being capable of living a life they have reason to value. It also means that estimates of poverty, or to use the general EU-jargon, 'risk of poverty' should be interpreted with care in general and especially so in relation to young people. At least among young people in Europe it seems as if the poverty measure captures very different phenomenon.

Overall the analysis shows that young Europeans capabilities to lead a life they have reason to value to a large extent are dependent on which country they are living in and the general economic development. However, within each country labour market related trajectories play a vital role. What the analysis in this chapter shows is that beside the typical positions of being a full time student or a full time employed a range of specific trajectories exists, trajectories that are essential different. To be able to value young peoples capabilities we have to acknowledge the differences between these trajectories. In order to do that properly we need to deepen the type of analysis presented in this chapter. What we can see so far is that longer period of unemployment spells and, not least important, repeated unemployment periods, periods of inactivity and what we can call negative development, i.e., going from employment to a precarious labour market position are especially problematic trajectories. This is of course not particularly surprising but the analysis also

show that many young Europeans that are lacking basic capabilities are in fact in what seems to be in a stage of a much more positive transition from education to employment. In order to understand the true situation among young Europeans we need to further develop and use tools that enable us to distinguish fundamentally different labour market related trajectories.

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6. Free Choice of Education?

Dirk Michel-Schertges

Abstract:

The contribution *Free Choice of Education?* deals with the reconciliation of (pre-)conditions and possibilities of access and choice of education and the contemporary educational dominating discourse in Danish education policies, i.e. the culture of testing and competition. Thus the author uses among others the theoretical approach of the Capability Approach to sort out opportunities and processes of freedom in order to provide a theoretical framework and to describe with respect to the discourse of competition dominant influences, like for example the family background as well as international organizations, on possibilities of having actual free access to attain the education one reasons to value. The probability of having free choice of education is not at least related to both individual and external conversion factors whereas the latter is severe affected by education (almost exclusively) to labor disregarding the lack of preconditions and therefore worsening the situation of vulnerable youth. Pursuing the logic of the framework of the Capability Approach the notion of external and individual capabilities are applied in order to point out individual, institutional and societal obstacles concerning the aim of accessing free choice of the educational trajectory one reasons to value.

On the background of the changing demands of "knowledge production" in contemporary modern societies followed by education reforms that are adjusted to serve this demand adequately in order to provide sufficient labour it is crucial to deal with the question of the status of the free choice of education. Since the financial crisis and the continuing rising youth unemployment in Europe, a completed education is mainly considered as a (pre-) condition to get access to the labour market and it is just regarded as a matter of second importance as a viable path leading to freedom to choose one's educational way and thus between different styles and ways of living. Following the dominant discourse in education, i.e. the shift from a welfare- to a competition-regime it is of interest to see what are the implications for the weakest within this system, the vulnerable youth, the early school-leavers and disadvantaged with respect to the Danish education system. This work deals with the relation between the personal; the socio-structural and the cultural as well as with the institutional conversion factors concerning the vulnerable youth in Denmark and their opportunities of having the opportunity to choose the education they reason to value.

Opportunity and processes of Freedom

The preconditions of contemporary neo-liberal rationality – and thus hegemonic ideas of market ideologies and competition – are deep embedded in the relationship between freedom and arbitrariness. The concept of freedom (or liberty) is generally described as freedom of non-domination, i.e. being free to the extent that one does not find oneself under the domination of others. “This notion of freedom, we may begin by noting, refers to a condition in which we can find ourselves, namely, the condition where we are not living under the thumb of another. It does not mean the exercise of a capacity, and so in particular it does not signify the control which an individual or community exercises over the shape of its own existence. Another way to put this contrast lies with the categories deployed by Isaiah Berlin in his classic essay of 1958, ‘Two Concepts of Liberty’. The idea of freedom as non-domination forms a ‘negative’, not a ‘positive’ conception.” (Larmore n.y.: 2 f.) According to Berlin the concept of negative freedom is a domain of action of non-interference by others whereas positive freedom is to be understood as self-mastery. (cf. Swan 2003: 117) And Pettit concludes that real freedom requires the absence of all forms of arbitrary interference, including both possible and actual interference by others (cf. Pettit 1999: 22ff) as well as structural interference deriving from the current formation of society. One can argue against the limitation of freedom due to the exclusively promotion of positive freedom in the framework of social injustice and the development of false consciousness with Rawls' idea of the priority of liberty, i.e. that the restriction of liberty only for the sake of liberty. “Whether men are free is determined by the rights and duties established by the major institutions of society. Liberty is a certain pattern of social forms.” (Rawls 1999: 55f; cf.1971) However it is crucial to understand that *real* freedom is inevitably related to the concept of negative- and positive freedom. These concepts are supplementary parts of *freedom as such*, i.e. parts of an intrinsic relation. “An intrinsic relation is a relation between two or a set of relata in which *both* or *all* are what they are in relation to each other. They refer to each other and form a unity or a totality … Since in an intrinsic relation the elements form totality, they are necessary elements. They do not ‘function’ or ‘exist’ independently, but only in relation to each other. Conceptually this means that a pair in an intrinsic relation cannot be defined without referring to each other.” (Israel 1979: 84) Thus Berlin’s concepts of positive and negative freedom can only be understood as real freedom when both freedoms are intrinsic related.

On the background of the above mentioned notions of liberty, freedom and social justice it seems to be fruitful to introduce Amartya Sen’s idea of the freedom to choose. “In assessing our lives, we have reason to be interested not only in the kind of lives we manage to lead, but also in the freedom that we actually have to choose between different styles and ways of living. Indeed, the freedom to determine the nature of our lives is one of the valued aspects of living that we have reason to treasure” (Sen 2010: 227).

In this context Sen distinguishes between the opportunity and the process aspect of freedom. The first one is about the ability to achieve what one values, regardless of the processes that lead to the achievement; the latter one deals with the process of choice, i.e. to assure that the processes leading to the aimed achievement are not imposed by others or directed or forced by individuals, social or structural matters (cf. Sen 2010: 228f.) “The focus here is on the freedom that a person actually has to do this or be that – things that he or she may value doing or being. Obviously, the things we value most are particularly important for

us to be able to achieve. But the idea of freedom also respects our being free to determine what we want, what we value and ultimately what we decide to choose. The concept of capability is thus linked closely with the opportunity aspect of freedom, seen in terms of 'comprehensive' opportunities, and not just focusing on what happens at 'culmination'." (Sen 2010: 231f.)

External and Individual Capabilities

Thus freedom to choose is connected to both the concept of opportunity and the process of freedom that are inevitable related to (social) conditions in a given formation of society on the one hand, including for example: vision and conception of man; aspects of socialization; social formation of organizing and organization and at the core society's norm, economical system; values and belief system. And on the other hand the (unique) individual formation, i.e. for example agency; preferences; skills; consciousness; etc. Referring to Gasper (1997) Otto and Ziegler point to the relation between *internal goods, practical use values* and external resources as complementary parts in a capability set. "Analytically, however, one may suggest that the space of capacities, skills, abilities, and attitude may form the realm of 'S-capabilities' (with 'S' meaning 'skill' and 'substantive') (see Gasper 1997) which is empirically related to a particular and socially, culturally, politically and economically constrained set of life-paths which is (potentially) attainable to a given person. This socially structured set of attainable life-paths constitutes the realm of 'O-capabilities' (with 'O' meaning 'option' and 'opportunity') (Gasper 2002)." (Otto/Ziegler 2006: 272f.) That means that trying to map individual (pre-) conditions of freedom to choose, including the concept of S- and O-capabilities, i.e. individual and external capabilities, it is crucial to take the societal macro-, meso- and micro-levels into consideration. That is the social formation of society; the organizational/institutional and organizing dimension; as well as the individual capabilities. With respect to the framework of the capability approach Otto and Ziegler derivate these three levels with the notion of conversion factors concluding that these factors are decisive in order to convert external and internalized social, cultural and economic capital formations into particular personal functioning: "

1. "'Personal conversion factors' such as physical condition, literacy, competences etc. that influence how a person is able convert the characteristics, commodities, infrastructures, and arrangements into a functioning.

2. 'Socio-structural and cultural conversion factors' such as social or religious norms, gender roles, power relations and hierarchies, discriminatory practices and

3. 'Institutional conversion factors' such as welfare and educational arrangements, collective provisions etc." (Otto/Ziegler 2006: 279).

Even if there is no inevitable intrinsic relation between a successful conversion of these three factor's into functioning and well-being (cf. Sen 2010: 271f.) one can presume at least a minimum of successful conversion with respect to the above factors as a pre-condition for both the freedom to choose and well-being: The more social options and space of action the more space of freedom and thus opportunity of well-being.

Thus it makes sense to consider the role of welfare economics (cf. Sen 2010: 272) as external factor including agents of socialization such as family and especially the education system because they deal with processes of (social) integration with respect to the given formation of society. Therefore the aim of socialization is to be the human development of individuals to become well-functioning members of this society comprising variations from being a passive obedient citizen to an active subject in the framework of given norms and values including the rationality of the economic system of reproduction. These processes of socialization are perpetuated by social agents of socialization, such as the family, the kindergarten, schools, youth groups, peers, apprentice ships, military service, university, working place and so forth. "Norm internalization goes on casually and imperceptibly, often without either teacher or student being aware that it is taking place." According to Sigel, who mainly works on political socialization, the internalization of societal norms and values are often perpetuated incidentally and especially because of its incidental nature, it is much more sufficient concerning the acquisition of values, norms and (social) behaviour than consciously directed influences of norms and values by others. With respect to the existence of a given society it is crucial to mediate social values and behaviour in order to preserve the socio-political status quo. Therefore it is obvious that these institutions of socialization have a significant role in order to assign future life chances due to the different distribution of conversion factors.

The different interplay of socio-structural and cultural conversion factors; institutional conversion factors and personal conversion factors does vary tremendously in providing possibility space related to the opportunity and processes of freedom. The notion of individual capabilities comprising of external and internalized social, cultural and economic capital formations that are crucial in structuring the set of attainable life-path refers undoubtedly to Bourdieu's theoretical approach of capital formation (cf. Otto/Ziegler 2006: 273). Bourdieu relates the family and the institutions of education as major decisive factors of socialization and thus constituents of conversion factors. According to Bourdieu the education system does among others contribute significantly to the social conservation of the modern society. "I insist on 'contributes to', I say 'contributes to conservation'. It is one of the mechanisms by which social structures are reproduced. There are others. There is the system of succession, there is the economic system, logic, which, according to the old Marxist formula, causes 'capital' to go to 'capital'. But in modern societies the education system contributes more than ever before. An important part of what is passed on through the generations, an important part of the transference of power and privileges happens through the mediation of the school system, which connects other means of transference with each other and especially those which take effect within the family. The family is a very important transference entity that replaces the school system by ratifying the family interposition. The school system will say: 'this child is mathematically gifted' without seeing the five mathematicians in its family tree. Or that it is not gifted in Brazilian or French without seeing that it comes from an immigrant background. So the school system contributes to ratifying, sanctifying and transforming the cultural inheritance that comes from the family, as scholastic merit." (Bourdieu 2001: 175; cf. Sünker 2006)

Like Bourdieu, Mads Meier Jæger points to different decisive factors contributing to the likelihood of being provided with individual and social resources. Besides the socio-economic factor it is also the sibling effect, i.e. the sibling's choice education and occupation that is playing a decisive role with respect to one's social mobility. The relation between the

parent's education (status) and their children's educational and occupational ambitions is also the case in Denmark although it is not deterministic. (Jæger 2003: 17) Even if the probability is high that a child has been raised in a family with a low social status and "equipped" with low class habitus formations there is still a probability that this child can break this social pattern and moves upwards on the social ladder. According to Hansen this often is wrongly assumed as "pattern-break" but he argues that this is an immanent part of the structure, its legitimation. (cf. Hansen 2003: 120 f.) However, besides family context, education can be considered as central with respect to the distribution of life chances, because the having not or having of an education graduation diploma and the connected grades are decisive for the placement on the labor market and thus the (future) income. (cf. Jæger/ Munk/Ploug 2003: 19)

On this background following risk factors can be identified: growing up in (financial) poor family; growing up in a family where one of the members is suffering from a prolonged severe illness; growing up in a divorce-family or where one of the adults had a break down; or growing up in a family that moved a lot. (cf. Jæger/ Munk/Ploug 2003: 25) Undoubtedly one has to add that factors like gender and migration play a significant role. In this context Erik Jørgen Hansen relates individual resources and social structured arenas such as labor market; education system, family and field of politics, etc. Hansen indicates that one's life chances or set of attainable life-path depend to a major degree upon how individual resources are used within these different social arenas. Thus it is not just the quality of individual resources related to the specific social arena that is important with respect to one's (possible) life-path but also the number of others that "deal" with the same individual resources and conversion factors in the very same social arenas. Hansen formulates this situation that a person's life chances and life conditions depend to a major degree on the profile of the sum of the total offer of the all person's resources set in relation to the sum of the social arena's demand concerning specific individual combinations of resources. (cf. Hansen 2003: 114)

Education to labor

Sünker stresses the outstanding importance of the education system whilst identifying the policy framework of the OECD: "(…) the emphasis is placed on the connection between 'basic competence and way of life', which is seen to be necessary 'for active participation in social life' (29); up until showing the life historical consequences of Bildung in 'early years', or, the importance of a previously level of Bildung (31). This all ends with the crucial sentence: 'Cultural engagement and cultural development, value orientation and political participation co-vary systematically with the achieved level of Bildung over the entire life span' (32). In plain language: those who have the opportunity for Bildung taken away from them also have taken away from them, when there is a lack of 'class conscience', quality of life (from culture to political conscience/interest); this then has consequences for life circumstances and the chances for self realisation." (Sünker 2006: 3f.) It is crucial to highlight the notion of the capability approach that is directed towards both opportunity and processes of freedom including the freedom to deselect instead of just reaching to goals that are (easy) accessible as well as the difference between "*doing something* and being *free* to do that thing" (Sen 2010: 237). Amartya Sen distinguishes between capabilities and achievements, stating that this "concerns the responsibilities and obligations of societies and

of other people generally to help the deprived, which can be important for both public provisions within states and for the general pursuit of human rights" (Sen 2010: 238).

On the one hand this sets the question of social provision and individual, community and state responsibility on the agenda; on the other hand it raises the question with respect of how to attain the (pre-) conditions to have "the freedom to choose how to live" and the "importance of capability , reflecting opportunity and choice, rather than the celebration of some particular lifestyle, irrespective of preference of choice" (Sen 2010: 238). The state's responsibility to ensure one's preconditions to have the freedom to choose is deeply connected with access to education institutions because – following the argumentation above – education credentials belong to the crucial preconditions broadening labour opportunities. The choice of labour one values might be seen as one of factors that influence the life to a major degree because it also (de-) regulates extensively ones opportunity space with respect to different matters. Having "the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others … in work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers" (Nussbaum 2011: 33f.).

The youth unemployment rate does not mitigate the challenge firstly, to get access to the education one values and secondly, to get access to labour one values. Data from the Economic Council of Labour Movement show that youth unemployment in Denmark is not only the highest since a long time but also that especially this employment group is the most affected one by the current economic crisis. "Since June 2008, when unemployment figures were at their lowest, unemployment among 16 to 24 year old Danes has trebled to 13.3 percent in April 2012. Among 25 to 29 year olds unemployment has risen almost as much. 12.6 percent of them are now without jobs. This is a far greater share than among the population as a whole, where unemployment currently stands at 6.2 percent." (Preisler 2012)

Besides the rising youth unemployment the possibility to find labour one reasons to value got worse because a shift from the (social democratic) welfare state to a competition state took place in Denmark. From the 1980's the combination of a technological-oriented focus and the discourse about shaping working conditions for labour in Denmark have been the driving forces that influenced form and content of the education system. (cf. Pedersen 2011: 134) In the 1990's the focus changed to the structural competition skills and capacities resulting in shifting such cyclical-based measures to structural changes. At the heart of these changes was the consideration to produce available labour, to improve the labourer's motivation as well as to promote an entrepreneurial way of thinking and thus to broaden the labourer's capacity to acquire entrepreneurial competences. To sum it up: it was all about the mobilization of labour. (cf. Pedersen 2011: 135) This changed focus on creating requirements for effective labour affected public institutions and thus naturally institutions of education. The primary task of schools is to educate (technical) specialized individuals. Individuals that are available for the labour market and that are capable to adjust their capacities life-long to the changing market conditions.

According to Pedersen the change from the Danish welfare state to the competition state took place with the publication of the IEA-survey in 1991 (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) stating that the pupil's literacy, i.e. their ability to

read and write, were fall below expectations and behind than those in other countries. (cf. Pedersen 2011: 170f.) Following the IEA-survey, the PISA-surveys have been regularly carried out by OECD resulting in the implementation of competence tests in Danish schools. Against that background Pedersen concludes that the primary educational task of the Danish school system changed for the first time in its more than 160 year old lasting history from focusing human development and educating each individual to strive for active democratic participation in society to get the Danish pupils ready with respect to the international competition taking place in international surveys and thus to produce "soldiers" armed with knowledge that are ready for the (economic) competition between nation states (cf. Pedersen 2011: 172). „What for instance the PISA study identified as 'functional illiteracy' is therefore not primarily a 'lack of human capital' but a form of poverty in terms of a major 'capability deprivation', which points to subsequent 'voicelessness' and 'powerlessness'. Being assessed as to be relational to impairments of social arrangements, educational failures, deficiencies in the acquisition of literacy might thus be evaluated in terms of subsequent capability limitation (and their contextualisation in education)" (Otto/Ziegler 2006: 273). But in order to identify individual and external capabilities with respect to the Danish school system and thus facing one of the major preconditions in order to enter the Danish labour market it is crucial to focus on structural access requirements and opportunities provided by the education system.

The Danish education system

Before school in Denmark even starts, a child's contact with a public or private institution can be made in a very early age. Parents living in Denmark can give their child from age 0 to 3 into day nursery called Vuggestue. A child from age 3 to 6 living in Denmark will usually spend its weekdays in a kindergarten (børnehave). Compulsory education starts in August of that year a child had its six birthday with compulsory pre-primary class (børnehaveklasse).[1] 10 years of education is compulsory for all pupils between the ages of 6 and 16. But, in Denmark education is compulsory not schooling, thus education can be organized public, private or at home, if it is comparable with the accepted standards of the public schools (Folkeskole).

Parents in Denmark have the right to choose in which way their child shall be educated. They have the opportunity to choose, as mentioned before, between different types of basic schools (primary and lower secondary education), as there are the municipally conducted Folkeskole – as most parents do choose –, private basic independent schools (private skole, friskole) or home schooling. Private independent schools are found under various names, but they might be built on a special religious view of live, pedagogical fundament or on a different view how children should learn. There are a total of over 500 private basic independent schools in Denmark.

[1] If special demands are fulfilled, it is possible that a child can begin with school one year earlier. Otherwise it is also possible that a child, after an individual evaluation, can begin with school one year later. (cf. Ministeriet for børn og undervisning 2012b)

The municipal board is in charge that every child between ages of 6/7 and 16 in its municipality is registered in folkeskole or obtains an education that in general complies with the requirements of folkeskole. The municipal board also has the overall responsibility for the folkeskole, that means, among other things, that the municipal board decides about the content of communal school politics within the frame of folkeskole law. It is furthermore the municipal boards responsibility to secure each child's right to obtain folkeskole education or comparable.

Parents have the possibility to impact their child's skole education via the so called "forældresamarbejde" (cooperation between parents and school) or participation in the school board as well as pupils shall participate in this cooperation. The pupils and their parents are, on a regular basis, informed about the school's opinion on the pupil's personal, social and academic development. (cf. Danish Ministry of Education 2010; Undervisnings Ministeriet 2008; Ministeriet for børn og undervisning 2012a; Ministry of children and education (b); Ministeriet for børn og undervisning 2010; Ministeriet for børn og undervisning 2011)

While publicly provided school (Folkeskole) in Denmark is free, private basic independent schooling is financed by its pupils. But, pupils resp. their parents and state share the costs of private education. Depending on the number of pupils enrolled in a private school, the state contributes for example to the operating costs (§10), boarding schools (§13), contribution to maintenance costs (§12), remedial education, additional education in Danish for bilingual pupils or extra costs for additional lessons, pedagogical support, transportation of handicapped pupils (§11) and so on.

Private schools are also supported by the municipal (§23) in reducing the school fees by contributing for example to boarding schools, supplementing day care for children subject to mandatory schooling (skolefritidsordninger), remedial education and additional education. (cf. Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning 2011)

The mainline Danish education system consists of *primary and lower secondary education* (basic schooling/education), *General upper secondary education* (Gymnasium (stx), Htx-, Hhx-, Hf-Programmes) and *Vocational upper secondary education and training* (IVET and eux) and *Higher education* (Bachelor programmes, Professional bachelor programmes, Academy profession programmes).[2] Folkeskole (or corresponding) contains one year of pre-school, nine years of primary (grade 1-6) and lower secondary education (grade 7-9/10) and a one-year optional[3] 10th form. Access to primary and lower secondary education is simply

[2] Parallel to the mainline education system is the sector of adult education and continuing training system. "Formal and non-formal education for adults, e.g. VUC, AMU, folk high schools etc." Education in adult education and continuing training system meet the education level of the mainline education system, but are targeting on adults over 18 years. (cf. Ministry for children and education (a) 06.09.12)

[3] The 10th form is an educational offer for young people who, after finishing their primary and lower secondary schooling (9th form), feel the need for additional academic qualifications and clarification of their further educational opportunities before being able to complete a post-compulsory education. The academic year can be organized as a whole year programme or a shorter-term programme. 10th form is comprised of a compulsory part and an elective part. There is compulsory education in Danish, English and mathematics amounting to half the total time of a whole academic year schedule." (cf. Ministry of children and education (b) 06.09.2012)

granted by the obligation of being educated between the ages 6/7 and 16 and is usually obtained by attending Folkeskole, private basic independent school or home education.

"Primary and lower secondary education is completed with a leaving examination providing access to upper secondary (youth) education[4]." (CEDEFOP 2012: 15) Upper secondary (youth) education contains "the general upper secondary education provision of the Gymnasium (stx)" (cf. Ministry of children and education (c) 07.09.2012), the Higher Technical Examination Programme (htx), the Higher Commercial Examination Programme (hhx), the Higher Preparatory Examination (hf). Access to the higher preparatory examination (hf) requires the completion of the optional 10th grade or an equivalent. Hhx- and Htx-Programmes are vocationally-oriented upper secondary educations. They are specifically targeting at higher education at business schools, technical and engineering courses of higher education, but, "they do not provide direct vocational qualifications" (CEDEFOP 2012: 16). Higher education has to be completed before entering the labour market. Programmes on this level last usually three years and despite "their different emphases, all four programmes potentially (dependent on the student's choice of subjects and the grades achieved) provide access to all areas of higher education" at the tertiary level. (CEDEFOP 2012: 16)

Vocational upper secondary education and training: The I-VET-programmes are vocationally oriented education and training programmes, they contain for example, agriculture and maritime training (boat mechanic or commercial fisherman), media production, fashion, building and construction etc., social and health care programmes. EUX is a combined vocational and general upper secondary education. Alternative path to education: EGU the individualized basic vocational education and training programme and the schools of production.[5]

In a I-VET education and training program practical training in a company alternates with teaching at a vocational college. There is free access to all basic courses (usually) via completed compulsory education, but for some basic courses there is restricted admission for example the fashion-oriented ones or educations with limited employment opportunities. The EUX-programme is a combination of a "full vocational qualification with general subjects at a level equivalent to that in the general upper secondary programmes", it provides full access to higher education (Hf-level) as well as to skilled labour market. Access **(**usually) after completion of compulsory education. (cf. CEDEFOP 2012: 23). The basic vocational training program EGU "is aimed at unemployed young people (age under 30) unable to complete another form of education or training which might equip them with qualifications to enter the labour market. The purpose is to improve their vocational and personal skills and inspire them to enter the labour market or pursue further training

[4] In Denmark upper secondary education is divided in 1. general education qualifying for access to higher education and 2. in a vocational or technical education which primarily qualifies for access to the labour market.

[5] Real Competence: Adults, age over 25, with two years of professional experience and school knowledge equivalent to 9th grade in the relevant subjects can get access to a vocational education or shorten their vocational education via having their real competences evaluated. In the evaluation of real competences are professional experiences as well as competences in the fields of recreation, hobbies, education and others are taken into account.

possibilities“ (CEDEFOP 2012: 32). Schools of production are aiming at young people (under age of 25) who have not completed an upper secondary education, are uncertain about to choose a further education or vocational training. “Most come either from compulsory schooling or have completed a basic IVET course without completing a main course. The purpose is to help clarify the individual’s future career path, and individual guidance is provided on a day-to-day basis.” (CEDEFOP 2012: 33)

Higher education contains Bachelor programmes, Professional bachelor programmes[6], Academy profession programmes. Access to a bachelor, professional bachelor and academy profession programmes requires the completion of Gymnasium (stx), a Higher Technical Examination Program (htx), a Higher Commercial Examination Program (hhx) or a Higher Preparatory Examination (hf).[7] A completed I-VET education (not EGU) gives in general access to a professional bachelor and academy profession programme. Access to Universities, Colleges and Schools or programmes where the number of students who can be admitted is limited might require a certain average of grades (Numerus clausus).

After graduating from a Bachelor or Professional bachelor programme there is the possibility of further studies in a Master’s programme (candidatus). After graduating from a Master’s programme, “there is a research education leading to a PhD degree” (Danish Ministry of Education 2010: 16).

Free choice and education

Following the argumentation one has the chance to get access to the Danish school system and to work one’s way up to higher education. Formally it is possible. However taking into account Erik Jørgen Hansen’s work about education and social inequality one gets other results. Hansen conducted a research consisting of one generation. He started to interview approximately 3000 14-years old interviewees the first time in 1968 and the last time in 1992, than 38-years old. The results correspondent with Bourdieu’s approach dealing with social class, habitus formation, school system and the (re-)production of social inequality. According to Hansen the social environment one grew up is dominant or at least highly influential with respect to one’s education trajectory. Social mobility has not increased especially not by means of formal education because namely the education system is the key to perpetuate social inequality. (cf. Hansen 2003: 99ff; 1995: 144ff; 1983) According to Glavind the probability of a 25 years old with parents without an completed education to fail the completion of his or her education or vocational training was 4,8 times higher compared with 25 years old that grew up in a family with academic background. In 2001 the probability of a 25 years old with parents without an completed education not to complete his or her education or vocational training was 6,4 times higher in comparison to a 25 years old that grew up in a family with academic background. (cf. Glavind 2005: 22) However one can imagine that this situation got even worse taking into consideration the contemporary

[6] Not all of the professional bachelor programmes give immediate access to the master’s programmes.

[7] Access to Bachelor-, Professional bachelor- and, Academy profession programmes is regulated via quota 1 and quota 2 regulations.

discourse of competition and its consequences concerning the (re-)shaping of the education system in terms of individual competition by means of a test culture. To add on the education expansion or mass education that resulted in an inflation of education credentials (cf. Hansen 2003: 45ff) it is not surprising that a specific group of pupils actually end up not to participate in the education system and not graduating from their education. "The inequalities in early school outcome promote inequalities in their opportunities to *voice* their opinions and participate as democratic members of society. It promotes *less* valuable (from the individual's perspective) *educational* and vocational opportunities than they are formally entitled to. It promotes *lesser opportunities to enter into the job market* and enjoy the mutual recognition with other workers that this entails." (Jensen/Kjeldsen 2012: 3f.)

The most vulnerable group is the young people that do not complete education, i.e. early school leavers and students that have given up for various reasons. According to Noemi Katznelson the main characteristics of this group is 1) the social background, i.e. the capital formation perpetuated via the family plus the family constellation playing an important role in terms of stabilizing factor; 2) former school experiences, i.e. especially experiences in examinations carried out by the pupils, stating the more examinations completed the higher the probability that these pupils will continue with further education or an apprentice ship or a vocational training; and 3) theoretical skills, i.e. the skills and competences to read, to write and to do mathematics. (cf. Katznelson 2004: 23f.; Birch Andreasen et al. 1997)

But one question remains: Is the non-participation in the school system a result of conscious disaffirmation resulting in resistance or is it the reaction of young people that gave up the struggle and competition? What are the future dreams of young people and what makes young people choose their future (educational) trajectory? Jill Mehlbye deals with the question if the young people are free to choose the education they reason to value and he concludes that they by no means are in the position to choose their future (educational) path according to their wishes and dreams. Besides the quality of school grades, i.e. the formal way of selection, he emphasizes the relation between the education path and ethnicity, social class and the parent's formal education, i.e. individual and socio-structural and cultural conversion factors. Because the latter two items have been already discussed above it might be necessary to stress the relation between choice of education and ethnicity. The survey took place in four Danish communities via questionnaires from 1996 to 1999 including 800 pupils and in the end of the project some of the pupils have been finally interviewed. Mehlbye found out that young people from ethnic minorities choose typically manual-labour related education whilst Danes choose the theoretical track, i.e. especially the girls choose the gymnasium. Manual-labour oriented education is to a great degree connected to practical training. Being confronted with a high unemployment rate and a significant high competition, especially on the field of manual labour, it is another obstacle to find a traineeship. The result of the lack of on-the-job-training results often in drop-outs affecting mostly young people from ethnic minorities preferring this kind of education. Aggravating these circumstances, Mehlbye points to the fact that this group is lacking Danish language-skills, too. (cf. Mehlbye 2000: 38f.) One has to add that this argument counts also for working class children, i.e. every day culture that is not aligned to the dominant educational discourse. Interesting are the outcomes concerning the future expectations. The survey shows a close relation between the young people's ethnic background and their future expectations. While the Danish pupils see themselves as 25 year olds on the educational trajectory, the non-ethnic Danes expect themselves to be unemployed. Mehlbye

concludes that these negative expectations might lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy and therefore serve as an explanation concerning the high drop-out rate by non-ethnic Danes. (cf. Mehlbye 2000: 39) However it is not as simple to conclude that it is just an ethnic problem. In Denmark it is also important if one lives urban or outside urban structures because, for example, on-the-job-trainings are rather seldom to find in non-urban areas because of the lack of companies. Besides this, also immigrant girls doing much better in school in comparison to male immigrants and they show similar and even better results than male Danes. However Pless and Katznelson contribute to the question of early school drop-out and school leaving pointing to the fact that deciding about future education and vocational training is also deeply related to identity formation processes. It is a kind of rite of passage to a new part of life and this decision has to be made whilst being in the time of adolescence where self-esteem might be challenged. On the one hand the young people are aware about the educational hierarchies, i.e. the high appreciation of theoretical education trajectories in comparison to manual-labor tracks, but on the other hand they are tired of school because schooling reminds them often of negative experiences, conflicts and defeats. (cf. Pless/Katznelson 2007: 20ff)

This correspondents to a case study[8] that has been carried out with pupils that have failed earlier schooling and with teachers and manager from The Basic Vocation Education and Training (EGU). This study has been conducted in four different EGU institutions in different cities, according to place and size, in Denmark. The interviewees are vulnerable young people having lost track in the transition from school to further education or work. (cf. Rosendal/Kjeldsen 2012: 1) The reluctance of theoretical school subjects gets obvious when "one of the young people phrases it: "*books or anything with mathematics - it has never been me, ever, so my school ended when I was in the 7th grade"* (I[9]: pupil 2). In the Danish context this illustrates a very early school leaver, since the Danish primary and lower secondary education is a comprehensive school covering the grades from at least 0-9 grade[10] or as one of the professionals states it: *"EGU-pupils whom I have, they've been through some really, really hard things through life, with a bad school experience and they can´t relate to their own age group"* (I: internship teacher)." (Rosendal/Kjeldsen 2012: 3)

With respect to the freedom to choose ones education or vocational training it is obvious that the EGU institutions are an important institutional conversion factor in order to help realizing the pupil's personal and socio-structural and cultural conversion factors, i.e. analyzing the chances to fulfil the pupil's dream and discuss other options when necessary. "The youngster we meet her at EGU do have the same dreams and wishes as other youngster – a success, i.e. at get married, have a small apartment and a car … we could try to make these dreams real, but the problem is: either they are so unrealistic or they just don't have dreams … We have some dreams, but we are not guided by just our dreams. There are also a lot of other things that play a role, and that is what we do then, we sit down and talk with the young people her. (I: teacher 2) And the teacher summarizes that it often ends in analyzing the abilities, skills and education of the pupil to find a reasonable choice with

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8 This study is part of the WorkAble project.

9 This refers to the number of the case in this multiple case study.

10 Grade 0-9 covers approximately the age-span form 6 to 16 years of age. Pupils in the 7th grade will be 13-14 years of age.

respect to pupil's possibilities. Also the manager from the same institution admits that they sometimes have kind of "dream-crushing" discussions with the pupils but according to their experiences it seems to be unrealistic to be a "horse-masseur" or a photographer because of the missing trainee-ships and the competition with "good students" with more aligning competences that go also for exactly these occupations (manager II). This manager points to the fact that some pupils are disconnected to their (societal) situation and cannot see their opportunities in a realistic way. "Oh, they also think, that they can be pop-stars and that this has nothing to do with reality, it is difficult to understand that" (manager II) Besides the young people that would like to become a pop-star, there is also a group that has no inspirations and wishes at all and a last group that do have realistic dreams. The young people showing no wishes for their education and future life seem to have given up. They might be disillusioned by "accepting" the realistic perspectives. Concerning the last group states one teacher: "Ja, that is typically some craftsmen-occupation as dream job: mechanic. We have four pupils that are fine with the idea to get brick-layer, it is really not the fact that they would like to become pilots or police officer, it is not like that." (II: teacher 1) According to this teacher's statement one pupil says that: "I have never had a specific dream-job, I have always thought about the possibility to be a pedagogue, also a veterinarian but I am not intelligent enough that means that I will never become one of this" (IV: pupil 1). Being pupil at an EGU-institution refers to belonging already to a group with conversion difficulties. It is a combination of social disadvantages and different sources of deprivation. (cf. Sen 2010: 257) Even if the institutional approach of the EGU is to help these young people is at most a great offer to help, it shows at the same time that it is just an attempt to balance the social disadvantages and deprivations resulting from social conditions of social inequalities that have their structural reason mainly in the contemporary formation of society.

Conclusion

Considering Isaiah Berlin's notion of the relation between positive and negative freedom, i.e. self-mastery and the domain of action of non-interference it seems to be obvious, now, that to attain the possibility to choose the education one values it is not sufficient enough to require the absence of arbitrary interference by others or societal structural interference. It is crucial to understand the societal conditions and existing realities that are embedded in the social structures related to education and education institutions as such. In this case it makes sense to adopt the personal; socio-structural; as well as institutional conversion factors in order not to ignore the (intrinsic) relations serving as constituents in the interplay between decisive dimensions – such as family background; education institution; social demands; etc. – having a deep impact on the opportunity space with respect to attain the freedom to choose one's educational trajectory. Especially if one's life chances or set of attainable life-path depend to a major degree upon how individual resources are used within different social arenas, the societal and institutional conversion factors should be emphasized, and not confused with a meritocratic ideology, i.e. shifting the responsibility to the individual. Even education institutions, like the EGU, that are encouraged and very well disposed towards their pupils are confronted with insurmountable problems resulting from former individual experiences (in the family, education institutions, etc.), structural demands and (financial) restrictions and are influenced, at least to a certain degree, by dominant discourses.

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7. Development of capabilities of vulnerable youth. Voice and public action in the context of transition from education to labour market.

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1 Introduction

This article discusses the theoretical question of mechanisms contributing to and constraining the development of freedom by using empirical evidence from case studies of two educational programmes addressing vulnerable youth in Italy and Poland. Both educational initiatives might be considered examples of public action involving, respectively, the third sector organisations and businesses, whose aim is to deal with a problem of integration to labour market while existing public policies seem to be unsuccessful in a context of reproduction of inequalities. By applying Amartya's Sen capability approach, we analyse what are the decisive factors working in favour of or against building capabilities of young people in vulnerable situations, be it – as in Italian case – a combination of disadvantages concentrated in one territory such as poverty, unemployment, criminality or – as in Polish case – reproduction of lower social position of parents through vocational education system that suffers from decreasing quality, financial problems, out-dated infrastructure, low qualifications of staff and a weak linkage to labour market. The specificity of this theoretical framework consists in questioning a predefined and externally imposed understanding of policy success by treating as crucial the individuals' perspective on what "doings" and "beings" (Sen calls it "functionings") they treat as valuable and by analysing how effective freedom to achieve these valuable functionings (Sen calls it "capabilities") might be taught and exercised. The added value of this approach consists in including processual dimension of public action: instead of comparing public action outcomes we explore its dynamics and reflect on mechanisms of change.

Both Italian and Polish educational programmes were created in response to high youth unemployment rate (see table 1) and aimed at improving basic and vocational skills of young people and ease their integration to labour market. Actors that initiated them – the local third sector organisation active in a disadvantaged district of city situated in Southern Italy and a big international power industry company suffering from shortages of qualified workers with secondary education in Poland – were aware of pitfalls of current public policies and decided to use their own know-how and available resources to deal with it. We can therefore say that those programmes are the examples of public action taken by non-state actors to make up for the systemic deficiencies generated by or at least not successfully addressed by the State.

Table 1: Unemployment rate among people under 25 (%)

GEO/TIME	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
European Union (27 countries)	17.8	18.6	19.0	18.8	17.5	15.7	15.8	20.1	21.1	21.4
European Union (15 countries)	14.6	15.8	16.5	16.9	16.2	15.2	15.7	19.9	20.4	20.7
Italy	22.0	23.6	23.5	24.0	21.6	20.3	21.3	25.4	27.8	29.1
Poland	42.5	41.9	39.6	36.9	29.8	21.7	17.3	20.6	23.7	25.8

Source: (Eurostat: LFS)

Apart from the above, both cases share also other contextual features. They are characterised by sub-protective and poorly integrated public policies, which fail to provide support to young people in vulnerable situations. In the Italian case, this problem is presented on the example of the reproduction of inequalities concentrated in a particular area – the Campania Region situated in a Southern part of the country. The region itself has a high youth unemployment rate (see table 2) and the statistics concerning young people not in education, employment nor training (NEETs) and dropouts are visibly higher in the South of Italy than in other parts, except for Islands (see tables 3 and 4). The Trespassing Project has been created to overcome difficulties that young adults from disadvantaged backgrounds have to face in their transition to labour market, which had arouse as a result of lack of complex and integrated policy instruments (e.g. educational and social policy, educational, employment and labour market policy, etc.). Except for offering them on-the-job training it also provides them with guidance and counselling at every stage of the programme.

Table 2: Unemployment among people aged 15-24 in years 2002-2011 (%)

GEO/TIME	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Campania	59.5	58.4	37.7	38.8	35.4	32.5	32.4	38.1	41.9	44.4

Source: Eurostat

Table 3:Young people aged 18-24 not in employment and not in any education and training (NEETs) in years 2008-2011 (%)

GEO/TIME	2008	2009	2010	2011
European Union (27 countries)	13.9	16.1	16.5	16.7
European Union (15 countries)	14.2	16.2	16.4	16.4
Italy	20.7	22.4	24.2	25.2
North-West	13.7	16.9	18.3	18.2
North-East (NUTS 2006)	10.6	13.9	16.6	17.4
Centre (I) (NUTS 2006)	14.9	16.4	19.0	20.9
South	30.0	30.4	32.3	33.0

Islands	32.2	33.2	33.9	36.7

Source: Eurostat

Table 4: Early school leavers from education and training in years 2002-2011 (%)

GEO/TIME	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
European Union (27 countries)	17	16.6	16.1	15.8	15.5	15.1	14.9	14.4	14.1	13.5
European Union (15 countries)	18.6	18.2	17.7	17.5	17.3	16.9	16.7	15.9	15.5	14.7
Italy	24.2	23	22.3	22	20.6	19.7	19.7	19.2	18.8	18.2
North-West	23.1	22.4	20.7	20.7	18.7	17.9	18.8	19.3	18.0	16.8
North-East (NUTS 2006)	20.2	19.7	18.1	18.4	16.6	15	16.1	16.0	15.4	15.2
Centre (I) (NUTS 2006)	19.7	18.5	16.7	15.8	14.4	13.8	14.5	13.5	14.8	15.9
South	26.2	25.3	26	25	24.3	24.8	23.1	21.6	20.9	19.5
Islands	31.9	29.2	29.3	30.2	28.1	25.1	25.5	25.7	25.5	25.0

Source: Eurostat

The Polish case study differs since it does not concern a specific territorial area, but rather tackles the problem of the reproduction of inequalities in the education system and its weak linkage to labour market. The recent researches show a significant correlation between parents' level of education and that of children (Fedorowicz, Sitek 2011), which might be partly explained by unequal access to education depending on family financial resources (e.g. paid tutoring and extra-circular classes) (Sztanderska, Drogosz-Zabłocka et al. 2007), insufficient support offered in other areas of public policies (social, family and labour market policy) as well as a remaining separation between these various policy fields and lack of coordination between different levels of government implementing them (see, for instance Hausner 2007; Sztandar-Sztanderska and Mandes 2011).

During the transition from lower to upper secondary school, children are selected to different types of schools depending on their results. Pupils with the best results continue their education in general high schools, while those with lower and average results go to different types of vocational schools (Fedorowicz and Sitek 2011: 106). Apart from the phenomenon of negative selection to vocational education, this educational sector suffers from a combination of problems, some of them being directly linked to restructuring of centrally planned economy in 1990s and dismantling of communist regime (Mertaugh and Hanushek 2005). The most important problems of vocational education are: a weak linkage to labour market, low popularity and financial problems, which lead to decreasing quality, out-dated infrastructure and low qualifications of staff. In consequence, pupils with already lower skills and often disadvantaged social background go to structurally more vulnerable schools, which even reinforce their initial weak position.

The programme "We empower you to learn" was created in response to these constraints by a big foreign international power industry company, that had difficulties to find well-prepared job candidates among young graduates of vocational schools. It aims at supporting young adults from the upper-secondary vocational school in the process of acquiring

vocational knowledge and skills. Both students as well as the vocational school itself are in disadvantaged positions – the former are – in general – not the best achievers and the latter constantly faces financial and personnel problems as well as has to compete for new pupils with more popular general schools. The programme gives them opportunities they would not be offered without the cooperation with a big employer. Although, it does not make up for holistic and integrated policies, it definitely brings closer the worlds of vocational education and work – which is quite rare in the Polish context.

2 Conceptual Framework

This paragraph develops some conceptual tools that allow us to analyse capacitating and incapacitating mechanisms, that is mechanisms contributing to development of capabilities and mechanisms constraining it. We propose an analytical grid centred on three main dynamics: provision of commodities, production of capability for voice and development of capacity to aspire. In fact, we aim at emphasizing the processual dimension of capabilities by analysing how capabilities are produced and promoted – or vice versa are constrained and hampered. As Benedicte Zimmermann points out "freedom should not be considered as a state, but as a process of interactions and power relations. Rather than manifesting itself as a given and stabilized condition, it occurs through permanent doing. As a consequence, the capability issue is not only a matter of enjoying freedom of choice and being able to convert it into effective achievements, it also raises the question of the production of capabilities and their changing set over time" (Zimmermann 2006: 477-478).

First, we will clarify why and in what sense we speak of public action. Then we will put together a toolbox that can help us in analysing the process-based dimension of capabilities (how they are constructed or constrained).

Capabilities

As is known, Sen's concept of capabilities is intimately linked to that of freedom. Briefly, capability represents the individual freedom to acquire wellbeing. It is a substantive freedom: the freedom to live the life we have reason to attribute value to (1999: 24).

In line with his anti-utilitarian position, Sen instances himself well from the concept of freedom that characterizes the present culture of capitalism.

First of all, in his approach there is a focus on the public goods and their relevance to reach some freedoms that are impossible to achieve differently. Therefore the public distribution of primary goods (or commmodities) is fundamental in making more accessible the means to freedom for everyone (Sen 1992: 89). "(…) social arrangements may be decisively important in securing and expanding the freedom of the individual. Individual freedoms are influenced, on one side by the social safeguarding of liberties, tolerance, and the possibility of exchange and transaction. They are also influenced, on the other side, by substantive public support in the provision of those facilities (such as basic health care or essential education) that are crucial for the formation and use of human capabilities (Sen 1999: 42)

Besides, individual capabilities are decisively linked to social and institutional opportunities which allow them to grow and be practised (infrastructures, economic possibilities, institutional, legal, political powers and so on). At the same time, collective action increases the possibility of individual choices, setting up new ends and means for getting there (De Munck, 2008). Again in Sen's words, "What people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives. The institutional arrangements for these opportunities are also influenced by the exercise of people's freedoms, through the liberty to participate in social choice and in the making of public decisions that impel the progress of these opportunities" (Sen 1999: 5).

According to Sen, liberties have two roles: on the one hand a "constitutive role" that pertains to the relevance of substantial freedoms as purposes to be reached collectively (i.e. those elementary capabilities like being able to avoid deprivations such as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on); and on the other hand they have an "instrumental role", i.e. they are means to develop substantial freedoms. Thus, the instrumental freedoms directly enhance people's capabilities and they can reciprocally integrate and reinforce. In this sense, "social opportunities" and "protective security" are very important. Social opportunities refer to the arrangements that society makes for education, healthcare and so on, which influence the individual's substantive freedom to live better. "These facilities are important not only for conducting private lives (…) but also for more effective participation in economic and political activities". Protective security is needed to provide a social safety net and it "includes fixed institutional arrangements such as unemployment benefits and statutory income supplements to the indigent as well as ad hoc arrangements such as famine relief or emergency public employment to generate income for the destitute" (Sen 1999: 39-40).

Public action

There are several reasons to put public action at the center of our reflection on voice and capabilities. In general, the concept of public action implies some differences with respect to the notion of public policy. Instead of concentrating on the State, it indicates a plurality of actors that interact at different levels of decision making and takes into account institutional and social dynamics of policy implementation. Therefore, public action refers to the concept of governance. This has two implications.

Firstly, public action shares the process-based dimension of governance. In fact, despite its widely discussed ambiguities, the perspective of governance gives an evident emphasis to a shift from structures of government to the processes of governing. So, talking about public action means to conceive policies as continuous streams of action, because there has been an increase in the interdependency among actors, among the central and local levels, and among the phases of decision making, implementation, and assessment (Demortain, 2004). As Lascoumes and le Galès argue (2007, 17), the sociology of public action has broken with the traditional hierarchical view of public affairs but does not ignore the political dimension. Rather, it works on the relationships between social regulation (society) and political regulation (politics), between what is governed and what is not (p. 17).

Secondly, “public” itself is understood as process-based and not equivalent to the “State”. In other words, it implies a shift from realities which are given – the public understood as consisting of actors and organisations, or as a precondition for action – to the processes through which arenas, actors and issues could become public.

We choose to focus on public action also due to specific reasons linked to the case studies. We refer to the plurality of actors that in Italy and Poland are involved in the analysed programmes and the role played by respectively the third sector and businesses. Moreover, another reason is connected directly to the perspective of capabilities. Analysing policies and programs as public actions helps to get insight into the process-based dimension of capabilities and to understand how freedom and voice are developed or impoverished.

Conversion factors

In order to understand capacitating and incapacitating mechanisms, we will now focus on conversion factors, i.e. those factors that promote or impede the conversion from formal rights and freedoms to effective rights and freedoms. Capacitating and incapacitating mechanisms are respectively those that activate or constraint the exercise of these factors. In fact, conversion factors are those elements and features that increase the chance of achieving valuable “functionings”, i.e. converting commodities (resources, goods and services) in the opportunity to promote one’s own aims (Sen 1999: 87). Sen (1999) examines the problems of such conversion considering the fact that variations in that respect can involve extremely different factors. They can derive from simple physical differences but can also involve very complicated social issues[1].

According to Bonvin and Farvaque (2006) one of the main points of interest of the CA is precisely the focus it places on conversion factors: in fact, the essence of the CA is to be found in the process through which the conversion factors transform formal freedom into real freedom. Different dimensions are crucial in explaining the conversion of primary goods into functionings, and they are connected to the true freedom a person has to realise the life she/he has reasons to choose both in terms of “being” as well as “doing” (Bonvin and Thelen 2003; Bonvin and Farvaque 2007: 46).

Therefore, a multitude of factors may influence the conversion of goods and services in wellbeing. We can divide them into three groups (Bonvin and Farvaque 2007: 52):

- Personal characteristics: health, character, etc.
- Social characteristics, such as social norms and conventions or any kind of discrimination based on gender or ethnicity;
- Environmental characteristics, which include infrastructures and public institutions that contribute to the conversion of goods into wellbeing.

[1] Sen identifies five causes of variation of the relationship between effective resources and incomes and the advantages to gain (in terms of well-being and freedom): personal heterogeneities; environmental diversities; variations in social climate; differences in relational perspectives; distribution within the family.

Moreover, conversion factors play a complex role because they refer to people and contexts simultaneously – they structure and build up the relationship that between institutions and individuals, between social dimension and the individual one.

Capabilities for voice

An important feature point of Sen's concept of freedom is that it includes citizen's involvement in the public debate in which options and priorities are discussed and fixed. This debate involves the attribution of values in which the substantive freedoms are rooted. As Sen (1999:15) puts it, "The exercise of freedom is mediated through values, but values are subject in turn to the influence of public discussion and social interaction, and on these participative freedoms act". Public participation is therefore essential for nurturing the debate on values and value judgements incorporated in the collective decisions over well-being. In fact, when the choice regards pre-determined options, Sen holds there is no real freedom: "The relevant freedoms include the liberty of acting as citizens who matter and whose voices count, rather than living as well-fed, well-clothed and well-entertained vassals" (Sen, 1999: 288). Therefore the capability for voice is "the capacity to express one's opinions and thoughts and to make them count in the course of public discussion" (Bonvin and Thelen, 2003). It is equivalent to the power of choice, and at the same time a premise to, and result of, public democratic debating. In this sense Sen emphasizes that voice is neither an alternative nor an accessory, but operates as an integrative part of well-being. This means that the conditions for expression of voice are complementary to the conditions necessary for good health, proper nourishment, etc.

Sen (1992) here grafts on his reflection on "judgments of justice" and on their relative informational bases: from Sen's point of view, public participation is essential for alimenting the debate on values and value judgements deposited in the collective decisions over well-being. This debate is crucial for the development of freedoms and takes place more easily in open spaces with numerous voices.

Capacity to aspire

It is at this point that Sen passes the baton over to Appadurai (2004). And it is indeed in the dialogue with Sen that Appadurai formulates his concept of capacity to aspire, casting light on the cultural dimension of voice. The capacity to aspire concerns the chance to "have a more complex experience of the relation between a wide range of ends and means … to explore and harvest diverse experiences of exploration and trial, because of their many opportunities to link material goods and immediate opportunities to more general and generic possibilities and options" (Appadurai 2004: 61). It is a navigational capacity "to use the map of social norms and to explore the future, and to share this knowledge with one another" (ibidem: 62). As a cultural capacity, it incorporates values, norms, codes for mutual recognition and increases via "practice, repetition, exploration, conjecture, rejection" (ibidem: 66).

Like Sen, Appadurai details this concept dealing with the topics of development and poverty in India. These are situations where opportunities for imagining a future are very scarce (and this is what he thinks is an efficient way of defining poverty). According to Appadurai, for the

capacity to aspire to increase, there must be opportunities for the voice to be exercised, with “the capacity to debate, contest, inquire, and participate critically” (ibid: 79). The relation is of close interdependence: “It is through the exercise of voice that the sinews of aspiration as cultural capacity are built and strengthened, and conversely, it is through exercising the capacity to aspire that the exercise of voice by the poor will be extended”(ibid:79).

Appadurai places great emphasis on the pragmatic and public dimension of the capacity to aspire. His analysis about events like toilet festivals demonstrates that the crucial point is to create spaces for public sociality and official recognition which are accessible to poor families. Thanks to the exchange of ideas they activate, these events become public and political, besides being occasions for socialization and enjoyment. They stage a visibility politics which reverses the conditions of invisibility the poor are normally subjected to. In this sense the capacity to have aspirations is to be considered not only a cultural capacity but also a public one. This means that the capacity to aspire cannot be considered a condition for interaction. On the contrary: the practices thanks to which this capacity is produced must be brought to the fore. Appadurai refers to situations like “public dramas” and rituals involving the creation “of new states of feeling and connection” which have therefore “a creative, productive, generative quality” (2004: 82). It is in these situations that the capacity to aspire can become active and also activate processes of change involving the normative context in which action and imagination emerge. It is from this viewpoint that thinking about the future, just like imagination, comes to the light as a collective property.

Appadurai's capacity to aspire, therefore, links Sen's capabilites to the ability to imagine a future and by, emphasising the collective and pragmatic dimension of agency, is useful for understanding in what sense individuals can redefine the social and cultural context in which they interact. From this perspective capacity to aspire is necessary also to reinforce democratic participation in the forms that Appadurai terms “deep democracy”, characterised by “internal criticism and debate, horizontal exchange and learning, and vertical collaborations and partnerships” (2002: 46).

The analytical grid

At this point we make explicit the connections between the concepts we have illustrated above synthesizing and organizing them into an anlytical grid (Fig.1). The grid identifies two types of mechanisms: those capacitating and those incapacitating the conversion of resources and formal rights into real freedoms. In the former the construction of capabilities is centered on: a) provision of crucial commodities; b) production of capability for voice: the power of choice can be exercised and informational bases of judgment of justice can be discussed and redefined; c) development of capacity to aspire: people may explore diverse experiences, enlarging their horizon of possibilities (future-oriented). Vice-versa, in incapacitating mechanisms: a) crucial commodities are lacking; b) informational bases of judgment of justice are not negotiable; c) adaptive aspirations are prevalent: people are oriented to predefined and imposed concepts of future and do not have skills that make it possible to dream and construct another idea of future. These are ideal-typical mechanisms, whose practical variations are constructed through the factors that promote or inhibit the conversion of resources and formal rights into real possibilities of freedom.

This scheme allows to investigate whether mechanism are capacitating or incapacitating, i.e. whether they activate or constraints the exercise of those factors that allow the conversion of resources and formal rights into real freedoms.

Fig 1 The analytical grid

CAPACITATING mechanisms	INCAPACITATING mechanisms
Provision of crucial commodities	Lack of crucial commodities
Development of capability for voice, informational bases of judgment of justice can be redefined.	Informational bases of judgment of justice are externally defined and not negotiable.
Development of capacity to aspire, people have the chance and the ability to imagine, plan and construct their future (future-oriented).	Adaptive aspirations, people are constrained by predefined and imposed concepts of future (past-oriented), they don't have skills that make it possible to imagine and achieve the future.

3 Case studies' results

Italian casestudy

Italy is characterised by a high level of **institutional fragmentation**, which translates into weak co-ordination between the various levels of government and a context of highly sectorial public policies, lacking integration between labour, development and education policies (scarce multiscalarity and multidimensionality of policies) (Paci and Pugliese, 2011). The institutional resources assigned to education seem insufficient to allow for the different starting points of the students to be taken into account and for upholding pupils' capacities: the school system is unable to emancipate those who start with social and cultural disadvantages by redistributing opportunities. Consequently, the poorest areas are generally marked with a high level of drop outs (Rossi-Doria, 2009, Fondazione Agnelli, 2010). Inequality and imbalance are substantial on a national level, especially in the north/south divide. Moreover, as for the employment policies, measures aimed at activation are few and far between.

In such a context, the **Campania Region** displays particularly serious problems, closely bound up with the issues linked to economic and social development and with significant territorial differences and inequalities, which lead to uncertainty with regard to rights, resources and rules (Kazepov 2009). The investments of the past years in education, made with the aim of achieving the Lisbon strategy targets, have not produced the desired results. Campania's labour market is characterised by ample margins of undisclosed labour and a very high percentage of unemployment. In such environment, the resources destined for youth vocational training and adult lifelong learning are often used improperly: on the one hand,

they have been widely used as substitutes for social welfare or for patronage; on the other, EU funds should have only supported public initiatives aimed at up-skilling, while they seem to have ended up taking the place of State intervention, in a situation that has worsened over the last few years, partly due to the economic crisis.

Therefore, the situation of young adults in Campania is problematic: the unemployment rate is very high and school absenteeism as well as school dropouts are widespread. The lack of stable occupational opportunities constitutes a structural weakness of the labour market, and off the records work is commonplace. Many young NEETs therefore face the risk of undertaking deviant paths.

Provision of "crucial" commodities

The Associazione Quartieri Spagnoli (AQS) is a non-governmental organisation that was founded at the end of the 1980s in one of the neighbourhoods in Naples. It is a territorial service, able to supply support and guidance to the most disadvantaged of its inhabitants. It is committed to various projects aimed largely at minors, youths and their families, financed both by public bodies and private subjects.

Although it has broadly cooperated with public services in Naples for more than 20 years, it is currently going through a difficult financial period due to delays in payments by the public institutions that finance its job, which tend to exploit the outsourcing of social services to private agencies in order to reduce costs.

The Trespassing Project consists in offering apprenticeships at small companies collaborating with the Association. The programme, which was awarded its fourth cycle of financing in 2012, sets out to involve 16 early school leavers for each cycle (aged between 16 and 18) through on-the-job training programmes, addressing the recovery and development of their basic life skills. The project does not foresee any classroom training, and no professional qualification is offered. Every beneficiary receives 5 euros per hour with a total amount of 20 hours per week, while the company is refunded 3 euros per every tutoring hour. Through an in-situ approach, the main aim is to put together operations which re-establish the prerequisites of employability, thus allowing young people to choose a working career independently, while the long-term goal is to foster chances of social integration through work placement programmes.

The Trespassing Project has an intervention protocol structured around well-defined methods, tools and practices, based on the care of the young people taken by the social workers and the company tutors. The social worker supports the participant's job placement using some specific tools such as worksheets and task registers. The counselling activities, the worksheets, the activity registers, the time organisation of the meetings define a structure which guides the young adults, the social workers and the company tutors in the whole work-familiarisation process. This allows for an all-round operation of enhancing beneficiaries' knowledge about themselves and the situation they are in. In companies, beneficiaries are encouraged to approach work through everyday activities with the supervision of a company tutor who follows them – along with the social worker –

throughout their job placement. The close collaboration and integration between these two figures constitutes one of the strength of the entire project.

Trespassing has a relevant local dimension: the AQS effectively became a small local social agency, as well as an important point of reference for the local area. The actions of the Association are characterised by easy access, activation measures addressed to people living in the area (e.g. programmes for young NEETs, projects of daily nursery, after school activities for children, etc.,) and interventional practices dealing with early school leaving and educational failures, by focusing on supporting young people in the transition between 'hard school' and 'hard work', between a school not sufficiently equipped for disadvantaged students and a labour market with a youth unemployment rate that is one of the higher of EU countries.

But if on the one hand the local attachment is a strength, due to its ability to collect and address the problems of the people living in the area, on the other hand it is a weakness of Trespassing: there is no national or local (municipal, regional) strategy for supporting young NEETs, and interventions are episodic and uncontinuous. Thus, the lack of other levels of action 'segregates' the programme to its context, and the absence of a strategy and a public direction, which might guarantee rights and resources, hampers the programme's ability to generalise its results and methods, which is why it remains short-ranged and limited. This runs the risk of isolating the Association and especially the young adults, leaving them without perspectives due to the lack of a more general policies aimed at supporting them. When the programme is finished, the risk is that the beneficiaries' – due to their vulnerable life situation – fall right back to the starting blocks, further depressing their capabilities.

One of the most critical areas in terms of crucial commodities and conversion factors is the labour market, characterised by a shortage of opportunities, deregulated job positions and criminality. The problems originating from this field together with a lack of integration between interventions (employment, labour market and educational policies) and of long-lasting approach may affect the overall living conditions of the youth and limit the process of converting the (scarce) rights and resources into capabilities. Moreover, it may result in transferring all the responsibility from society to the young individuals themselves , that has to choose between very few opportunities.

In working with job placement processes, the social workers from AQS must bear in mind these general constraining situation, making it very difficult to find a job. Thus, the programme offers itineraries of familiarisation with work that do not necessarily lead people to a regular job, yet that focus on the recovery and valorisation of basic skills.

The scarcity of resources is another issue that has to be tackled, since it leads to discrimination of weaker pupils. Given the small number of places and the limited budget, only those who right from the selection phase seem to have certain resources (be they individual, social or family-based) are accepted to undertake the itinerary. Weaker ones who risk not completing the programme are excluded a priori, for uncompleted placement courses cannot be reimbursed by the Regional Council. The weakness of the institutions entails the difficulty or unwillingness to intervene specifically to address these limitations, while they could be crucial in this respect.

Capability for voice

One of the main focus points of the AQS' action is coming up with interventions that work explicitly on encouraging young adults to express their voice. The voice is considered throughout all the various phases of the project. First of all, in the phase of selection of the candidates: information is gathered here about beneficiaries' life context, literacy and numeracy abilities, work experiences. They are also enquired about their fields of interest and desires. In this phase attempts are made to sound out the young adults' motivation to undertake the itinerary proposed by the project and to open up a space of dialogue in order for their aspirations to come to the fore for discussion.

After evaluating the candidacies, the selected beneficiaries are required to sign a training contract stipulated between the AQS, the beneficiary and his/her family (if the beneficiary is a minor). This may then be reformulated or substituted with an agreement between the various actors even during the work placement, so the young people have the chance to change it even during the apprenticeship.

Over the years, the AQS has put together a database of companies in which the young adults may gain work experience. The social workers define this database as a sort of 'pedagogical company register' which has been built a relationship of trust over the years: the companies have been chosen if there was the presence of a tutor able to conjugate solid abilities to teach a job with educative skills, in order to have a global approach to the young people situation.

The work placements are articulated into four hours of activity per day, five days a week, for an overall period of between four and six months[2]. The project focus entirely on the hands-on work placement experience, the intervention methodology is based on experience and learning on the job. Each young adult is thus entrusted contemporarily to a company tutor and a social worker, who provides personalised tutoring and counselling[3].

A fundamental role in promoting young adults' voice is played by the counselling, during which the social worker supports the participant's itinerary. The main tools used during this process are the worksheets and tasks register that are helpful to organise and define the stages and timing of the activities. Every week, the tutor and the beneficiary fill out these forms, which have different aims: some focus on the placement and thus serve to make the beneficiary think about what has been done over the week; others concern the labour market rules, aspects of working contracts and relevant legislation; others deal with general basic skills bound up with society as a whole; yet others address the emotional and relational levels of the young adult. This specific methodology defines highly-structured pathways with a strong support from the AQS.

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[2] An attendance fee of €12 per day is paid to beneficiaries, while the company receives €8 per day for its tutoring activities.

[3] There were four social workers that the AQS could rely on at the end of this research report, and in past editions of the project there were never more than six.

From a pedagogical point of view, the approach adopted is largely that of 'scaffolding': a support strategy based on learning processes which allow the participant to carry out a task even if he/she initially does not have the sufficient capabilities to do it on his/her own (Hogan and Pressley 1997). Social workers follow the itineraries of the beneficiaries with weekly counselling sessions, the timing and duration of which may be flexible, providing highly personalised support on the basis of their needs and requirements. The support granted by the programme to young adults represents a social conversion factor, even if there are no public arenas in which it is possible to take into account the beneficiaries' and social workers' point of view in programming the interventions.

This approach has an impact on the young adults' capacity to express themselves: at the beginning they show up with a general need for a job; with time, they acquire more and more awareness, and become able to say what they want thanks to the methods applied by social workers and time devoted to listening to the young people and to counselling them. So, in the programme social workers practices (their methodology, their time, way of behaving) are a conversion factor that leads to development of capability for voice, as it is the cognitive ability the beneficiaries have to express themselves or to be represented by someone who can adequately express their viewpoint.

Moreover, the research results highlight that the right of young people to express their voice and to practice it is a prerequisite for the development of all the other capabilities. The promotion of the beneficiaries' voice is a driver for the capability for education and for work: the programme activates the young NEETs in order to let them aspire for something that can be a further vocational training or an educational path. But at the same time this is an element of ambiguity: as the educational system does not support them in dealing with their problems and the labour market is characterised by high youth unemployment rate and does not offer them opportunities, beneficiaries' voice is the only element the programme can work with, but the context remains the same. The meagre support offered by institutions and the absence of integrated projects with regard to the various living dimensions of the young adults depress their scope for voice: this is a social factors that limits the conversion of formal rights and freedoms into real ones. Furthermore, this limits the young adults freedom to choose: since after having exercised their capability for voice within the project they find themselves in a situation in which they can only reproduce patterns typical of their living environments without having the chance of choosing alternative paths. It is relevant to highlight that beneficiaries' voice concerns just the modulation of apprenticeships itineraries, while it is not exercised in Trespassing planning phases, where it is very limited.

Capacity to aspire

Strictly connected to capability for voice is the issue of the capacity to aspire: It is difficult to imagine a situation in which someone is able to exercise his/her capacity to aspire without a strong and structured voice, or in which someone has bargaining power with no planning of the future.

The capacity to aspire consists in the right to dream and construct one's future and in gaining abilities to plan this future: it is a "navigational capacity" to use the map of social

norms and, with this tool, explore and plan the future, even involving a change in the normative context in which action and imagination emerge.

In this sense, the programme activates young people due to its educative dimension. Its aim is to let them gain a perspective about their future through a tailor made itinerary. The beneficiaries often start off not knowing exactly what they want to do, falling into the local stereotypes based largely on gender conditioning. The work undertaken by the social workers, the company tutors and the AQS as a whole tends to promote difference and increase choice, through actions aimed at putting together emancipation strategies directed to let them increase their capacity to aspire to a different future. In particular, the social workers on the one hand adopt a direct listening stance with regard to the beneficiaries, and on the other hand, they are adults who propose values and behavioural models which open up perspectives and approaches different from those that the beneficiaries are used to, and which – albeit partially – manage to put in doubt the behavioural models which the young adults have grown to accept as the norm. Passivizing or inferiorising approaches are rejected, and tutors cannot take the place of beneficiaries on the job. For the young adults, the example, presence and constant support of these figures take on major educational importance, and the headquarters of the Association are open to all those who have taken part in previous projects, who come to visit the tutors for help with job-seeking, or for advice on a difficult domestic situation or on a relationship with a partner.

The strong structuring of the itinerary and the educational abilities of the social workers provide the young adults with a solid support framework, in which their capabilities are valorised through a process of personal growth. Furthermore, the worksheets also serve to familiarise them with certain general living dimensions.

Moreover, the process of familiarization with the work experience is not limited to the acquisition of technical and professional abilities: it is mainly a process that deals with socialisation and the development of mature relationships. Young people, then, "learn how to learn" embracing and sharing, during the on-job practices, rules and values typical of the adult world. They end up building an effective analysis of their experience, while highlighting their desires and the paths they have reason to value. The social workers try to support the beneficiaries in the deployment of their skills and abilities: the valorisation and the empowerment of basic competencies takes young adults back into a more general learning process that sometimes guides them towards an institutional education system. These activities promote young adults' self-reflection, giving them the chance to focus on what they value in their working practices, and supporting the development of their basic skills.

Thus, the programme works in favour of promoting those basic skills that allow young people to imagine and aspire to futures that can also be redefined in the course of their apprenticeships. There is a strong drive towards learning paths based on everyday practices, and the beneficiaries value this chance to learn

Besides, the programme is, as we already noticed, ambiguous in its practices. The fact that it is not really strict and oriented toward professional skills allows the social workers to deal with the most problematic dimension of young adults' life: in this sense, Trespassing opens up a context of possible futures, oriented toward the capacity to aspire. But the normative and value frameworks of the local context are strong and limiting. In fact, for most of the beneficiaries, the end of the project means going right back to where they were before. The

risk is that after having exercised their capacity to aspire within the project, the youth then find themselves in a situation in which the only possibility is that of adapting their desires to the context without having the chance to think of or construct alternative futures: a common finding in every edition of the project is that one or two young girls give up Trespassing to have a baby (and they usually stop searching for a job) and a period in jail remains a very common scenario for some of those young adults.

As for the orientation toward the future and the chance to imagine a tomorrow, other critical issue is the lack of a solid basis of resources and opportunities for young people. In this context, young people activation depends on the individual and on his/her ability to promote him/herself. In this sense, a sort of ambiguity may be noted in the Trespassing Project: while on the one hand it aims to increase beneficiaries' scope for choice, especially with regard to the working environment, on the other hand it is centred on individual competences and attitudes in a given context with no parallel actions that aim at changing it to create a more capacitating situation, and risking to lay the responsibility of the situation only on young people's shoulders.

Polish casestudy

Origins of the programme for youth in vocational education

In order to deal with crisis of vocational education in Poland a big international power industry company together with a Warsaw vocational school implemented the educational initiative aiming at improving educational and professional prospects of their students. Vocational education in Poland has suffered from a decreasing popularity, which lead to a negative selection of students, i. e. students entering vocational schools had worse school results at previous stages of education and – as quantitative evidence show – they reproduced lower social position of their parents in terms of educational level (Fedorowicz and Sitek 2011; Sztandar-Sztanderska and Zieleńska 2012). At the same time, the quality of vocational schooling has been declining as a result of combination of factors: financial problems, out-dated infrastructure and teachers' qualifications as well as a weak linkage to labour demand[4]. Due to a centrally defined list of vocational curricula and a system of state exams, employers lack influence on the content of teaching, which is criticised for being too theoretical and not adjusted to changes in economy. This problem concerns in particular some professional specialisations – like power industry – where there was completely no educational offer whatsoever.

[4] Vocational education in Poland lost its connection to the labour market in the course of systemic transformation: in the socialist period this type of education has been provided by companies themselves; after 1989 many of them collapsed, others had to fight for survival by implementing cost reducing strategies – among other things – resign from their educational functions. From this point vocational education stated to be provided only by schools which have been constantly underfinanced and due to that unable to provide students with up-dated equipment and high level of teaching. Moreover, in order to survive vocational schools had to attract candidates (state financing was dependent on the number of students in a particular school) and therefore often introduced new specialisations forcing teachers to re-skill rapidly (teachers lacked practical knowledge of the new subjects and were not supported in up-dating their skills).

In this context, a big employer operating in the sector of power industry – subsequently called ENERGET – initiated a programme "We empower you to learn", which had a twofold aim. First of all, the objective was to provide vocational students with some basic skills demanded from job candidates in ENERGET by investing in cooperation with vocational schools. Second of all, to introduce a specialisation of "technician power engineer" to a state list of vocational curricula, by mobilising different circles to lobby for this change: academics, teachers, local authorities, employers organisations.

The vocational school under study entered into cooperation with ENERGET to make its own educational offer more attractive to students. It has been struggling for candidates to survive on the educational market: vocational upper secondary schools were losing the competition with general upper secondary schools and many of them had to face the threat of shutting down, because people had started to value more the latter form of education; they have also been forced to cope somehow with the problem of scarce resources (for years public funding has not been sufficient to cover the costs of expensive equipment needed to teach vocation). This problem has been particularly profound in Warsaw, where the number and the quality of educational facilities made competition stronger.

What makes this case interesting is that it might be considered as an example of public action (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2007), involving both public and private actors, pursuing their interests and working together in order to answer the structural problems of vocational schooling in Poland and at the same time targeting vulnerable youth population. This type of public-private cooperation is still rare in the Polish context and often characterised by mutual distrust[5]. Moreover, compared to other training and educational initiatives in Poland, it might be regarded as innovative, because of its preventive and long-term character as well as a broad range of good quality services.

By applying Amartya's Sen capability approach (1992), we analyse what are the mechanisms contributing or constraining development of capabilities of these young people, paying attention to three aspects: 1) commodities provided together by ENERGET and a vocational school, 2) development of capability to aspire and 3) capability for voice.

Forms of support of young people in the programme "We empower you to learn"

ENERGET provided the vocational school with financial, material and educational support, quite unusual for companies in Poland in terms of scope, duration and comprehensiveness of services. Cooperation with a school made it possible to work continuously with youth over a period of their three- or four-year educational cycle. The company supplemented a standard curriculum with non-mandatory and mandatory activities: vocational and soft-skill workshops, excursions to power plants and 3 weeks apprenticeships. It also funded scholarships for the best students. Apart from that, selected pupils were invited to take part in so-called "ambassador programme" and play a role of representatives of the company by organising meetings at school, transferring information, etc. ENERGET has also provided equipment for school labs and workshops and printed educational materials for lessons

[5] In Poland, due to the socialist legacy, there is no tradition of public-private partnership and these kind of intiatives are still relatively new.

conducted by their employees. Classes organised by ENERGET were regarded by youth as more interesting than usual school activities thanks to experiments and references to practical application of scientific theory, while ENERGET employees were praised as good pedagogues willing and able to explain science in a simple way and to adapt teaching methods to the level of skills of young people and their life experience. This might have been connected to the fact, that as practitioners they treated scientific knowledge not as something abstract, but indispensable to perform their everyday work. Finally, ENERGET has also managed to create new specialisation of vocational education "technician engineer", which enabled the opening of new class with up-dated mandatory curricula after the end of research.

Also the school staff took some steps to deal with pedagogical problems, in particular low level of students' initial knowledge. Contrary to what usually happens in Poland, the school provided free of charge catch-up classes after obligatory lessons instead of leaving students with outside option of privately paid tutoring. Moreover, the school also hired a psychologist who prepared integrative workshops for students and all teachers were asked to fix their permanence hours for individual consultation.

To sum up, thanks to joined efforts of ENERGET professionals and school teachers, the programme represented an important improvement in access to infrastructure and to well-prepared courses and workshops in comparison to what would have been proposed if the initiative had not taken place.

Ability to use commodities and capacity to aspire

Although the programme provided students with a full range of commodities (courses, apprenticeships, workshops, etc.) they would not have the access to otherwise, it did not always give them chances to make use of it. It fall short of levelling up the inequalities in knowledge and skills, which occurred among students from the very beginning. For that reason some of them were not able to take full advantage of what is offered in the framework of the programme. First of all, although catch-up classes were provided to those who had difficulties with understanding scientific subjects, not all could participate in it. The classes were organised after regular lessons and people living far from the school or having many obligations at home often could not take part in it. In some cases lack of motivation to stay after lessons was also an issue. Second of all, the vocational workshops organised by ENERGET were often conducted during obligatory lessons. On the one hand, many students could not afford to join them, because it would mean falling even more behind in various subjects (mostly science). On the other hand, some of the students participated in it to avoid attending classes they had difficulties with – situation that only worsened their problems.

In result, the programme tended to reproduce initial inequalities. Classes under auspices of ENERGET soon divided into small "elite" of the best performers and the "rest". Over the years, this division has not changed – there were barely any flows between those two groups

The situation described above had twofold side effects. First of all, it contributed also to the adaptation of preferences among majority of the students – the so called "rest". They excluded themselves from many activities and did not make attempts to change their

positions, as if a failure was a foregone conclusion. In the interviews conducted during the research they defined themselves as “not capable of”, “not interested”, “not suited for” and thus not even trying to make an effort. This was partly caused by the fact that improvement was not rewarded in the programme: scholarships were granted only for the best results, not for getting better at something; in most cases only the best have been symbolically distinguished by representing school outside (during official events and presentations). The most extreme example of this process is the situation of female students in the programme. On the one hand, they were not especially good performers, on the other no one expected much from them, because power engineering was considered a male job – so they would not be suited for it anyway.

Second of all, many of the students – apart from those belonging to the class elite– had also limited chances to develop their capacity to aspire, understood as the ability to set own goals and to forge own path leading to their achievement. According to the interviews, many students either did not have any precise plans for the future (preferred not to think about it), or had some educational and vocational goals, but were not aware of the formal demands they had to fulfil to achieve them. A frequent example of the latter is not knowing that to become ENERGET employees it is necessary to first pass the final vocational exam – without it they do not stand a chance. This was strongly influenced by the school authorities, who from the beginning presented students with a vision of steady job awaiting them in ENERGET after they finish the school (it was their strategy to attract candidates). Whereas, the fact that company’s demand for employees is limited to couple of people and that there are certain requirements such people have to meet was not problematised.

One might assume that it would be more in the interest of the school than the company to work on levelling up the differences between students, since the later needed only a few people for the jobs and the former is assessed on the basis of the students’ overall results. Nevertheless it was ENERGET employees who contributed to some extent and in some cases to both alleviating the tendency to adapt one’s preferences and developing capacity to aspire. As for the former, the possibility to interact with professionals from the company came out to be of great importance, since they represented the world of different values than the school. They appreciated reliability more than official school results, they were able to go beyond the teacher – student relationship and address programme participants as partners. For example, one of the students had to provide for his family and therefore neglected school and resigned from the function of programme ambassador. He could count on support from the professional conducting apprenticeships: “Dawid, he supports a sister, a brother and a disabled father. And he often used to (...) say: ’I’m so tired, I worked all night’. He has to earn the living. And you can see that he is honest– he is not a skiver, he just can’t make it physically. He kept saying: ‘I would like to come to work here’. He has been working somewhere for three month already and he received payment only for one month. And I said: ‘I have been working here for 30 years and my salary was never late. (...) Listen, if I am here next year – and I know I’ll be here in a year – I’ll be recruiting (…). I guarantee you will have huge, huge chances”.

What mattered was not his low performance, but his honesty, which made him trustworthy. Also the fact that he was determined and ready to work hard was much appreciated. In other words, he fitted the profile of a good company employee more than that of an exemplary student. Thanks to that his self-esteem and his confidence were boosted – what could not have been the case if it was not for the programme. This was also the case of a student with ADHD, seen by school teachers as a notorious “problem-maker”, who after a

face-to-face talk with one ENERGET employee made an effort to change his behaviour and was publically praised for it.

As far as the capacity to aspire is concerned, the programme gave students the opportunity to experience themselves in new situations. Firstly, they had a chance to interact with professionals from a big company, who shared with them their knowledge and views. Many of them made impression on students because of what they achieved and represented and therefore could serve as role models. This relation influenced the scope of possible life choices considered by the programme participants. Secondly, the fact that they had the opportunity to take part in apprenticeships in a real power plant, where they were treated differently than at school, gave them an idea how a real job can look like. They were expected to behave like adults and treated as such, they received many attributes of employees – overalls, safety helmets, IDs.

Capability for voice

Another mechanisms contributing to development of people's freedom is creating space for their normative judgments on the life they have reason to value, which is called "capability for voice" (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006). Bonvin and Farvaque argue, along with Sen (Sen 1990), that development of freedom demands access to debating public choice and its normative foundations, thus also the effective possibility to co-define criteria of assessment used during implementation of public policy (so called "informational basis of judgment") in order to voice without restraint individual preferences about one's life, to reject unfair judgement and to participate as equal member of public process. In our case study, we analysed question of spectrum of voice at two levels: the programme level and the level of system of education, i.e. how the voice of students and parents is framed by school and ENERGET working together and what voice do they have as citizens in public process when educational issues are concerned.

1) *Voice spectrum in school*

Students and parents have a limited say, which is connected to the fact that the programme is implemented in the traditional context where the game between students and teachers is played by specific rules and the roles are fairly fixed: it has a very clear hierarchy, manifesting itself in spatial organisation (benches set in rows with a teacher's podium in front) and rules of conduct in class (for example, raising hands before asking question). The implicit assumptions about who should be given a voice and in which matters, typical for this milieu, are linked to two recurring oppositions: "youth" *versus* "adults" and "having competence" *versus* "lacking competence".

When parents are concerned, they are pictured by teachers and ENERGET professional as "incompetent", "having no clue about power industry branch", therefore they are treated as information recipient instead of equal partners. Whereas students are in a doubly weak position, since they are regarded as "immature" and "not knowing much about the real word". Therefore, they are expected to acquire certain life visions and modes of conduct which are valuable according to the school, while other possibilities are compromised as "juvenile" or "unrealistic". For instance, they are asked to learn how to sell oneself to

employer by impressive self-presentation or how to behave as a pupil or worker. These voice limitations are not problematised by teachers and ENERGET professionals. They remain – what sociologists call – "unthinkable", "self-evident", "taken for granted". A good example of it is the fact that both groups of professionals are convinced they give students space to act but students in response demonstrate lack of activity. Whereas, the spectrum for action is actually very limited – it is understood as giving possibility to propose topics for discussion or asking for clarification and additional information.

Neither students nor their parents are invited to discuss criteria of assessment according to which young people are evaluated. In case of problematic situations this asymmetry of power becomes particularly evident: as in the case of one vocational teacher that threatens the majority of class to fail and no one takes action to solve the situation in favour of the students.

2) Voice in education system

Students and their parents have been assigned a passive role also in the education system. They are atomised and their voice is reduced to taking educational decisions by choosing one among many educational facilities. Any other kind of voice might be gained only by protest. The typical example of local protest is when parents and in many cases also students and teachers unite against closing of a school in their town: they occupy the building and enter into negotiations with local authorities. Large scale actions remain rare. Lately there was one: the boycott of the ministerial reform that aimed at decreasing age of obligatory schooling from 7 to 6 year-olds. Many parents were deeply convinced that schools have not adjusted their organisation to 6 year-olds' needs. With a support of pedagogical associations they succeeded to postpone the plan until the conditions are fulfilled.

However, as far as the content of curricula, the scope of external exams and criteria of assessment are concerned, neither students nor their parents have any power. This is connected to the fact that actors external to the system of education are not given a place for any influence unless they win it by themselves. A good example of such a situation is the ENERGET's pursue for reintroducing the specialisation of power engineering technician to the list of taught vocations, which is centrally defined. The company is a powerful actor and was able to mobilise different circles (employers' organisations, academics, local authorities) to exert the pressure. They succeeded, but it took a long time and required a lot effort and resources (they had to prepare curriculum by themselves).

That kind of public action is much more difficult for parents (not to mention students), because they lack collective representation: they are rarely associated and do not have many forums where they can express their concerns. As long as there is no regular representation of students, parents and employers in the structure of education system, the cases of influence will be incidental and highly dependent on resources that people and groups are able to mobilise.

4 Concluding remarks from case studies

Both cases give insights into mechanisms contributing or constraining the development of youth capabilities in vulnerable contexts. First of all, in such contexts characterised by various kinds of deprivation **the real challenge is to deal with the problem of limited commodities**, which might only be overcome when various actors are included in policy-making. The factor of success in Polish case is the eagerness of the company and the vocational school to cooperate and share resources. As far as Italian case is concerned – one the one hand – what counts is the embeddedness of association in local social networks, which enables close and stable cooperation with employers and trustworthy relationships with young people and their families. On the other hand, lack of bridges between the AQS and public authorities having crucial resources at their disposal creates barriers to the development of capabilities: the third sector activities are not integrated with social and employment policies, which in the ideal situation might complement each other and prolong work with individuals instead of leaving them to themselves after the end of apprenticeships. Institutions play a crucial role in this respect as actors that have crucial commodities and factors of conversions at their disposal. According to Salais (2008), the public action may go in different directions: it may assign priorities to individual conversion factors, but it may also strengthen and promote conversion factors of a social and environmental kind, affecting the limitations and opportunities of a collective and contextual nature.

Second of all, what contributes to enhancement of youth educational and professional opportunities are not only financial and infrastructural support, but also skills, know-how of professionals implementing both initiatives, as well as possible life choices they impersonate. Development of freedom is certainly dependent on provision of good quality educational services and professional apprenticeships, but what counts a lot is young people's personal development. Having opportunity to interact with people from various and sometimes distant social backgrounds is an important life experience, which opens up new opportunities for discovering who you are, what you value, what is your potential and how various life paths – often unknown before –may be achieved. An intrinsic value of public action is that it involves plurality of organisations (public and private) and variety of individuals implementing it. Meeting them on your way contributes to the development of capacity to aspire.

Capabilities grow if they are used and practiced (de Leonardis 2002): it is thus fundamental, in order to promote them, to guarantee contexts and situations in which they can be enacted. This is not only a matter of training for specific job positions, neither has it to do with employability: work should be a chance to reinforce and develop basic competencies and self-reflection abilities.

Last but not least, students, apprentices and parents should be assigned an active and permanent role in the process of policy-making and instead of remaining silent their voice should be publicly heard. As both cases indicate it is difficult for many reasons. Reducing their voice to individual choice making delegitimises representation of their interest in the public process through collective bodies, which creates –one might say Tocquevillian

asymmetry of power – where “individuals” become detached and atomised and completely lack influence. As Polish case shows this is even more the case when people from disadvantaged backgrounds are concerned. They are easily deprived of voice as “not competent” and they lack resources, abilities and faith to fight their way in.

Development of capabilities is therefore dependent on strengthening and extending the voice of young people and those supporting them. One of the ways it can be done is though institutionalising this voice – be it permanent representation of parents and young adults in educational system or civic organisations in local government. In this perspective, the informational bases of judgment in justice are crucial: if the qualification of beneficiaries (their “targeting”) and of their itineraries, and the consequent individuation of the relevant information about how to set up interventions and policies, is open and debatable by everyone - be they beneficiaries, project leaders, policy makers and so on - needs, rights and resources could interact in order to develop an effective process of choice, in which beneficiaries’ voice can be effectively supported and practiced.

5 Implications for educational studies and for transition from education to labour market

To conclude, it is essential to emphasise the added value of CA when applied to studies of education including the research of transition from educational system to labour market. This particular perspective sheds light on the issues frequently omitted especially in macro analyses basing on data such as exam results, number of drop-outs, educational spending, distribution of education in society and basic labour market indicators etc. First of all, CA draws attention to the importance of educational process itself. It means that according to it commodities (be it courses, infrastructure, trainings, etc.) can be assessed only in relation to conversion factors (people’s real freedom to make use of it). Therefore, what is crucial is not only goods and services provided in a particular education system or vocational programme (e.g. one connected with the transition from education to labour market), but also equalising mechanism implemented to level up chances of taking advantage of what is given. In other words, educational skills as well as capabilities are not just a state but they raise the question of the processes of their production and re-production.

Second of all, it problematises the issue of desirable educational effects, because it focuses on individuals and their right to choose their own path. What matters is not necessarily the so called return from education, which can be assessed in relation to number of people obtaining formal diplomas or employed after completing education, but whether a particular programme or course increased participants’ spectrum of possible life choices in line with what they currently regard as valuable. Therefore, CA allows analysing the transition between education and labour market with focus on the process of choice – especially whether and how policies and specific measures in this field influence development and promotion of people’s freedom of choice. In this perspective the focus shifts from the outcomes (number/percentage of employed or unemployed) to the actual quality of the job and to the ways in which this transition has been shaped, with particular attention to the young people’s role.

Finally, CA allows for discerning the importance of experiencing oneself as a part of educational process, by putting in the centre the idea of freedom to choose the life an individual has reason to value. On the one hand, to be able to make an informed decision about the future one has to be given a chance to try different things. On the other, to find a way to realise goals, one needs to find out his or hers weak and strong points. Therefore, if the scope for experimentation given to young people in different stages of education is narrow, also their ideas about possible choices and practical skills needed to achieve goals may be severely limited. The extreme manifestation of it will be adaptation of preferences understood as self-exclusion from pursuing different aims, because of the foregone assumption that they are out of reach.

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8. New Conditions or Fall of Professions?
On Managerialism and Professionalism

Holger Ziegler & Niels Rosendal Jensen

Abstract:

The chapter presents and discusses the relationship between professionalism and managerialism. In the framework of the WorkAble Project it becomes relevant to develop a discussion on the changes of welfare policies, since the case studies in the project have shown a number of shortcomings which partly is an outcome of the idea of economization of the social and educational.

The chapter consists of three main sections and a short concluding discussion. The first deals with the changing societal conditions, pointing to the paradigmatic shift from welfare state to competitive state. The following section concentrates on the changing understanding of professionalism, which in turn is further followed up in section three by presenting changes in professional practice (focusing on changed values of the public services, changed professional practices, and impacts of competition. The fourth section is a short conclusive discussion.

Key words: *welfare – competition – welfare professionalism – managerialism*

1 A changing society – from welfare to competition

The point of departure is to understand capitalist society as a society being in a permanent crisis of accumulation. This encompasses a crisis in service provisions influenced by or reflecting the economic development. In casu we focus on professionalism as an example of the impact of that crisis. When discussing professional work we need not to forget societal conditions outside the field of social work which constitute the scope of the public intervention. Basically, we assume that social work and capitalism are still parts of a mutual intersection.

In the following paragraph the intention is to present some of the main features of what may be labelled a societal change.

The competitive state

The concept “competitive state” reflects deep going changes of the economic, political and cultural institutions which for instance characterize current Danish as well as European political economy. The concept of the competitive state points partly to another state and

partly to another political culture compared to the years after WW II. Those years became more and more dominated by discussions on the welfare state, introduced as a concept 1953 in Denmark. The left wing criticized the welfare state of being a sign of repressive tolerance whilst the right wing thought it as a threat to individual freedom, and to the family as the kernel institution of society and as dependence, a kind of political discussions which has disappeared now. The political debate of to-day is oriented at enlarging the welfare state. Instead, the critique of the state taking over civil society is replaced by a discussion on the welfare state as a burden for the private sector (cf. A broader discussion in Section 3 of this chapter).

The argumentation above emphasizes why the welfare state is changing. Though, the question is: are we observing a modification of the welfare state, or are we in fact seeing the emerging of a new type of state?

If so the *competitive state* is something different from the *welfare state*. Whereas the welfare state aimed at protecting the population and the companies against the international conjunctures, the competitive state aims at mobilizing the population and the companies to participate in the international or global competition. Further, the competitive state aims at making every person responsible whilst the welfare state weighted moral education (general education), democracy as community and freedom as the possibility to participate in political processes.

The competitive state aims at making the individual responsible for her/his own life, understands community as community of work and interprets freedom as being identical to the freedom to fulfil one's own needs, whereas the welfare state stressed the moral education or Bildung, democracy as community and freedom as the possibility of participating in political processes.

The competitive state improves dynamics on the cost of stability and has developed a never ending process of reforms. A central trait of the competitive state is the balance between accumulation and regulation which is presented and discussed in the next paragraph.

Accumulation and regulation

An approach to understand state and market will be offered in the following pages. Our emphasis is placed on two points: Every state is a product of a social practice, and social practice has a lot to do with production, reproduction and conduct. The first dimension is labeled accumulation (of capital, culture, power, etc.). The second dimension is labeled regulation (by means of law, norms, etc.). By means of this model we are capable of looking at educational policy as a matter of socialization. This is concerned with two analytical levels, namely

- A regulationist perspective

and

- The welfare regime perspective (cf. Esping-Andersen, 1990)

Education and educational policy is seen as a part of the general process of socialization.

Within the *regulationist perspective* the analysis would usually focus on four central mechanisms: 1) accumulation regime, 2) mode of regulation, 3) life regime and 4) mode of life. Bob Jessop defines the regulationist approach is looking at:

> *regulatory mechanisms, i.e. institutional forms, societal norms and patterns of strategic conduct which successfully expressed and regulated these conflicts until the inevitable build-up of tensions and disparities among the various regulatory forms reached crisis point. When this occurred there would be an experimental period from which a new accumulation regime and a corresponding mode of regulation might – or might not – emerge* (Jessop 1990: 308).

Then, the accumulation regime is defined as *"a particular combination of production and consumption which can be reproduced over time despite conflictual tendencies"* (ibid.). This goes hand in hand with a specific mode of regulation, i.e*. "an institutional ensemble and complex of norms which can secure capitalist reproduction pro tempore despite the antagonistic character of capitalist social relations"* (ibid.).

Life regime and life mode are defined in parallel to the economic dimensions. Thus, under life regime we understand a combination of factors regarding the individual, locating him/her in the physical and social environment that can be reproduced over time despite conflictual tendencies. On the other side, the mode of life is defined as an ideological and psychological constellation of various and complex norms that can secure the individual's integration into the capitalist circle of production. This allows understanding processes of socialization as a matter of the 'conflation' of structure and agency. Socialization is in social science generally approached by looking at two dimensions, namely the socialization of production on the one hand and the socialization of the personalities on the other hand. Though the perspectives on each have been very different, the core dividing line had been the one of objective processes around production in the widest sense, and subjective processes on the other hand, the latter by and large seen as educational processes.

To develop this simple model further we introduce three elements or processes: 1) condition, 2) constitution and 3) norms (Herrmann 2009, 2011).

Which are the conditional factors impacting social work? Those factors are discussed in terms of *socio-economic security, social cohesion, social inclusion and social empowerment.* When turning our interest towards constitutional factors, we find personal (or human) security, social recognition, social responsiveness, and personal capacity. And eventually we arrive at the normative factors which are: social justice (equity), solidarity, equal value and human dignity. It is important to understand that the three kinds of factors are defined by the interplay of the remaining two other factors:

- The constitutional factors by the interplay of the conditional and normative factors
- The conditional factors by the interplay of the constitutional and normative factors
- And the normative factors by the interplay of constitutional and conditional factors.

An illustration of the argumentation follows:

Conditional factors	Constitutional factors	Normative factors
Socio-economic security	Personal (human) security	Social justice (equity)
Social cohesion	Social recognition	Solidarity
Social inclusion	Social responsiveness	Equal value
Social empowerment	Personal capacity	Human dignity

Reading the illustration we find that socialization is the turning point. Whether we read the illustration from left to right or vice versa, we may argue that the conditional factors are oriented at accumulation, whilst the constitutional and normative factors are derived from regulation. But as already underlined this takes place in interplay and in a historical approach. Accumulation of capital as described by Marx in Capital (Vol. I, Ch. 24) shows how conditional factors of ordinary people are changed by interventions of the ruling classes who are using the constitutional factors (law and court) to change normative factors ("survival of the fittest").

To sum up we'll use an illustration inspired by Herrmann pointing to potential tensions:

1. We may orient towards the state or towards the market (or even world/global market)

2. We may invent a tension between the demands of efficiency contra the demands of equality

3. We may further see the state mobilize a collective, national solidarity opposite to private enterprise

4. We may define a tension between nationalism and liberalism as well as between collectivism and individualism

At the end we will find that

5. for the educational system this means an emphasis on either equality of outcomes or equality of chances.

In brief: Four well known concepts are situated in the field of tensions (efficiency contra equality and state contra market). And this is paradoxical: the state is not just type; there are many types, and they are developing. For the moment being competition of efficiency on a global scale means that the state has to bring two contradictory collective means of production in interplay. Both are preconditions for economic efficiency and national solidarity, and this further means that the state is confronted with two contradictory

demands of equality: that of chances as well as that of outcomes. This middle conclusion leads to further consideration of the relationship of reasons for and impacts of regulations.

Based on leading values and beliefs plus the cultural power structure normative theories are designed and developed. In the next step such theories imply normative regulations and normative institutions (the rules are so to say an outcome of a compromise of interpreted values, moral and power). Besides or below such theories one will find the social and economical power structure. From the normative regulations and institutions one may also point to social practice and the distribution of power belonging to social practice. And then in turn the outcomes or products are assessed from the perspective of legitimacy as well as the perspective of utility (or use on behalf of one's own interests). This is a question widely discussed in educational sociology (Althusser's article on ideological state apparatuses can be seen as an answer to the question: How is it possible to provide a contradictory society with social cohesion? Why don't people revolt? Althusser points to the mechanisms of the ideological apparatus of state (like family, church, school, work place) and the concept of interpellation (Althusser 1970). Boltanski and Chiapello point to the 'new spirit of capitalism' as an answer to the same question). Just to emphasize their argumentation we quote:

"In many respects, capitalism is an absurd system: in it wage earners have lost ownership of the fruits of their labour and the possibility of pursuing a working life free of subordination. As for capitalists, they find themselves yoked to an indeterminable, insatiable process, which is utterly abstract and dissociated from satisfaction of consumptions needs, even of a luxury kind. For two such protagonists, integration into the capitalist process is singularly lacking in justification" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005: 7) In addition they point to, how activities or projects are justifying this system. This means doing networking and being engaged in a discontinuous process of project planning, project implementation and project finishing. If they are right, this feature offers a plausible explanation for challenges of the professions.

A dialectical viewpoint

By underlining this new social practice the intention is to avoid being bound or tied to limited ranges of challenges and understandings. In epistemological respect practice – encompassing the simultaneity of the societal, social and individual dimension – has to be seen as key feature in overcoming the dichotomy between structure and action as it is suggested in mainstream social science. The social is then understood as the outcome of the interaction between people (constituted as actors) and their constructed and natural environment. With this in mind educational and social policy refers to people's productive and reproductive relationships. In this perspective

- The constitutive interdependency between processes of self-realization and the processes of the formation of collective identities
- Is a condition for the social, realized by the interactions of
    - Actors, being – with their self-referential capacity – competent to act
    - And their framing structure, which translates immediately into the context of human relationships.

In other words we deal with some contradictions. Processes of self-realization are contradictory to processes of the formation of collective identities. From self-realization we derive the self-referential capacity and thus further the competence to act. From collective identities we derive the framing structure – which in turn is in contradiction with self-referentiality – and further the context of human relationships – which may or may not support or impair the individual competence to act. All of these contradictions form the social.

However, this model needs a material foundation. If we are not accepting to refer to an anthropological presumption of seeing the human being as social being (by and large following the Aristotelian argument), we need to answer the question on what grounds this constitution takes place. Without material foundation the approach fails to elaborate the dimension of social historicity. We therefore need to look at the historical character of the social itself.

Regimes and technological stiles

Marx once stated:

> *"In the social production, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".*

In the same work he explains societal change by following words: "*At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production. …From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution" (ibid.).* Further he adds some observations of importance in our context:

> *"No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation*"(Marx (1859) 52-53).

To translate this quotation into *regimes* and *technological styles* we may underline some important features: Is a given political and economical regime capable of solving societal problems? We are not talking "either-or", but rather "more or less", meaning that a regime can obtain conditions or minimal or maximal capacity of solving societal challenges. Further we may discriminate various stages of development: (1) formation, (2) development, (3) saturation and phenomena of disintegration, (4) disintegration. The first two stages are linked to maximal capacity, whilst the latter two are linked to minimal capacity.

The stages of technological style are: (1) new technological elements are connected with existing technology, (2) the style is crystallized and disseminated, (3) the dissemination is saturated and new elements of style are showing up, (4) the technological style becomes heterogeneous. Important to pay attention to: the social process is swinging between decreasing and increasing homogeneity. When a new style is very (well) disseminated, homogeneity reaches its peak.

We use the quotation from Marx to question, whether the transition from Fordism to Post-fordism could be interpreted into his understanding of a conflict between the development of productive forces and relations of productions. In addition, we are curious to know, whether the shift to a competitive state could plausibly be interpreted as an epoch of social revolution. If so we may better understand the depth of the revolutionary shift and th at the shift was not only a matter of technological revolutions in the economic basis, but at the same time a sort of cultural revolution in the superstructure (Norms, values, beliefs, ideology, etc.).

We have now identified two social processes which are related to each other and both of them swinging between two states (minimal and maximal capacity) and four stages. Both of them are decisive for governing economic events and governing the cycle of conflict in the development of the career of a societal model. In order to link the two approaches: the normative and the economic the concept social citizenship may serve as an example. Civil and political citizenship consisted of equality before the law and freedom to vote; social citizenship as the third stage of development was a driver for equality of worth (Marshall 1992/1950). This became the base of the welfare state, producing better health care, better education, better housing and better social services. As the growth of these services took place outside the private market, social citizenship became a treat to capitalism. Perhaps not a revolution in Marxian sense, but at least a “silent revolution” from above supported by professionalization. And as the growth of social services expanded and appeared to have no saturation point. Due to the fiscal crisis in the 1970’es new forces and ideas were going on the stage and the professionals were not strong enough to oppose them.

In the paragraph above we intended to summarize the picture by reducing the tendencies to two main features: accumulation and regulation. At the same time we discussed a number of trends and presented considerations on the line of argumentation. The following part intends to develop a broader outline.

Outline of a new society?

The Welfare Society is much discussed in the press, among politicians and citizens. Some politicians are promising to develop “the world’s best level of health” or aiming at becoming in the top five of the PISA-ranking, etc. Are the promises close to realities, or are they distant from realities? Are such promises simply used to cover that for example Denmark is no longer a classical Welfare State? A similar tendency is obvious all over Europe. To find an answer one must ask questions like: Are we undergoing deep societal changes? Where are those changes heading and for what purpose? A serious analysis is developed by Joachim Hirsch. He demonstrates the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism and from classical Welfare to Neo-liberalism. Fordism was characterized by the assembly lines, mass

production aimed at a growing domestic market and an increasing mass consumption. The state played the major role in the governance and development of a national economy, and economic theory was primarily influenced by Keynes. In contrast to Fordism Post-Fordism is characterized by an individual production, a consumption based on life-style and oriented at a global market. The state maintains an important role, but governance takes place as a negotiated interaction of state and organizations. At the level of the nation state there is a shift from government to governance where the state becomes one agent among others operating in subnational, national, and international domains. This change is often labeled paradigmatic, shifting from a strategy influenced by Keynesian Welfare National State (KWNS) to a strategy influenced by a Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime (SWPR) (cf. Hirsch 1995; Jessop 2000; Antikainen 2008). The realm of the state, that was formerly "exterior" to civil society, becomes localized and hence "interior" to the realm of private interests (civil society) which becomes global – through transnational capital. One consequence is that the nation state cannot sustain social welfare and thereby may lose its cohesion.

Figure 1

	Fordism	Post-Fordism
De-nationalization	Assembly line, mass production, mass consumption, domestic market	Individual production, production in series, life-style-consumption, global market
De-statization	Government	Governance
Regulation	National	Global

De-nationalisarion refers to that economy (accumulation) is no longer linked to the nation state, while de-statization refers to a shift in governance paradigm.

Hirsch draws on theory of regulation. This theory explores answers to the question: How the social (maintenance of the material production and the social solidarity) can be ensured and how this arrangement could be guaranteed a relative duration? Here society is understood as a complex mutual interdependency of the economy, state and civil society. By interdependency is meant that for example economic processes are not pure economic relations only, but also influenced by social relations and power relations. Without going into detail (cf. Hirsch 1995) his analysis emphasizes that regimes of accumulation and ways of regulations are not closed in itself and not around itself, The concepts mentioned are seen as contexts of practices characterized by particular structural conditions, regularities, possibilities of action and social forms – the reciprocal relation of which in turn is seen as relations of articulations. Many actors are involved – clubs, political parties, trade unions,

etc. In a historical perspective connections are developed between complex and similarly independent contexts of action.

Hegemony

Hegemony points to the close connection between power and consensus in every relation of domination. Any regulation presupposes a societal consensus and a readiness to follow the dictates of the time. If not consensus about a certain way to regulate society erodes. Hence, regulation is linked to hegemonic projects, what might be called efforts to implement general assumptions about the right order and development of society. A successful project is supposed to contribute to the common good; otherwise consensus will not emerge. Sectional interests are forbidden or hidden, and all parts of society must be involved. Hegemony rises and develops primarily in civil society – according to Gramsci (cf e.g. Gramsci 1972: 184-195) - as discourses, relatively independent of relations of interests, social and societal interests, relative strength and constellations of classes and groups. Hegemony aims at developing common shared ideas about values and social order in society, making them plausible and implementing them (cf. Here the conception of economy - Pedersen 2011: chapter 1). In addition structures have to be implemented in political and societal practices (e.g. politics, life conduct of citizens, etc.) and in a convincing way involving important strata and milieus. Eventually institutional regulations of the societal and political processes of negotiation and decision have to be found. This does not imply an easy transition from wish to reality. This is caused by the fact, that those who should be convinced are living under quite different conditions, are positioned differently in society, have varying relations of affiliations (gender, family, education etc.). They are working in different environments, use different cultural traditions and in addition have certain interests as wage earners, employers, smaller tradesmen as well as car owners, landlords, etc. As single individuals they are placed at the locus of a lot of very different and contradictory discourses.

How to fit all that together?

The trick is to be capable to fit these manifolded and contradictionary orientations in a certain way, to link them in such a way that a conditioning story about the world, its right order and the intended development of the conditions is emerging. You need a certain imposition which is contributory in developing a certain societal consciousness. Hegemony is not a linear development, but an open process of many actors and many spaces in which many ideas, interests, points of view, etc., are theorized, created, mobilized for, separated and combined.

Hirsch sums up his analyses in a thesis about the creation of a new form of capitalism, a kernel of which is “flexibilisation”. The characteristic of this societal formation is its interpenetrations of the public sector by dumping the cost of wages and by deregulation (Hirsch 1995: 88ff.). The overall feature is flexibilisation and rationalization by means of globalization (ebd.: 90) as an alternate way of regulation compared with the classic Keynesian way. The modern welfare state has adopted processes similar to the private

sector. The state has copied the private sector. Parallel to the market logic ”the public sector is maintained as buffer able to produce, reproduce, absorb and separate labour force” (Jensen & Rosendal Jensen 2007: 13, our translation).

Hirsch formulates it like this: The functional logic of the national competitive state builds upon mobilizing all societal spheres and directing them at increasing the global competitiveness. A national mobilization is taking place aiming at ”economic warfare”; this war can only be won when the nation understands itself as a capitalist company: hierarchical structured, directed at an economic goal, having an efficient administration and government, differentiating between labour force in the centre and the margin with restricted rights of participation and loyal circles of innovation, production and quality (à la Toyota/LEAN) (Hirsch 1995: 109).

Societal realities are not that simple, of course. The many voices represent very different and often conflicting interests and fight for including their interests in the strategy of the future of the competitive state.

Education is a central vehicle in the transition

In order to better grasp these contradictions we use further Pedersen’s analysis which is inspired by Joachim Hirsch. Pedersen catches as above mentioned “the societal illusion or assumption of economy”, e.g. a certain understanding of the relationship between state and economy. The old state is changing and a new state is emerging. Pedersen differentiates between welfare state and competitive state. The competitive state does not any longer protect citizens and companies against oscillations of the international economy, but intends actively to mobilize the population and the companies to participate in the international competition. This shows a move from compensation to mobilization defining the individual as responsible for her or his own life. Freedom, then, means to realize own needs and no longer freedom as a possibility to participate in political processes. The new state promotes a dynamic which can be seen in never ending processes of reform. Further the new state tries to influence international environments (among other things EU). In brief this is a state *”which is organized with the purpose of influencing and adapting in order to mobilize and reform to take care of national interests”* (Own translation op. Cit.: 12). Drawing on Gramsci Pedersen assesses school to be the most important factor. The new task of schooling is to educate competent individuals possessing skills making them at the disposal of the labour market – on the conditions of the market and at best a lifelong process. It is work that will shape the community and not education, participation, democracy or equal possibilities (op. Cit.: 170). In particular he underlines a change of the person from being irreplaceable to become opportunistic. By opportunistic is meant at least two interpretations: First. The economic means that the person already is what he should be, namely selfish and motivated by incentives (Bobbitt 2002: 228-235). Second. The opportunistic means that the person Is surrounded by incentives (technological, financial, social), but at the same time has to be educated In order to use these by means of acquired skills (Pedersen 2011: 190-191). Pedersen presents an argumentation based on ideas. Alternate outlines give less space to ideas, f.e., Gunnar Viby Mogensen, who underlines the role of economy. Mogensen emphasizes the difficulties of keeping the Danish welfare model, since it has been developed

to integrate “problems which could have been handled by the citizens themselves, e.g. by insurance or savings”, our translation (Mogensen 2010:777) and because of heavy expenditures due to the early retirement benefit scheme which came into operation from 1979 onwards, migration and the relatively low productivity of the public sector. Mogensen points as does Pedersen to the fact that new challenges have emerged due to the global competition.

2 A changing concept of professionalism – a new kind of socialization of professionals leads from professionalism to managerialism.

In this section we outline some contours of a new socialization moving from professionalism to managerialism.

To make a long story short: The professions seem to be forced to drop their own criteria of professionalism, first of all their professional estimate of situations of interference with users, in favor of economization, e.g. market criteria. Walker states f.e.:

> *the professionals are described in a new way by emphasizing three basic, but interdependent changes of the modern state. First is the introduction of a new discourse aiming at both preparing and improving public servants to handle reorganizations while those are made. Thereby the new discourse becomes governing and manipulating. Second: the driver for changing the discourse is originated in the need of modernization which in turn changes the social relationships between the leaders of the state, citizens and professionals. A modern state aims at governing the employees, making them flexible and mobile. The outcome of this process is or will be a loss of status, professional creativity and autonomy. Third: behind the project of modernization lies coercion originating from globalization of markets and the processes of accumulation of capital* (Walker 2004: 87 – our translation).

Walker adds that Ford succeeded in “splitting up working processes in smaller items and organizing them and similarly the social relations in new ways, too”. Like Ford the modern state gets rid of the semiprofessions. The outcome is Postfordist flexible accumulation of capital” (ebd., 112). Summing up the critique Walker emphasizes some key words: performance, strategic plans of action, leadership, continuous evaluation, external control of finances, competition and profiling of institutions. Social relations are expressed in terms of teams, supervision, control of quality, wages linked to performance, manuals and modules, internal evaluation, differentiation between core and peripheral labour force, differentiation of levels of work, etc.

The consequence is a changed socialization within the professions.

Similarly societal values have been changed. Jørgensen (2004) mentions four basic values for the public sector:

1. the public sector bears the responsibility for society in general;
2. there should be public control and supervision;

3. protection of the law should be safeguarded;

4. autonomous professional standards should be followed.

Jørgensen underlines important changes as the state draws back from earlier responsibilities. Our hypothesis is that point 1 and 4 of the above mentioned values are under the hardest pressure. Citizens are no more in the focus of state interventions, and we observe how old distinctions between worthy and not worthy poor or unemployed are re-entering the public debate. The focus is moved to underpin the ability of competition of private companies. Likewise one could point to a discourse of bio-political governmentality emphasizing the responsibility of the citizen in all fields (employment, health, education etc.). This individualization of responsibility becomes a decisive value in the public sector, and the population is over the years getting used to "full freedom" and "full responsibility" (Beach 2010, 555).

Concerning point 4 the trend seems to be blurring the borders between professional standards and political intentions. The outcome is a sharpened demand of identification with the values of the leadership in the institutions and municipalities. One could talk about "the encircled institution" (Pedersen 2011, 246), characterized by a number of governing and controlling systems (accountability, etc.). We sum up what we label the discursive formations within this issue: namely the discourse of performativity, the discourse of accountability, the discourse of standards (or commodification), and the discourse of surveillance and control (cf. Jensen and Walker 2008, Ch. 10).

Having presented an overall framework above we continue by getting closer to the professions to show how the overall societal changes impact the professionals.

3 Changes In professionalism

The described discursive formations are accompanied by enhanced strategies of standardization and bureaucratic rationalization which reflect a pursuit of 'measurable' results. Practically therefore a key characteristic of the current organizational culture are efforts to quantify goals, practices and outcomes. This is performed through the development of a multitude of more or less sophisticated indicators (cf. Power 1997, Otto et al. 2009). This organisational culture is at conflict with the organisational culture which governed welfare professionalism in the Fordist welfare state. A central feature of the decline of traditional welfare professionalism is an eroding trust in the discretion of front-line professionals in favour of the allegedly higher accountability of managerialist rule (cf. Scott 2000).

In order to elaborate this suggestion it is instructive to bring to mind the close relation between the properties of the state and the peculiarities of welfare professionalism.

Typically welfare professionals deliver services within both state and non-governmental agencies. Yet most of these non-governmental organizations have contracts with and are financed by state agencies. Insofar they used hardly to be organisations beyond the state but rather a part of the enlarged state. Against this background welfare professionals might be

described in terms of what Terrence Johnson (1972) used to call '(state) mediated professions'. This term points to professions, in which the state or a state agency acts as mediator between the profession and its clientele, deciding in broad terms who the clientele will be and what should be provided for them through a legal framework and through the overall allocation of resources and powers. The state legislation embodies particular perspectives on the way people with 'problems' and 'needs' are defined and subsequently outlines the ways and modes in which welfare services may respond to them and are obliged to respond to them.

Given the fact that a central feature of projects of professionalization is to gain monopoly of credibility with the public which restricts the control by outside agencies over the actual ethicality of the transaction of professional services professional theories often assumed that a key trait of professionals is their autonomous decision making. This was suggested to be underscored by a distinct, scientifically founded knowledge base and relative unhindered by pressures from either the state or the clients themselves. In reality however this has always been only a part of the truth. What is valid however is the fact, that in the context of the Fordist welfare state the typical form of rule, i.e. bureaucratic hierarchy, was compatible with considerable (technical) discretion of welfare professionals. Welfare professionals were capable of determining specific responses to service users' needs and also the determination of what needs of clients are, was basically a product of interpretations and categorisations of the professionals. It were basically the welfare professionals (rather than managers or the clients themselves) who had the power to define who their clients were, what they needed and which measures for which aims should be taken. Such broad discretional realms opened up as even though bureaucratic rules were typically rather unambiguous, their practical implementation necessarily involved interpretation and judgement and thus at least technical autonomy. Factually decision-making in service provision took place through combining of bureaucratic rules and discretional professional judgement. It is thus convincing, when for instance John Harris (1998) argues that for the 'mediated' welfare professionals the bureaucratic hierarchies were as much a basis for the power exercised by welfare professionals as they were a mode of exercising power over welfare professions. Against this background it is applicable to argue that the dominant form of appearance of professionalism within the Fordist welfare state was bureau-professionalism, i.e. it was a kind of "organizational settlement' between the rational administration of bureaucratic systems and professional expertise in control over the content of services as two different but interconnected modes of co-ordination.

Service provision in the Fordist welfare state was in so far basically founded on two pillars. Firstly a legalistic, conditionally rather than target programmed, hierarchically structured bureaucratic administration, secondly a largely self-regulated professionalism with a broad realm of professional expertise in control over the content of services (cf. Rüb 2003, Otto/Ziegler 2011, Clarke/Langan, 1993). Based on a state regulated training the professionalism of service providers was considered to be by and large sufficient for a rational and effective steering of services while other tools of governance seemed to be rather non-essential. On the fundament of a hierarchical bureaucracy and professionalism the Fordist welfare state was considered to be able to perform its functional tasks more or less successfully and appropriate. Yet in particular since the early 1980s the Fordist welfare state was increasingly accused to be both, omnipresent and impotent i.e. excessively large and costly and at the same time inefficient in performing its proper task. The diagnosis was

that the Fordist welfare state faced a two folded challenge which it was incapable to resolve. On the one hand side the welfare state was challenged by an alleged "demand overload" and notoriously escalating expectations. On the other hand it was challenged by its own institutional insufficiency. The notion of “ungovernability” became a central buzzword: „The condition of ungovernability results from institution allowing for the rise of kinds of problems and conflicts that these very same institutions later turn out to be incapable of processing in orderly and routinized ways, such as in models of *endogenous* demand overload” (Offe 2011) The notion of ungovernability was basically tantamount to the presumption that the more or less social-democratic “Big Government” has generally failed. In particular the logics of bureau professionalism were now considered to be “too cumbersome, too inefficient, too unresponsive, too unproductive” (Simmons et al. 2006) and too little adaptable to the normative demands of individualism and the market. The allegedly too large influence on public policy making of the 'new class' of bureaucrats, intellectual consultants and particular welfare professionals which was derived out of the Fordist Welfare State and their personal commitment to expanding the role of welfarism war considered to be a part of the misery.

The cultural basis

This perspective dispossessed the cultural fundament of professionalism. This becomes particularly obvious when we keep in mind that professionalism does not only contain a cognitive but also a cultural dimension. The cognitive dimension of professionalism includes a body of knowledge and skills which is officially recognized as one based on abstract concepts and theories and requiring the exercise of considerable discretion The cultural dimension of professionalism points to an “ideology serving some transcendent value and asserting greater devotion to doing good work than to economic reward”(Freidson 2001, 180).

Whether professionals themselves believe that they possess these virtues is a relevant issue. However, even more important is the question whether the public and public policy believe that professionals have these virtues. Political and public confidence in professional competence and virtue was essential to support a mode of service provision which finds its pillars in the axiomatic assumptions that at least case specific welfare judgments are and should be embodied in the person of the professional and that the regulation of professionals is and should be enshrined in the ethos of the profession and its bodies. There is reason to suggest that the public confidence in professional competence and virtue can no longer be taken for granted. Rather this confidence has been sustainable shaken. In the last decades there has been a substantial change in the interpretation of the role of professionals. As Mike Bottery (2004: 9) puts it: “views of professionals have changed over the last fifty years, from ones of high trust, peer-based accountability, mystique, and autonomous practice, predominantly low-trust, involves extensive external quantitative accountability, and grants only limited professional discretion”. Academically and political professional was substantially criticized. The political left inter alias criticized that professional power over clients was demeaning and patronising, whereas the political right suggested that bureau professionalism does not resolve but create dependency and that it serves the interests of service providers rather than the clients or the welfare of the

population. In particular the relative autonomy of professionals and the broad realm of professional discretion were accused for failing of guaranteeing clients the highest standards of service provision, but rather leading to an unacceptable and unregulated arbitrarily variability in the nature and quality of interventions. Instead of relying on the arbitrary and subjective decisions of professionals is the augmentation of statistical diagnosis by judgements embodied in intelligent devices such as tests, norms, tables, charts, risk levels promised a more rational fundament for effective welfare provision.

The challenge of governability

This tendency was enhanced by the suggestion that a general suggested solution of the supposed failure of "Big Government" of the Fordist welfare state was to redefine the central state functions: Instead of providing common goods in terms of services, the new task is to supervise and monitor sectors beyond the state which should provide these services. In other words state functions should be shifted from "rowing to steering" (Osborne/Gabler 1992): patterns of direct service delivery (i.e. rowing) are to be transformed into modes of governance based on setting policy direction and providing requirements and incentives for others to provide services. To resolve the problem of ungovernability an overall shift towards the use of regulation over other governmental tools deemed to be necessary. The Fordist redistributory (or 'producing') welfare state which provided money and social services through state bureaucracies or agencies close to the state should be at least partly replaced by measures which mandates welfare tasks to non-state providers and agencies while at the same time it should be more than ever the state which regulates the activities of the non-state providers and agencies. Thus processes of 'deregulation' go alongside new regulatory measures ensuring that privatised spheres operate safely. These measures are in particular rankings, ratings, inspection, 'Aufsicht', audit, and licensing. "Less state" (in particular less redistribution) should go alongside with "more state" in terms of more regulation and monitoring of the spheres beyond the state. A further central dimension of the new philosophy of governing welfare was fostering competition among service providers. This was sometimes called devolution or "privatisation". Yet there was hardly much "private" about this privatisation, in effect the developments rather come close to a reassertion of the central state or more specifically the idea of a core executive, control over policy-making. Most of all it allows the state to perform an alternative mode of governing: "Governing at a distance" (cf. Rose/Miller 1992). This governmental mode seems to allow governments to replace their propensity to reach their aims with governance by directing and thus to put more social institutions into motion, and do more regulating while shifting the operative task responsibility away from the central state.

Against this background the figure of the mediated bureau-professional does not seem to fit in the political landscape of welfare provision. This seems to be an important background for a process of successively replacing bureau-professionalism by managerialism. A major feature of managerialism seems to be that it replaces trust in professionals as well as the trust relationships between practitioners and clients by organizational forms of regulation such as target-setting, performance managements, audits and accountability but also by market forms of customer relations. The Australian sociologist Pat O'Malley delivers an instructive interpretation of this process. O'Malley argues that what we currently observe might be interpreted as a general shift from "social liberalism" to "advanced liberalism". In

social liberalism, O'Malley argues governmental welfare programs were closely linked to the esoteric knowledge of the positive sciences of human conduct. Advanced liberalism transferred these powers to an array of calculative and more abstract technologies, including budget disciplines, audit and accountancy. These require professionals and experts to translate their esoteric knowledge into a language of costs and benefits that can be given an accounting value, and made 'transparent' to scrutiny. In the form of marketisation, the authority of experts is determined not by their own professional criteria, but by the play of the market.

Whereas in classical liberalism markets were understood as 'natural' phenomena, these natural markets are displaced by the conception of markets as purposively created as techniques of policy, in order to maximise efficiency, accountability and competition. O'Malley's analyses of advanced liberalism dovetail well with the basic ideologies of managerialism. In other words managerialism seems to be the central policy programme of advanced liberal policies.

Where management misses the point?

There is no doubt that professional welfare practice was always conducted in organisations and that management coordinates and facilitates professional practice but also controls welfare professionals by supervisory mechanisms which ensure work-force compliance and task achievement. So on a surface level there is no contradiction between management and professionalism. Yet the notion is of managerialism does not simply point to the uncontested fact that professional welfare provision needs an efficiently and enabling management. Managerialism indicates something different. It legitimises a particular version of 'how to manage', for what purposes, in whose interests, and with what knowledge. As Christopher Pollit (1990: 1) points out managerialism is basically a set of expectations, norms, "beliefs and practices at the core of which burns the seldom-tested assumption that better management will provide an effective solvent for a wide range of economic ills". It is therefore a kind of general ideology that legitimizes and seeks to extend the 'right to manage' and is composed of overlapping, and sometimes competing, discourses that present distinctive versions of 'how to manage'. Most importantly managerialism is a normative system that is concerned about what counts as valuable knowledge and about who is empowered to work on this knowledge base. On this fundament the ideology that the "the professional knows best" is replaced by the belief that managers "do the right thing" and that this right thing will provide the most effective and efficient solution for the kind of problems Social Work is engaged with.

Therefore managers should have the power, agency and responsibility to provide solutions and the kind of value for money deemed to be lacking in professionally dominated welfare bureaucracies. In order to reach this however managerial judgment has to count more than professional judgement. Or, in other words, managerialism works at the expense of professional control and discretion. Instead of acting as the passive custodians of services controlled by front line staff, managers should determine policy goals and actively seek to implement them. The basic idea is that it is through the agency of managers rather than professionals that services needed to be delivered. This kind of managerialism is embedded

within a shift towards a mode of public policy which denotes the importance of regulation relative to macroeconomic stabilization and income redistribution. Based on an implemented division between the purchaser and provider of services the idea is that the state should concentrate at controlling and steering welfare provisions – provided by the market, local communities, volunteers but also by local welfare agencies - rather than provide services itself. Budgetary management, audits, standards and the setting performance indicators are some of the fundamental regulatory instruments trough which the central state tries to enhance its capacity to shape, monitor and steer local institutional practice. On the behalf of service providers this is accompanied by the rise of a number of accountancy-derived concepts and technologies. In order to guarantee the accountability of the service providers – which is regarded as the core problem – evaluation, monitoring and performance management or more general auditable management control systems are the key tools.

Forms of control

Functionally these tools are a kind of equivalent to trust in professional decision making. Yet in terms of governing service provision these tools promise to liberate the state from its dependence from unreliable professionals. The tension between managerialism and professionalism seems thus to be obvious: While managerialism seems to be devoted to the lure of the objectivity of numbers and calls for control and measurement in defining objectives and the quality of service public service delivery by welfare professionals – who may insist on their professional autonomy – thereby having many uncontrollable features. The ungovernability of professionals who may be resistant to control from politics is suspected to leading to an exponential rise in costs of services and to diminish the quality and effectiveness of service provisions. Therefore governing service provision from a managerialist perspective is most of all a mode of "management by measurement" respectively of governing by numbers. The corresponding audit cultures in service organisations represent most of all new modes for governing professionals.

The audit approach as a central element of managerialism profoundly alters professional relations to their organisations. There is a shift from trust and relative autonomy to measurement, standardisation and control which privileges a technicist, or 'what works' approach to policy that operates through adopting a seemingly 'neutral' technical' stance to professional practice. As managerialism is based on the – unproven and empirically doubtful - belief that more managerial autonomy is better, the claim is that managerial accountability for results will improve performance and efficiency decision-making should be the right of the management, and it is the manangemt which is accountable for the practices and outcomes of service deliverance. As Bottery (2004: 9) points out, managerialism is based on the "measurement of professional work by external quantitative measures […] emphasises a form of administrative control where professionals are 'on tap' to managerial strategic decisions rather than 'on top' autonomously deciding how their practice is best used".

The managerial strategies of regulating professional practice and its pursuit of 'measurable' results depend on a largely quantitative information base which is required for

documentation, regulation and finally also for reimbursement. This quantification has also implications for the construction of the client. Professional modes of working with the client are largely based on interpretive understanding of the individual needs and often changing personal characteristics of its clients as well as to fit the contextual constellations the clients are embedded in, in order to decide about ever case specifically appropriate interventions and services. Professionalism was therefore based on the "practical or craft knowledge learned on the job through the experience of applying the logico-scientific knowledge to particular patients in concrete situations and verified through narrative" (Cnaan/Dichter 2008: 280). Managerial modes which shift from the question "what is individually appropriate" to the question "what is effective" in order to reach numerically expressed performance indicators however do not depend on interpretative understandings of single cases but rather on standardized and more or less actuarial diagnoses of needs and classifications of clients. Clinical judgments and professional discretion should therefore be constrained and can be reduced to the algorithmic procedures of the actuarial assessments Thus managerial modes of service provision have important implications for the concrete professional practice and interaction with clients. The French sociologist Robert Castel anticipate this developments in the 1980s however he was not concerned with managerialism but rather with new modes of strategies of preventions. Castel (1991: 281) argues that new strategies of social administration are developed, which seem to me to depart in a profoundly innovatory way from the traditions of welfare professionalism. The innovation is that these "strategies dissolve the notion of the *subject* or a concrete individual, and put in its place a combinatory of factors, *the factors of risk*. Such a transformation carries important practical implications. The essential component of intervention no longer takes the form of the direct face-to-face relationship between the carer and the cared, the helper and the helped, the professional and the client. It comes instead to reside in the establishing of *flows of populations* based on the collation of a range of abstract factors deemed liable to produce risk." As a result specialist professionals with face-to-face contacts to clients are cast in a subordinate role, while manangerial policy formations take over. What Castel describes seems to be exactly the modification of the relationship between front-line professionals and welfare administrators. The managerial technologies reduce the autonomy of frontline practitioners, de-skill and subordinate professionals and finally also diminish the possibility for direct face-to-face work. (cf. Webb 2001). The professional seems to be "reduced to a mere executant" (Castel 1991: 281) whose primary task is generating low-level data inputs for managerial decision making.

4 Short concluding discussion

We have tried to show professionalism in managerial shape no longer functions as an societal ideal, but rather as a political one. The new regime of control and surveillance links the loyalty of the professionals neither to their professional work nor to their professional judgment, but to the economic interests of their employer. In the framework of the WorkAble project this means that professionals are more related to political aims and similarly constrained by public finances than to their clientele. Similarly the power of the professionals like the power of the state had been reduced by cutting taxes and social insurance and by deregulating business and industry. Market forces were supposed to

substitute state regulations, whereby national social capital and solidarity would start to erode (Svensson 2003: 325).

This new situation bears a risk, namely that professional values and beliefs as well as knowledge and skills unintended sacrifice what they were meant to serve. We do not postulate an end of professional history as more scientists do (cf. Garrett 2009 as an illustration). We are still going to give professionalism so much of the benefit of the doubt, since the battle is not over. As shown in the first section the competitive state is not fixed and solid at all. It may still be changed into a more human society, not exclusively oriented at economy and competition, but also at developing democracy and freedom. Some improvements have been made since New Public Management conquered the public services. Many professionals have protested or developed strategies to avoid the worst ills, partly protected by national "path dependency". But even the positive aspects of resistance in such areas as health, education and child care have sometimes become a mixed blessing, since the professional tail might not exercise a good deal of leverage on the NPM-dog.

We keep our optimism intact. Let us finally quote some ancestors: "All that is solid melts into the air". This statement sheds light on the new conditions which are not lasting forever, as well as the professions which seem more fragile than before.

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9. Employability versus capability – European Strategies for Young People

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Abstract:

In this chapter we try to complement the rich harvest of scientific findings and information collected through the work carried out by the Workable research team, looking in an empirical (albeit non-exhaustive) way at which elements of CA can already be found within the European Union's education and employment strategies set up (mainly but not only) in the framework of Europe 2020 strategy for a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in order to address the growing rates of youth unemployment. In the search for a definition of the target group of our analysis, we move on from "Young people with fewer opportunities" to then focus on young people Not in Education Employment or Training. Further on we give a brief overview of some of the main strategies that the EU has put in place to match the education-related headline targets set by Europe 2020, paying particular attention to the EC strategy to reduce Early School Leaving, the measures put in place through the Youth Opportunity Initiative to tackle youth unemployment as well as to the EU policy cooperation realized through the European Youth Strategy. Drawing upon some of the main conceptualization realized by the Workable project (i.e. the definition of capability for voice, education and work) we then try to identify CA-friendly elements within some of the above mentioned policy measures developed and implemented by the EU. Lastly, we attempt to draw some recommendations for policy makers emphasizing the need to reshape their approach towards youth (un)employment first and foremost by putting the empowerment of young people at the centre of the measures set up to facilitate the transition from school to work and adult life.

1 Introduction

Youth transition from school to work in the EU falls mainly within the competences and responsibilities of Member States, who have developed very different responses in the past to match the needs of young people in this crucial phase of their life.

Difficulties and failures of young people to succeed in this transition are not new. Member States' strategies and policies differ a lot in a context of different welfare regimes, cultural traditions as well as political and economic changes, therefore enabling some countries to show better results than others. In these areas so far the role of the European Commission (EC) and the effect of European policies have been very limited. The changing (mostly worsening) realities affecting all Member States (MS) and the negative impact of the crisis on the living conditions of youth are common challenges that cry out for new answers.

Europe 2020 and the related initiatives put in place by the EC and the MS to tackle the problem of youth unemployment represent concrete steps in addressing the challenge. Especially remarkable in this sense is the stronger role played by the Commission in the context of the new governance mechanism set up by Europe 2020 (the European Semester) and its reinforced effort in stimulating, assessing and monitoring common policy frameworks in the areas of education and employment. However, beyond the strong prioritization of education and (youth) employment undertaken by EU Institutions as well as Member States, the persistent crises and the worsening indicators of the life conditions of young people in Europe call for a shift and a change in the policy perspective when addressing such themes. There is a need for a stronger impetus on a positive future for young people as a precondition of an integrative, economically healthy European society, to bring young people in disadvantage (social, education, job wise) in the centre of policy making, and to look more at their comprehensive well-being and empowerment as an investment not only in view of the increase in their work productivity but rather in the development of healthy, active, motivated European citizens. The theoretical framework elaborated by the Workable project based on the principles of the Capability Approach could offer a plausible approach in this respect.

The Workable research collaborative project mainly investigated national, regional and local policies in some European countries surveying whether and how the match between (socially disadvantaged) young people's supply of skills and competencies and changing labour-market needs is sustained and secured, while simultaneously broadening their options for living in and actively shaping European knowledge societies. It has explored how educational strategies are implemented and assessed whether they enable young people to convert knowledge, skills and competencies into capabilities to act as fully participating active citizens.

In this paper we try to complement the rich harvest of scientific findings and information collected through the work carried out by the Workable research team, looking in an empirical (albeit non-exhaustive) way at which elements of the CA can already be found within EU education and employment strategies set up (mainly but not only) in the framework of Europe 2020 strategy for a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in order to address the growing rates of youth unemployment.

In the first section we define which target group of the EU policies and measures we analyse in the following sections in search for CA - friendly elements. We see how different definitions of the group can be given according to country-specific social, political and historical backgrounds. Whereas the EC has formulated the very usable definition of "Young People with fewer Opportunities" in its Inclusion Strategy adopted in the framework of the Youth in Action Programme, we see how policy makers and academia have lately focused very much of their work on the specific group of young people not in Employment nor in Education. NEETs have become a wide-spread indicator of the conditions young people have to live in during this period of financial crises and socio-political reform and adjustment.

In the next section we give an overview of some of the main strategies that the EU has put in place to match the education-related headline targets set by Europe 2020. Whereas education and employment policies fall within the competences retained by the Member States, the European Commission is the leading actor in coordinating and streamlining the

efforts undertaken by the Member States towards the achievement of the policy objectives set jointly by the European Council. We see in particular which the strategy is proposed by the Commission in order to reach the objective of reducing Early School Leaving to less than 10% at EU level, as well as how the Commission intends to boast the commitment of the EU and Member States in tackling youth unemployment through the Youth Opportunity Initiative. Last but not least we have a look at the EU policy cooperation in the field of youth realized through the overarching European Youth Strategy.

In the third section, after a brief outline of the mainstream policy approach informing the EU and Member States´ education and employment policies, i.e. the Human Capital Approach, we recall the three main elements informing policy analyses in a Capability perspective: Capability for Education, Capability for Work and Capability for Voice. Further on we try to identify what elements in the above mentioned EU policies get closer to the three capabilities. In particular we examine respectively capabilities for education in the ESL strategy, capability for work in the YOI and capability for voice in the EU "Youth in Action Programme" and the underlying EU strategy for the recognition of informal learning.

In the fourth section, before drawing some conclusions and possibly outlining some policy recommendations, we try to better describe the substantial policy shift that policy strategies developed by the EU and Member States should make in order to focus their attention on the individual needs of youth at risk of social and labour market exclusion. We see how empowerment of these people is a key issue in order to facilitate the transition from school to work and adult life. But empowerment goes along with the recognition of their own values and choices as well as with the provision of adequate opportunities to access relevant information and the possibility to actively participate in the relevant processes and decisions with which they are concerned.

2 Youth, Young People with Fewer Opportunities and NEETs

Over the past few decades young people's transitions from education to work have undergone fundamental changes and have become an important policy focus for the EU and its Member States. Especially in the last few years youth unemployment has been rising dramatically, exceeding 22% at the EU level in April 2012. The increased competition on labour markets, the shift of low-skill production to low-wage countries as well as the general shift towards the knowledge society have increased the importance of education on the labour market. Whereas young people in general are the most affected by the effects of the persisting economic stagnation, it is clear that some young people are more vulnerable than others to social exclusion in the form of early school leaving, unemployment, or precarious employment (*Walther, Pohl et al., 2005*). In the last decade, under the auspices of the Open Method of Coordination, governments started to restructure youth transitions from school to work and develop policies aimed at ensuring the successful transition of so-called 'disadvantaged youth'. The definition of "disadvantage" is a controversial matter in both the policy and the research domains. This is because based on different historical, social and political backgrounds, Member States may have very differing definitions of (youth) disadvantage as well as, more in general, differing scope of their youth policies. Let alone that already the definition of youth with the prevalence of its positive – youth as a resource -

or negative image – youth as a problem - can clearly lead to the emerging of completely different political concepts and priorities.

At the EU level, a common agreement has been reached among Member States on the definition of "Young People with Fewer Opportunities". The definition was provided by the European Commission in 2007 within its Inclusion Strategy, elaborated and adopted in the framework of the 2007-2013 "Youth in Action Programme" for the support and recognition of non-formal learning activities (*European Commission, 2007*). The Inclusion Strategy itself aims at ensuring the access of young people with fewer possibilities to the Youth in Action programme, as well as at enhancing social inclusion, active citizenship and employability, thereby contributing to the general social cohesion in the EU. *"Young People with fewer opportunities are defined as young people that are at a disadvantage compared to their peers because (…) of one or more of the listed situations and obstacles (…). These situations/obstacles prevent young people from having effective access to formal and non-formal education, trans-national mobility and from participation, active citizenship, empowerment and inclusion in society at large".*

Obstacles identified can be social obstacles[1], economic obstacles[2], disability and educational difficulties, cultural differences[3], chronic health problem and geographical obstacles[4] (*European Commission, 2007*).
While this is the accepted general definition for vulnerable or disadvantaged youth within EU policies dealing at large with Youth and Education, the EU policy makers as well as research and academia in the very last few years have focused strongly on the more specific group of young people who are not in employment nor in any form of education or training (NEET). The NEETs are young people disengaged from both work and education and therefore most likely at high risk of labour market and social exclusion. The main NEET indicator covers the age group 15-24. The indicator is further broken down by sex and by different age groups. Breakdowns by labour market status (unemployed, inactive) and education level (no higher than lower secondary attainment/at least upper secondary attainment) are also available (with breakdowns by educational attainment to be used from age 18) (*European Commission 2011a*).

NEETs have so caught the attention of policy makers in the EU as a useful indicator for monitoring the labour market and social situation of youth in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy for a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth and against the background of the persisting economic crises and volatility of labour market, both affecting particularly young people in Europe. In this way the performance of NEETs indicator becomes key in relation to evidence-based policies developed and implemented by the EU and the Member States and aiming to achieve the employment and education headline targets set within Europe 2020.

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[1] E.g.: discrimination (because of gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, disability, etc.); possession of limited social skills or anti-social or risky sexual behaviours as well as to the belonging to groups in a precarious situation, (ex-) offenders, (ex-) drug or alcohol abusers, young and/or single parents, orphans, young people from broken families.

[2] E.g.: low standard of living, low income, dependence on social welfare system, long-term unemployment, homelessness, poverty, young people in debt or with financial problems.

[3] E.g.: young immigrants or refugees or descendants from immigrant or refugee families, young people belonging to a national or ethnic minority, young people with linguistic adaptation and cultural inclusion problems.

[4] Linked to the place of living: rural areas, small islands or peripheral regions, urban problem zones, less serviced areas.

It is widely recognized that targeting NEETs is of the utmost importance because of the long-term consequences on life and career perspective that experiencing a spell of unemployment at early stage can have in the future life of an individual. This said, however, it must also be highlighted how the NEET indicator as commonly used does not fully mirror the highly inhomogeneous nature of the group of young people that it represents and their multifaceted living conditions. The 15-24 year old young people group includes youngsters with very different reasons for not being at work or in education: some of them do not have control over their NEET situation due to deprivation or other severe disadvantaged backgrounds, for example lack of financial resources, migration background, disability or health problems or low school attainment. At the same time youngsters can be NEET for short periods just during the transition from school to work or in between two jobs. Further on some NEETs have full control of their situation and have chosen to be in such a condition: people who are voluntarily not seeking a place in education or work because they do not have a constraint in doing so or others who are engaged in voluntary work, art, or travelling.

In time of budgetary constraints and financial cuts to provisions for welfare systems, the relevance of NEETs for governments and societies does not only lay in the cost that must be borne by society and by the state in term of potential lost by young people and of resources to be spent to tackle long term effect of youth exclusion from labour market. In a recent research conducted by Eurofound's Employment and Competitiveness Unit, it was pointed out how the NEET status and the growing dimension of the phenomenon carries along a relevant social dimension. Marginalization and exclusion from education and labour market often turn into more general disengagement and disaffection towards society as a whole. The effects may be a loss in trust in institutions among young generations that can undermine the legitimacy of the democratic system in societies. Therefore active political participation of youth could decline and involvements in politically extreme movements rise. A similar trend may be registered as far as participation in other forms of social life is concerned, such as associations, voluntary organizations, professional associations etc. (*Eurofound, 2011 and 2012*).

In this paper, we concentrate our attention on vulnerable young people who left school or training with low or no qualifications. This is the group facing the biggest difficulties in getting their transition from school to adult life back on track, either to the formal education system or to a career path with valuable professional perspectives. Early school leavers also are the group at highest risk to social exclusion and poverty. Some of the main European strategies related to youth are presented in the following section and are examined in order to point out whether they present Capability Approach - friendly elements in relation to their target group: we want to see whether they allow new education and employment opportunities as well as whether they foster the development of capabilities young people need in order to be able to cope with the challenges represented by the transition to work in the modern, knowledge-based, globalised society.

3 EU strategies in the field of education & training and youth policy:

The Europe 2020 growth strategy provides for an overarching framework for the EU policy development in the decade running up to 2020. It sets a transversal focus on the increase of employment opportunities (especially for young people) and a specific headline target concerning education (less than 10% rate of early school leavers and over 40% tertiary education attainment). Against this background and in view of the constant rise of youth unemployment, two specific initiatives taken in the last 12 months are to be mentioned:

- The Council Recommendation on policies to reduce ESL adopted in June 2011, and
- The Youth Opportunities Initiative adopted in December 2011.

Later on as a complementary strategy to the above mentioned initiatives, we will as well briefly present the European Union Youth Policy Cooperation.

Policies to reduce ESL

In order to facilitate and coordinate the joint efforts of Member States and the European Commission to reach the actual target set by the Europe 2020 Strategy, the Council issued a recommendation in June 2011 designing a common framework for the implementation of more effective and comprehensive policies targeting the reduction of Early School Leaving.

The rationale behind this is that policies tackling ESL in Member States should be part of a comprehensive strategy allowing the identification of reasons for ESL at national, regional and local levels, entailing constant monitoring of implemented measures and policies and thereby enabling their impact assessment through systematic and harmonized data collection. Further on, measures should foresee structured cross-sectoral coordination of policies and target in particular groups at increased risk of early school leaving (children and youth with socio-economical disadvantaged backgrounds).

The model fostered by the Council shall make use of a policy mix of prevention, intervention and compensation measures (*European Commission, 2011b*):

Prevention focuses on early childhood education and care in order to avoid conditions resulting in early school failure. Other measures at the system level are active anti-segregation policies improving social, ethnic and cultural “mixity” in schools as well as increasing the permeability of educational pathways at upper level and strengthening vocational education pathways.

Intervention focuses on measures at education institutions in order to prevent school drop out at any educational level. Intervention measures can address the whole school/training institution or support individual pupils at risk. School measures aim to improve the school climate and the creation of a supportive learning environment, better cooperation with parents, networking with actors outside of school. Measures can also address the

empowerment of teachers. Student-tailored measures encompass mentoring, tutoring, improved guidance as well as financial support for educations allowances.

Compensation measures aim to give new opportunities to re-engage in education for those who dropped out of school. Second chance opportunities shall be developed and supplied with view to accessibility and affordability. Comprehensive support is to be provided for young people wishing to re-enter mainstream education and training, focusing on guidance as well as recognition and validation of prior learning (both formal and informal).

Policies in most Member States lack evidence, impact assessment and coordination between communities, organisations and between the local, regional and national level; this means that initiatives are not sufficiently connected and impacts stay limited. The main intention of the EC is to foster a shift from individual measures to comprehensive policies against ESL. All policies should follow a holistic approach and embed all affected stakeholders across sectors and Member States.

Initiatives on ESL indicated by Member States in their National Reform Programs are specifically assessed by the European Commission within the European Semester exercise set up in view of the progress monitoring towards the reaching of Europe 2020 headline targets. This assessment is further taken into consideration by the Council when issuing specific country recommendations during its June meeting, which are further translated by Member States in their renewed National reform Programmes for the next year[5]. In addition to that, other comprehensive cross-reference data are included in Member States Reports drafted within the strategic framework for cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020) and the related annual Progress Reports prepared by the Commission.

Further specific indicators to monitor and evaluate the initiative have been established by the EC (European Commission, 2011b) and are overseen by a new Expert Group coordinated by the Commission. This established a forum for accelerating the process of learning from good practice, for assessing the effectiveness of the policy framework and formulating proposals for further development of that framework.

Youth Opportunities Initiative

In order to tackle the challenges represented by the rise of youth unemployment and the risks and costs of social exclusion associated with the growing number of NEETs, the European Commission proposed in December 2011 the adoption of a Youth Opportunities Initiative[6]. The initiative ultimately aims at helping unemployed young people who left school or training before finishing upper-secondary level to get back to school or into a vocational training course that can give them the skills they need to get a job. Moreover, it

[5] In 2011 the Council issued addressed ESL in the recommendations to Austria, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. Ten Member States received country-specific recommendations on youth employment (BG, CZ, EE, ES, FI, LU, SE, SI, SK, UK), and eleven in the area of education (AT, BG, CY, DK, EE, ES, MT, PL, SI, SK, UK)

[6] European Commission (2011c), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Youth Opportunities Initiative, COM (2011) 933 final.

also aims at giving the opportunity to gain a first work experience to young people who have a diploma, but cannot find a first proper occupation[7].
The Youth Opportunities Initiative (YOI) pulls different existing programmes and funds together in order to boost new opportunities for young people. It calls on Member States especially to work on:

- preventing early school leaving,
- helping young people to develop skills relevant to the labour market,
- ensuring a first work experience and on the job training,
- helping young people to find a (first) job.

Beside the reinforced review of national policies and performances as part of the Europe 2020 governance procedure, the EU also retains a specific role following its commitment to implement concrete steps for fully mobilizing all financial support available as well as for streamlining the objectives of the YOI among its work programmes.

As for the commitment of financial support, this applies mainly to a greater and better use of the European Social Fund for the implementation of youth employment measures in line with and in support of the priorities identified by the YOI.

In a first interim assessment paper published by the Commission in April 2012 it is reported how Member States in general expressed willingness to strengthen their policies to combat youth unemployment and showed openness to consider the reorientation of structural funds, whereas the degree of actual response varies widely from country to country.

Despite the main actors taking action against youth unemployment being the Member States at the national, regional and local level, the European Union has fairly precisely identified the type of measures that should be designed and implemented by the policy makers in Member States. Very concretely the EU looks especially for innovative approaches that support the transition from school to work through a facilitated participation in apprenticeship/traineeship programmes and the promotion of youth entrepreneurship especially. The EC approach fostered in the YOI entails:

- apprenticeships: support to the development of quality vocational education including both training and workplace learning (dual/twin track learning systems combining theory and practice).
- Traineeships**:** stronger commitment of businesses and public sector and enhanced cooperation to increase the availability of work placement opportunities (through

[7] Later on common agreement was reached at the informal European Council in January 2012 on the proposal of the European Commission to further strengthen cooperation among the 15 Member States where the situation of young people is most difficult. For the eight Member States with the highest youth unemployment rates (EL, ES, IE, IT, LT, LV, PT, SK), action teams of EU and national officials have been set up in order to develop specific action plans for tackling youth unemployment. These teams have met in the concerned Member States in February 2012. With the other seven Member States with youth unemployment rates above EU average (BG, CY, FR, HU, PL, RO, SE), bilateral meetings at technical level took place in February 2012 to explore ways of making full use of EU funding for tackling youth unemployment.

corporate social responsibility strategies).[8]. Moreover, in this regard the Commission will also work on the set up of an EU-wide quality framework for traineeships aiming mainly at providing more transparency of the conditions for trainees.

- Implementation of a youth guarantee engaging MS in providing young people finishing school with either a job or a place in education or (re-)training opportunity within four months after leaving school. This should particularly benefit early school leavers and youth in a vulnerable situation. In regard to the youth guarantee, the EC has foreseen a specific preparatory action for "Activation measures targeting young people implementing Youth on the move initiative" to be carried on in 2012.

- Additional measures to enhance and increase inter-country mobility of young job seekers are being set up and facilitated. These include also non formal learning programmes as well as the European Voluntary Service (Action 2 of the Youth in Action programme) which aims at placing at least 10000 volunteers abroad within the next two years.

- Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Corps to be set up by the EC as a new opportunity for young Europeans.

European Youth Policy cooperation

Today's debate and focus on youth is part of a broader context as described in various chapters. It follows informational bases and normative references of European strategies and sees Youth as future human resources and human capital. In that context, marginalized youth is constructed and perceived as a social problem requiring a specific treatment.

The actual EU youth strategy takes a slightly different stance. Empowerment and making the best of their potential shows a positive youth approach, which combines early investment with putting in place greater resources to develop policy areas that affect young people in their daily lives and improve their well-being, promoting their autonomy as well as the potential of young people to contribute to a sustainable development of society and to European values and goals.

The overall objectives of European cooperation in the youth field (EU-Youth Strategy) reflect the positive youth view seeking to:

- create more and equal opportunities for all young people in education and in the labour market;

- promote active citizenship, social inclusion and solidarity of all young people.

Reaching out to all young people is the new element of the EU Youth policy which implies a new modern way of setting an agenda for a no longer homogenous youth phase, consisting

[8] An increase of at least 10% by the end of 2013 would add a total of 370000 new apprenticeships at the EU level. Currently less than 20% of apprentices in the EU follow a twin-track training combining theory and workplace.

of a multiplicity of lifestyles and perspectives, as well as biographical, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Reaching out for all young people requires global as well as specific policy strategies in order to increase the social recognition of young people and at the same time develop the individual potential of all youngsters.

The EU Youth strategy follows therefore a strong cross-sectoral policy making of all its actors, in crucial fields such as education and training, employment and entrepreneurship, health and well-being, participation, voluntary activities, social inclusion etc.

The "social inclusion" field of action reflects the specific contribution of a policy seeking to address marginalized youth. It aims to prevent this phenomenon and its transmission of such problems between generations and to strengthen mutual solidarity between society and young people. Equal opportunities for all should be promoted and all forms of discrimination combated.

The contributions from the Youth policy side are seen in initiatives such as:

- Promote the participation of more and a greater diversity of young people in representative democracy, in youth organizations and other civil-society organizations using the full potential of youth work and youth centres as means of inclusion,

- adopt a cross-sectoral approach when working to improve community cohesion and solidarity,

- reduce the social exclusion of young people, addressing the inter linkages between e.g. young people's education and employment and their social inclusion.

- support the development of intercultural awareness and competences for all young people and combat prejudice,

- support information and educational activities for young people about their rights,

- address the issues of homelessness, housing and financial exclusion.

Empowering by involving is a core message of a peer-learning exercise at the EU level about the participation in public life of young people with fewer opportunities. The following recommendations were addressed to policy makers :

- More specific programs, which allow more flexibility. The long-term social benefit of disadvantaged young people´s participation is far more important than the short-term results of a funded measure.

- Better coordinated services and a cross-sectoral coordination between policy makers, which would guarantee coherent policies concerning young people with fewer opportunities.

- Better recognized non-formal education from an early age on. The competencies and skills acquired should be certified, common quality criteria for this recognition should be found at the national level.

- More evidence-based knowledge, enhancing collection of data and research would allow a better knowledge of young people with fewer opportunities.

- More support and recognition of youth work.
- Better dissemination.
- Dissemination of good practices should be considered as a priority: it allows learning from others and improving practices instead of “reinventing the wheel”.

Participation of young people with fewer opportunities is one out of three priorities in the implementation of the EU-Youth strategy in Germany. The EU Youth Strategy supports the effective participation of young people through approaching new target groups and implementing new formats in order to promote participation and strengthening democracy. The perspectives of the young people themselves are to be taken into consideration, systematically and in a participatory manner.

Activities in these thematic areas contribute especially to the implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany if they incorporate a European dimension by, for example, opening up Europe as a learning area for disadvantaged young people, promoting the European mobility of actors in the youth field and European exchanges, incorporating the European debates into German practice, or initiating learning from each other at the EU level.

European Youth Policy cooperation as agreed on by all Member States attempts as a guiding principle to take into account the differences in the living conditions, needs, aspirations, interests and attitudes of young people, paying particular attention to those who, for different reasons, may have fewer opportunities and recognizing that all young people are a resource to our societies.

4 Using the Capability Approach in policy analysis and programme evaluation

Mainstream EU approach in education and employment policies: the Human Capital Approach

The European Union in its policies and initiatives attributes a high value to education in view of the realization of its aims, among others the promotion of a balanced economic and social development as to ensure prosperity, peace and stability to its people. The human capital approach is the dominant paradigm mainly influencing and encompassing the design and implementation of the education and employment policies promoted by the European Union. Whereas in the course of time it has been recognized that an interdependent knowledge-based society generates new needs in terms of social cohesion, active citizenship and personal fulfilment to which education and training can make a significant contribution (*Council of the European Union, 2004*), the latter are mostly seen as a means, an investment, aiming at enhancing the productivity of the individuals and their capacity to adapt to the needs of the labour market. No real space or recognition is given to the capability of

individuals and to the value of education in terms of pupils' capabilities (skills and choices) for voice, for education and for work (see following section).
Under the common framework established at the Union level, education and labour market regimes vary widely within the EU according to the specific socio- economic and political background, and the individual priorities set by governments of Member States. The policies implemented therefore differ a lot from country to country in function of the different educational and labour market models. Nevertheless, policies tend to conform to the classic human capital approach adopted by the European Union.
It is possible to observe this by having a look at the continuity of principles laid down in the policy development undertaken in the last decade by the Union from its first attempt to tackle the weaknesses of Europe in the face of globalization (adoption of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000), to the launch of the Europe 2020 strategy for a smart sustainable and inclusive growth. Along these strategic policy developments a similar path was followed by the EU education policy framework.
At the beginning of the 2000s, responding to the persisting economic stagnation and to the new competitiveness challenge put out by globalization, the EU launched the ambitious Lisbon Strategy with the strategic goal of making Europe by 2010 the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion (European Council, 2000). In line with the dominant approach, the strategy stressed the need to invest in human capital, and therefore to define and provide new basic skills and to accompany them with active labour market measures so as to maximize the employability and adaptability of workers.
Later on, also in view of the failure in achieving the targets set by the Council in 2000, a renewed Strategy was launched in the framework of the 2005 mid-term review. The Council, upon proposal of the European Commission, highlighted the essential need "of re-launching the Lisbon Strategy without delay and re-focus priorities on growth and employment. Europe must renew the basis of its competitiveness, increase its growth potential and its productivity and strengthen social cohesion, placing the main emphasis on knowledge, innovation and the optimisation of human capital." (*Council of the European Union, 2005*). Whereas equal opportunities, active employment measures, active ageing strategies and social integration are mentioned as priorities, the focus is again on employability and adaptability: „Human capital is Europe's most important asset", therefore the quality of education and educational systems in Europe must be improved.
In 2009 the Council, in its attempt to boost and improve cooperation among Member States in the education sector, drew up the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in education and training ("ET 2020"), building upon achievements of a previous policy initiative (Education and Training 2010 work programme). In ET 2020 lifelong learning is regarded as a fundamental principle underpinning the entire framework and is designed to cover learning in all contexts — whether formal, non-formal or informal — and at all levels: from early childhood education and schools through to higher education, vocational education and training and adult learning.
Since then, the economic and political context has changed, creating new uncertainties and constraints. Thus the European Union has taken further action to tackle the worst financial and economic crisis in its history and, in response, has agreed on a strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth: Europe 2020. In so doing, the EU has refocused its policy actions, and is now streamlining its strategic priorities, also concentrating its efforts to achieve its headline targets by 2020. This is valid for the employment, education and social

inclusion policies, where the aim is to reach 75% of population aged 20-64 employed, a share of less than 10% of early school leavers, at least 40% of young people attaining tertiary education, and 20 million less people at risk of poverty).

Workable analysis: the Capability Approach

The Workable research project focused on public policies and initiatives that allow young people to transit from school to work taking into account and strengthening their individual resources/capabilities for education in order to achieve a "good work" and to live the life they have reasons to value.

It is now interesting to look at the education and youth policies designed by the European Union and recalled in the sections above from the perspective of the Capability Approach as initiated and developed by Amartia Sen and Martha Nussbaum thirty years ago in the field of development economy. The most relevant question is whether this approach helps not only in enlightening additional aspects or dimensions of the trajectories of young people with low qualifications from education to adult and work life, but also in developing criteria or tools for the design of innovative and more appropriate measures to support these disadvantaged youngsters in successfully going through this process. The theoretical framework as re-elaborated by the researchers involved in the Workable project is based on key concepts such as "choice, freedom, collective goods and services, political accountability and knowledge based social policies" (*Workable, 2010*).

In recent times the CA has been introduced in empirical studies in the fields of employment, education and training with the idea that education "goes beyond investment and employability but it also highlights the significance of developing critical reflection and strengthening democratic participation in society, in particular the ability to debate, public reasoning and the inclusion of traditional excluded voices" (*Workable, 2010*). The CA as re-elaborated by the Workable research team aims to be a tool to enlarge the concept of human capital and to extend the focus to elements other then only the employability of young people as described in the sections above.

Public policy and public institutions according to the CA are "social conversion factors" which may allow people to convert their potentials/capabilities into valuable functions, thus enabling their participation in society taking into account their real freedoms and their realm of autonomy. Institutions and professionals in the field of education, training and work are instrumental either in stimulating or limiting "peoples' life chances and opportunities for well-being and agency" (*Workable, 2010*). In this perspective, collective responsibility (the so called "institutional capabilities") is linked to individual capabilities (of the young people). The combinations of social, political, legal, institutional and cultural aspects established in a society develop or constrain resources and conversion factors of the individuals and in so doing have an impact on the development of individual capabilities and his or her freedom of choice. In this sense the CA tries to combine both the aims of individual development and of societal changes. Each person has the right to live a "good life" and is entitled to define him/herself what for him/her is a "good life".

While the CA does not focus only on disadvantaged groups, in the framework of the Workable project the group targeted by the research is defined as vulnerable young people lacking capabilities[9]. With the aim of assessing education and employment policies and strategies targeting this group from a CA perspective, three key concepts have been defined by the research team and are to be used to examine programmes and institutions:

- Capability for education,
- Capability for work,
- Capability for voice.

The first dimension in the framework of the CA is the Capability for education. This is defined by the Workable research team as "the real freedom to choose a training program or a curriculum one has reason to value. This entails all individuals (without any discrimination) being adequately empowered to make such a choice, as well as being free to choose the path of short or long duration curricula or even of non-education (i.e. education and the type of education is not a "must" but always a choice)" (*Bonvin, 2012*). As a consequence, when looking at a specific policy targeting disadvantaged youth (young people with lower qualifications), the following elements may be considered and matter in order to assess whether it is or not capability friendly and eventually to which extent:

a) the attention devoted to flexibility of educational pathways, in the sense of their ability to integrate or re-integrate everyone at any stage of a curriculum or educational system;

b) the ability attributed to the young people targeted by the measure or policy to 1) make their own educational choices (and not to have adaptive aspirations) 2) without being inflicted unbearable penalties for that (e.g. becoming a working poor, being non-recognized or discriminated, etc.).

The second dimension to be considered according to the CA is the Capability for Work. As of capability for education, Capability for Work is defined as the real freedom of making the choice to undertake the job or activity one has reason to value. This principle goes along with the necessity of "entitling and empowering young people so that such a choice is possible through making available adequate skills, sufficient valuable job opportunities as well as avoiding discriminative practices with regard to the access to such opportunities" (*Bonvin 2012*). Moreover, particularly relevant to the freedom of choice is the absence of penalizations as a consequence of the choice itself (the concept of "valuable job" should be broadened so as to include any kind of activity, even the choice not to be active should be recognized without unbearable costs). Looking at specific education and/or employment policies or initiatives, the following elements may be considered in order to assess whether or not they align to the Capability Approach:

a) the quality of training programs, meaning in general inclusion of measures tailored specifically to the needs of our target group (with the aim of providing missing competencies

[9] See above (paragraph 2) the commonly accepted definition of "young people with fewer opportunities".

and skills, be they technical, social, personal, etc.) as well as the quality of available opportunities in terms of jobs and activities,

b) the provision of entitlements linked to job loss and inactivity and their conditionality,

c) the way the notion of "valuable work" is actually constructed (who decides what counts as a valuable job that is recognized by society and paid as such).

The third dimension to consider is the Capability for Voice. This is defined as "the real freedom to express one's wishes, expectations, desires, etc. and make them count when decisions concerning one self are made. Three factors influence the degree of capability for voice of and individual: his or her cognitive ability to express his or her view point; social conversion factors, mainly the space and the value given by a society to the right of young people to express their point of view (and the political recognition and reception of this point of view); the freedom of expressing a choice in one direction (and even the choice not to express it) without incurring in severe penalties (*Bonvin, 2012*).

In the field of the Workable research, in order to assess whether policies are oriented towards the CA, the following elements shall be taken into consideration as far as Capability for Voice is concerned:

a) to which extent youth have the necessary skills and political influence to push their viewpoints,

b) to which extent they are entitled to do this and to be listened to when they do it (since their interlocutors ought to be pushed by legislative or other regulative provisions in this direction),

c) whether young people are free not to participate in the democratic debate if they choose to, without any substantial loss in terms of rights and entitlements".

EU policies and capability for education: The EU strategy to reduce Early School Leavers

As pointed out in its Europe 2020 strategy, the EU in order to keep up its competitiveness in the globalized market has to face the challenge represented by the growing need of highly qualified and skilled workers. Due to the progressive ageing of the society and the consequent decrease in economically active population, the EU shall particularly focus on the improvement of the quality of its education and vocational training system as well as on tackling the problems associated with the growing number of young people excluded not only from the labour market but from the integration into the society at large. In this perspective, from the EU's point of view it is particularly important to take comprehensive actions for reducing Early School Leaving, facilitating the re-integration into education and thereby giving a positive employment perspective to those youth that, having dropped out

of school, have low education and qualifications and therefore are equipped with "inadequate skills for later life" (European Commission, 2011b)[10].

In its analyses accompanying the proposal for an EU strategy to reduce ESL, the Commission says that "there is a clear relationship between socio- economic status and the risk of ESL, but the mechanisms linking various kinds of disadvantages to ESL are not clearly recognised. ESL is seen as a result of the interaction between home/family/community based factors, school-based and systemic factors" (*European Commission, 2011b*).

Therefore the EC invites the MS to develop a comprehensive framework with different strategies for prevention, intervention and compensation to combat ESL: to avoid ESL (prevention), before or at the moment of drop out (intervention) and after ESL (compensation). The EC concludes that "different measures need to be implemented in parallel" (*European Commission, 2011b*) at each stage in order to take into account the highly individual and different needs, backgrounds and problems of young people/ to reduce the different risk factors leading to ESL.

The Human Capital approach shapes the EU strategic approach underlined in Europe 2020. This applies also to the educational headline targets as well as to the related policy initiatives and the priority areas of intervention (including the policy recommendations issued yearly by the Council in the framework of the European semester).

Nevertheless, a certain number of elements within the EU strategy to tackle ESL can be considered in line with the principle stated above as of the Capability for Education. In particular, the priority that Member States' measures should give to groups at increased risk of early school leaving, such as children with a socio-economically disadvantaged, migrant or Roma background or with special educational needs (Recommendation No 3) (*Council of the European Union, 2011*), goes towards the necessity to develop and make available more training opportunities for the target group, increasing equal access to education in the long and short term and allowing the possibility of reintegration into the education and training system for those who had left it.

Also the policy framework recommended for action is getting closer to the principles of the CA. The Council recommends MS to develop a policy mix across different sectors (education, social policy addressing early childhood and youth, employment etc.) in so defining a strategy, as we have seen above, integrating different measures that address prevention, intervention and compensation in a coordinated way.

Prevention

In order to remove systematic obstacles, development of good quality early childhood education and care is meant to be one of the priorities suggested to MS. According to several empirical studies "the provision of the universally available, full–time, play-based education programme closes the gaps in social development, numeracy and literacy achievement between children from socially advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds"

[10] A detailed tool kit of analyses, policy measures and good practices in the Member States to combat ESL is provided in the European Commission staff working paper that accompanies the EU recommendation to reduce ESL in the EU.

(*European Commission, 2011b*). This is in line with the CA aiming to overcome unequal access to education due to limited availability of places, financial obstacles and a better transition to primary education. This general policy principle could be then concretized in a Capability friendly measure or policy, for instance if criteria for quality for early childhood education and care are defined as for example:

- adequate funding,
- appropriate design for the transition to formal education (qualification of staff, quality control by inspection),
- adapted content and organisation of preschool education (social competence development, language learning programmes).[11]

It must be noted that the EC in its staff working paper accompanying the ESL strategy focuses only on quantitative development of child care provision. No mention is made of qualitative criteria. As a consequence, the priority given to the improvement and extension of child care and early school provision is mainly motivated by the need to increase the rate of female participation in the labour market rather than to enlarge the spectrum of capabilities to the pupils.

Another common characteristic in the structure of education and training systems is the absence or lack of flexibility in educational pathways, i.e. of bridges allowing mobility of pupils from one (type or level of) training to another. This often results in a concrete limitation of the possibility to choose and access the education young people value. Limited possibilities and perspectives have an impact on personal motivation. Research outlines the necessity for flexible education and training systems with a variety of recognised learning pathways and combined with individual and school-level support in order to reduce ESL.

To this regard, again getting closer to the principles of the CA, the EC in its staff working paper accompanying the ESL strategy provides examples of possible implementation measures that should aim to develop:

- a high degree of permeability of educational pathways which avoids educational tracks leading into dead ends,
- flexible approaches to combine general education, vocational training and first practical working experience,
- a degree of flexibility and variety in vocational training,
- limiting the repetition of school years and to replace it with flexible individual support.

[11] The EC indicates as example of good practice Sweden, where children from disadvantaged background experience a better start in compulsory education. Adequate funding, appropriate design for the transition to formal schooling as well as adapted content and organisation for preschool education (social competence development) have been successfully set up.

The implementation of such measures would be a step in the direction of the CA approach aiming to overcome segregation of professional sectors and formal borders allowing a better professional orientation as well as improving access and choices of young people. Flexible programmes can more easily react to and cope with the individual situation of the young person.

This applies particularly to the technical and vocational education and training system (VET). Whereas specific measures would vary from country to country according to their different situations, regional and structural disparities, MS are called to review their VET systems in order to reduce drop outs and develop the labour market relevance of education and training. Notably, for most of the MS the lack of employability of young people coming out from education and VET (especially disadvantaged youth) is lamented. An exception is Germany, where the improvement in educational performance of disadvantaged youths is linked to the strong effort undertaken to ensure equal opportunities in education and training.

Intervention

With regard to intervention measures, two types are proposed in the EC working paper. They focus either on the improvement of the situation in the learning environment (in the schools) or on the tailored support which should be provided to young people at risk.
The creation of a more supportive learning environment through the removal of financial obstacles and the strengthened cooperation with families or other actors outside of schools are Capability friendly. Such interventions may change the situation of pupils at risk, as they imply a more holistic and multi professional implementation, going beyond the lack of their school competences. With regard to school wide strategies, measures with a focus on the well-being of all students (physical and mental) or developing different learning styles (team work, drama, use of new technologies) can increase the motivation of young people at risk. The proposal of practicing school democracy in daily decisions of the school as such is promising if the voice of pupils is more actively requested and the implementation practised in a serious manner.

Compensation

After having dropped out of school or education, the EC recommends to the Member States to develop a range of tailor made education and training opportunities with a compensatory character for the respective young people. The aim is to "create opportunities" (*European Commission, 2011b*) in offering qualifications at a later stage. As the barriers to continue learning are high and are linked to previous negative experiences in school, the programmes focus on alternative and individualised settings (different learning environment, small groups, more teachers, innovative teaching, more practical elements) and aim to develop trust, self-esteem and motivation for learning. This approach is closer to CA in the sense that it enables young people to develop their abilities. The second chance school programmes "have to be relevant for the students, have to be able to provide sufficient incentives to maintain learning and need to be flexible to student needs" (*European Commission, 2011b*). These programmes should at the same time provide qualifications that are recognised on the labour market and represent a bridge to the mainstream education and training systems.

Such programmes have a more holistic character and intervention goes beyond development of cognitive and personal skills (empowerment, self-esteem). The life situation is tackled in individual support or advice settings.

Another strategy to develop new opportunities for young people with fewer opportunities consists in the recognition and validation of prior learning experiences by using national qualification catalogues, as is being done in Portugal. These measures look first of all to recognise experiences[12] and competences of young people achieved in settings other than formal education and training in order to develop new pathways towards professional qualifications. In several Member States national qualification systems emerge without sufficient attention to experiences of this specific target group. Another possibility is represented by informal or non formal learning outcomes (*European Commission, 2011b*). These programmes provide learning experiences in a different setting outside of school (tailor made orientation and advice looking at the individual situation and personality, friendly atmosphere). They do not aim for the acquisition of skills but they rather intend to reinforce young peoples' self-esteem through practical, manual or artistic project work, relying strongly on active participation of young people. The programmes try to identify the potentials of young people through creation of strong relationships and exploration of (different) practical experiences in order to develop new abilities that will help later on to overcome challenges and difficulties once back on track in school or training[13].

EU Policies and Capability for work: The "Youth Opportunities Initiative".

I In the socio-economic analysis of the current weaknesses of European labour market and in the consequent policy development exercise carried out to tackle the crisis[14] the EC focuses strongly on the need to improve employability (in particular of young people) and on the development of skills relevant for the labour market, for a better matching of labour demand and offer. Major problems recalled in several MS are a) the mismatch between the skills provided by (vocational) education and the real needs in many sectors and b) the lack of an efficient dual system which enables and facilitates the transition from education to working life. Therefore, the EC pushes strongly Member States to urgently develop measures aiming to increase the offer of apprenticeships and on-the-job-training as well as to facilitate the first employment of those trainees who have successfully accomplished their dual experience of alternated training and work. The reference and key initiative developed by

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[12] Work experience outside formal working contracts, caring for family members, volunteering, participation in youth work activities or transnational exchange programmes.

[13] In the strand of compensation, several capability elements in programmes like Youth reach in Ireland are present because of:

holistic approach, looking at the multifaceted situation of young people (family, health, money, education);

looking at potentials and strengths ;

offer of additional education and training opportunities in a different setting;

participation on a voluntary basis, person can step out without penalties, wish and motivation of the young people are the red line for setting up the relationship/ partnership, for guiding (?)

[14] Europe 2020 strategy and its flagship initiatives; Employment package including the Communication "Towards a Job-rich recovery" and the accompanying staff working papers released in April 2012.

the European Commission in this regard is Youth Opportunities Initiative, the set of measures launched by the EC in December 2011.

From a Capability perspective, paying special attention to the Capability for work, the effort undertaken by the EC (both directly and by leading Member States) to implement more and better internship schemes or to foster the guarantee of a first work experience to young people may be beneficial especially to disadvantaged or marginalised young people, as this represents in itself an extension of the range of professional opportunities, perspectives and choices for them.

However it must be noted that, even though reality varies pretty much from Member State to Member State, young people (with lower qualifications) often have to compete with a growing number of well educated new graduates having attained a university degree who also encounter severe difficulties in accessing the labour market and getting a first employment.

Moreover, several MS like France report significant difficulties in the implementation of (additional) apprenticeship schemes because companies are reluctant to hire staff through such schemes (aversion to long term investment in human capital in economic crisis, preference for skilled workers, no sufficient incentives, no resources available to develop vocational training).

Equal access of marginalised young people to the available places is therefore not guaranteed and needs to be strongly addressed. As outlined in the previous section, policy mixes are needed in order to reform educational systems and provide the necessary flexibility of training pathways and their permeability, so that (re-)integration into education of those disadvantaged is possible. On the other hand, the design, the nature and the quality of the activation policies in the Member States may determine in what way, if any, the planned initiatives align to the CA approach as far as facilitation of the access of disadvantaged youth to appropriate qualification and training is concerned.

Among all the measures mentioned in the YOI, of particular relevance for the Capability Approach is the forecasted establishment of a European quality framework of traineeships which shall be defined through a Council recommendation to be adopted in 2012 (*European Commission, 2012*). The EC is aware of the need of quality norms for traineeships to set a framework regulating this kind of employment in order to guarantee its learning character (acquisition of more relevant skills) as well as to protect regular workers from the possibility of being replaced by lower paid young people.

With the elaboration of a Council Recommendation on youth guarantee to be approved upon proposal of the EC by the end of 2012 the EC seems particularly concerned with pushing this sort of activation measures, whereas youth guarantees are mostly not yet in place to a satisfactory extent. The idea is that all young people should receive “a good quality offer of employment, continued education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship” (*European Commission; 2012*) within a few months after leaving school. Nonetheless, the meaning of good quality employment, as well as of good quality advice and guidance services (with the focus on the real needs and individual situation of the young beneficiary) are yet to be specified and defined.

Also, in the EC analysis of the reasons that determine the success or failure of Active Labour Market measures, scarce or no relevance is attributed to personal motivation and satisfaction of individuals in respect to quality or appropriateness of the given activation framework.

Last but not least, the special value of European non-formal education programmes in alternative and innovative settings should be remarked. Such programmes integrate several CA elements (see above) and can concretely contribute to increase the employability of young people. As pointed out in the European Youth in Action interim evaluation report (*Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et al., 2011*), additional support measures are available in order to involve young people with fewer opportunities. The Employability aspect could be further strengthened in a follow-up initiative (*Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et alt, 2011*) and the enhancement of bridges between formal and non–formal education should be addressed as well as this perspective is currently not addressed[15].

EU policy and the Capability for Voice: Non-formal learning and the "Youth in Action Program"

The "voice" of young people is not recognised as the key dimension in the specific European policies mentioned in the previous sections: ESL strategy with reference to education and YOI with reference to youth employment. In fact, within the initiatives, measures and programmes set in the frame of these two policies there is no formal place reserved to the expression of young people's point of view either individually or through (elected) representatives. Furthermore, no young people's "voice" is explicitly foreseen in the evaluation and further development of the programmes. Only once are active involvement of targeted actors and respect of culture towards children and young people mentioned[16] as best practice example of key factors for the successful approach involving directly the Roma community and the parents (*Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et alt, 2011*).

The voice of young people is mentioned only with regard to the decision to step out of education and school: "Some Early School Leavers regard their decision as a 'positive choice'. They feel undervalued and disrespected at school and underachieve academically. School education appears to them to be relevant to their lives and they believe that they could achieve more outside formal education and training" (*European Commission 2010*). There is no further mention or proposal in what way the voice of young people inside the education and training programmes against ESL or with regard to the Youth Opportunities Initiative could qualitatively contribute to the further development or improvement of the strategies.

The value of empowerment and participation

The EC is aware that self-confidence and self-esteem of young people are important competences/resources that enable them to cope with their individual needs and with the

[15] The Youth in Action programme does not target specifically reduction of ESL, neither is specifically directed to transition between education and training and the labour market. (Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et alt, 2011).

[16] with regard to support children from disadvantaged backgrounds in Hungary against ESL

problems they have to face during their education and training. Therefore the EC strongly encourages Member States to develop student focused strategies mainly in the framework of intervention and compensation measures against ESL. These programmes should focus on "resilience building" and allow stronger emphasis on feelings of confidence. In order to support young people in an appropriate way, the EC recognises also the need for the development of personalised learning approaches for young people. New teaching methods should be implemented in education and vocational training programmes. This can also help to increase young people's self-esteem and improve their capacity to cope with further challenges.

Nevertheless, the empowerment of young people as an objective of the process in order to express their voice and to learn to choose consciously for their personal and professional perspectives is not mentioned (*European Commission, 2011b*).

Remarkably, there is a specific area within the education policy of the European Union where the value of voice is strongly reflected. It is the European programme mainly targeting the recognition of non-formal education: the Youth in Action Programme. Projects supported and financed by the programme target actively young people regardless of their level of education, while the specific social inclusion strategy enclosed in it (as we have seen in the above sections) expressly aims at facilitating the participation in the programme of young people with fewer opportunities[17]. This programme fosters the active participation (*Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et alt, 2011*) of young people (both individually or in a group) so that they are directly involved in the design and implementation of the project's activities they have reasons to value. Expectations, fears and wishes are taken into account while participation is on a voluntary basis. The setting allows for a new kind of relationship based on the motivation of young people.

With its complementary character to the programme for education and training, the recognition of qualification aspects is not directly addressed, with the exception of qualifications acquired within non-formal learning activities (and accredited by the youth pass certificate). A specific certificate to document the personal developments achieved by marginalised or socially disadvantaged young people is still a matter of discussion and further elaboration.

Moreover, with a link to the voice dimension, the Youth in Action programme focuses much more strongly on active citizenship and civil society development than other policies and strategies. The promotion of equality, social cohesion and active citizenship is a "backbone principle of the programme", (*Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et al., 2011*). Another feature which can be seen as a CA friendly element in the non-formal education programme is the inclusion of health and well-being among the main aims of the programme.

[17] "YiA monitoring data show that overall 26% of the participants are reported to be a young person with fewer opportunities" (Mc Coshan, A., Koppert, S., et alt, 2011).

5 Capability friendly policies- call for a change of perspective with regard to young people?

The CA approach promotes a shift in policies and programmes to focus on participation, choices and voices of young people when education, training, work, as well as personal and social life are concerned.

Young people participation shall be the key point of all phases in the life cycle of a measure or policy (planning, implementation, evaluation) via:

- support to empowerment,
- recognition of young people's values and considerations, and
- development of equal access to information and participation.

The CA does not focus only on employability and work integration as policy aims, moreover it does not imply that the target group of education and employment policies are those who have to adapt to the labour market demands in order to earn a valuable place in the society. On the contrary, the CA considers as equally important the implications of the life context of the target group (and the individuals composing it), for instance family background, culture, health. These factors have an impact on several aspects of a person's life such as commitment, interest, social networks, self- initiative, in brief on his or her whole personal development and active participation.

As a matter of fact, EU-fostered policies and programmes focussing on the recognition of non-formal education take these factors into account much more strongly than EU policies in the field of education and training as well as than the practices showed by Member States.

While the strategies in formal education/training acknowledge the need to develop tailor-made and personal approaches to re-integrate young people with difficulties into the system, their voices (expectations and wishes) are generally perceived by the policy makers as "unrealistic" or too strongly limited by traditional role images.

The implementation of policies in line with the CA would require school and VET teachers, social workers and employment services to change their professional approach to young people: to stimulate them to realise the lives they wish to live instead of focusing on their problems, their disadvantages, their deficits and their obstacles. At the basis of the approach is the relevance of the empowerment process that young people should (or should be allowed to) undertake in order to become the deciding actor of their own lives and to take over the responsibility of making choices, as far as the determination of which education or professional development path have a real value for themselves is concerned. This is basically the issue of wellbeing and of the development of self-esteem/self-confidence as preconditions for expressing their voice. Appropriate training would allow the development of skills necessary for future professional and personal perspectives they really wish to value. The CA states that the real perspective for a valuable life will stimulate the sense of responsibility and the development and discovery of responsible and appreciative attitudes will stimulate peers to do the same.

In its analysis the EC recognizes that especially "pupils at risk have often less access to high quality guidance" (*European Commission, 2011b*). The growing variety of education and training possibilities is not accompanied by an adequate provision of orientation and career guidance services by schools or by the public employment services in Member States. Young people may have ideas of professions that are not "realistic" with regard to envisaged tasks, necessary skills and qualification or available training places. The globalisation and the digital revolution of the last decades have sharply increased the risk of long-term unemployment, especially for low qualified people. In spite the vision of Europe 2020 strategy, young people are increasingly coping with the perspective of waiting for a long time before succeeding in getting a first occupation once entering the labour market. Many training curricula provide qualifications which lack recognition or need in the labour market, therefore leading young people who attained them to unemployment. In addition to that, young people are confronted with an increasing fragmentation and flexibility and will therefore have to cope with permanent changing working conditions, rotation between diverse work fields, temporary flexible employment. According to Schneider (*Schultheis, 2009*), coping strategies to handle this context as well as utilization of social resources and strengthening of self-confidence are key abilities needed to handle the development of personal and professional perspective of young people. These coping strategies need to be more strongly addressed not only in education and training systems, but also in higher quality information and orientation guidance services established by the different Member States.

The recognition of non-formal learning experiences as alternative learning pathways (youth Pass) is important to increase the success of young people moving on to first employment or further education, whereas ways to better follow up these experiences providing higher chances of permanent access to employment are still needed. Opportunities of further development need to be set up in order to bridge non-formal (and formal) education and the world of work (for instance voluntary service activity instead of the frustration that the labour market requires skills through professional diploma). The current work of the EC to propose a Council recommendation on the validation of non-formal and informal learning has to be understood as an important initiative in the right direction. It carries the chance to stronger connect the field of education & training, youth work and voluntary work as well as citizenship building and participation.

6 Conclusions

As we have seen, through the European Semester European Union institutions and especially the European Commission are playing a prominent role in stimulating and monitoring the development of coordinated policies in the Member States as far as education and employment are concerned. The process started in 2006 with the Communication of the Commission establishing a new framework for the open coordination of social protection and inclusion policies in the European Union[18], went further with the

[18] European Commission, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS. Working together, working better: A new framework for the open coordination of social protection and inclusion policies in the European Union, CMO (2005) 706 final.

entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon and the strengthening of the Open Method of Coordination in the employment sector in 2009 and was put even further forward by the launch of the Europe 2020 strategy. While several measures at the European level have been already established, their implementation has been made more and more difficult by the hard hit of the economic and financial crisis affecting particularly Europe since 2008. The crisis has primarily resulted in short-term cuts of resources available for welfare measures and interventions and in the implementation of austerity plans instead of long-term perspective and investment in better life conditions for young people, especially those in disadvantage (who are hit more severely by the effects of the crisis). Our search for CA elements within the actions backed by the EU showed that some can indeed be found in the strategies implemented by the EC. However, there is clearly no recognition by the policy makers of the need to combine capabilities (ability and choices) for education, work and voice and to change the policy focus when addressing the transition of young people from school to work and adult life. Instead, the focus remains only and persistently on the development of capacities (skills) of young people to facilitate transition into employment.

If we take the example of active labour market measures we can notice the lack of definition of quality criteria. Activation policies are stressed to be among the most useful and recommended measures to the Member States to bridge the world of school and the labour market and so help young people to enter employment. Yet , they are normally not sufficiently developed to focus more strongly on the needs of the (disadvantaged) young people they want to target - with the provision of real opportunities to access relevant qualifications and further on gain real positive professional perspectives. Policy makers shall modify their perspective and develop new content for these measures, where self-motivation of young people in undertaking training and maintaining their own place in the training system takes central stage. It is not sufficient to define only quantitative targets for the measures implemented (X number apprenticeship, Y on the job training to be made available to the target group). They should rather function as real bridges to the next (educational or professional) step in the transition process. In this sense, a wider recognition of the qualifications obtained in the non-formal and informal education could be one way of increasing opportunities of successful transitions, especially for disadvantaged youth. Therefore, cooperation and dialogue between formal and non-formal / informal education sectors need to be further stimulated and the exchange of good practices at European level must be reinforced.

The assessment of policies and measures benefiting young people in situation of disadvantage need to consider whether or not factors giving voice to the target group are foreseen by such measures: they need to take into consideration individual satisfaction of those young people. Motivation or demotivation of young people should not be seen only as a resource or a deficit of an individual. Motivation depends strongly on structural resources and opportunities made available by the society to young people transiting from school to work. Therefore motivation/demotivation should rather be treated as an indicator of the extent to which young people see space for self-determining their life and professional path and having chances of success in the social and labour market integration process.

Disadvantaged young people need to be empowered in order to actively engage in their vocational and adult life. Empowerment should be a streamline for the design and implementation of policy measures. It should be seen as a resource for young people and a

capability necessary to cope with the difficulties associated with this transition phase. The recognition of its value has to go along with the provision of rights and resources that enable young people to take personal responsibility for the success of their transitions.

Last but not least, it must be underlined how the financial matter is a key element for the successful implementation of measures in favour and support of disadvantaged young people in transition to the world of work. The availability of adequate funding will determine the success and the impact of such measures. Besides that, in order to set up favourable conditions to seriously increase the opportunity for young people to build positive professional perspectives, the quality aspect of the funded measures is also relevant (both in terms of qualified staff employed for their implementation as well as of provision of a comprehensive evaluation mechanism able to lead to continued improvement of the measure itself). In many countries, EU programmes and structural funds are important to establish transition policies for disadvantaged young people. European policies can furthermore enhance reflexivity of measures as well as innovation in education, training and participatory youth policies.

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10. European Strategies and Higher Education

Marek Kwiek

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses EU-level developments in policy thinking in the area of higher education, training, and labour markets based on the analysis of a major large-scale strategy promoted by the European Commission in the 2000s: "Education and Training 2010" (ET 2010, launched in 2001, followed by a new strategy for the next decade, "Education and Training 2020", ET 2020). The strategy shows major EU-level conceptualizations in the areas of education, training and labour market policies. The major focus of this analysis of the most relevant documents debated within this strategy is youth, students, and graduates; in particular in connection with higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. The EU-level strategy is linked here to the formerly existing Lisbon Strategy and to the new Europe 2020 Strategy for "smart, sustainable and inclusive growth".

2 "Education and Training 2010" and its implications for European higher education

The focus of this chapter is on the two components of the "Education and Training 2010" strategy: (A) Developing Lifelong Learning (LLL) strategies, and (B) Higher education reforms. The chapter does not discuss such ET 2010 components as the initiative of the European Institute of Technology (EIT), developing school education policies, removing obstacles to mobility, promoting multiligualism, ICT for innovation and lifelong learning, and enhanced cooperation in vocational and adult education. The two selected components are large-scale systemic issues regarding the changes in which all EU member states are currently involved, under close supranational, EU-level, supervision, with common guidelines and common benchmarks. Mobility, as another component of ET 2010, for both students and academics, can be viewed as part of the higher education reform package.

The overall rationale of the ET 2010 strategy presented below is based on its major policy documents: "'Delivering lifelong learning for knowledge, creativity and innovation'. *2008 joint progress report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the 'Education & Training 2010' Work Programme*" (February 2008); "'Education and Training' as a key driver of the Lisbon Strategy'. *Adoption of Resolution* (November 2007); "'Modernising education and training: a vital contribution to prosperity and social cohesion in Europe'. *2006 Joint Interim Report of the Council and the Commission on progress under the 'Education & Training 2010' Work Programme*" (February 2006); "'Education & Training 2010'. The success of the Lisbon Strategy hinges on urgent reforms'. *Joint Interim Report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the detailed work programme on*

the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe" (February 2004); and "'The concrete future objectives of education and training systems'. *Education Council report*" (February 2001).

The ET 2010 documents strongly support the idea of the dual role of education and training: both social and economic objectives are major policy objectives. The synergy between economic policy objectives and social policy objectives is emphasized. The non-economic effects of education and training systems are stressed, and their effects on social cohesion are mentioned:

> Education and training are a determining factor in each country's potential for excellence, innovation and competitiveness. At the same time, they are an integral part of the social dimension of Europe, because they transmit values of solidarity, equal opportunities and social participation, while also producing positive effects on health, crime, the environment, democratisation and general quality of life. All citizens need to acquire and continually update their knowledge, skills and competences through lifelong learning, and the specific needs of those at risk of social exclusion need to be taken into account. This will help to raise labour force participation and economic growth, while ensuring social cohesion. Investing in education and training has a price, but high private, economic and social returns in the medium and long-term outweigh the costs. Reforms should therefore continue to seek synergies between economic and social policy objectives, which are in fact mutually reinforcing (EC 2006i: C79/1).

The ET 2010 has been linked to the future of the European social model, but not as dramatically as in the case of, for instance, higher education policies promoted within the "modernization agenda of European universities" and in all major communications from the European Commission throughout the 2000s about "universities" and their direct link to economic competitiveness, economic growth and the sustainability of the European social model in the future. In the former set of EC initiatives (and as conceptualized in EC communications, including "The Role of Universities in the Europe of Knowledge" from 2003), the economic future of the next generations of Europeans indeed depends, to a large extent, on the triangle of "research, innovation, and education". The ET 2010 (as well as ET 2020) documents have much less dramatic overtones and their analyses of the status quo in higher education are much more balanced. The following set of passages from the above mentioned documents set the tone for the strategy and shows its major themes:

> Europe is facing enormous socio-economic and demographic challenges associated with an ageing population, high numbers of low-skilled adults, high rates of youth unemployment, etc. At the same time, there is a growing need to improve the level of competences and qualifications on the labour market. It is necessary to address these challenges in order to improve the long-term sustainability of Europe's social systems. Education and training are part of the solution to these problems (EC 2006i: C 79/2).

> Education and training form one apex of the knowledge triangle and are crucial to providing research and innovation with the broad skills base and creativity which these require. They represent the cornerstone on which Europe's future growth and the well-being of its citizens depend (EC 2007g: C 300/2).

> The knowledge triangle [i.e. education, research and innovation] plays a key role in boosting jobs and growth. So it is so important to accelerate reform, to promote excellence in higher education and university-business partnerships and to ensure that all sectors of education and training play their full role in promoting creativity and innovation (EC 2008m: C 86/1-C 86/2).

The key message of the Education and Training 2010 strategy is that it is essential to strengthen "synergies and complementarity between education and other policy areas, such as employment, research and innovation, and macroeconomic policy" (EC 2004: 4). One of the three priority areas to be acted upon "simultaneously and without delay" is the following: to focus reform and investment on the key areas for any knowledge-based society (the other two being "to make lifelong learning a concrete reality" and "to establish a Europe of Education and Training":

> In order to make the European Union the leading knowledge-based economy in the world, there is an urgent need to invest more, and more efficiently and effectively in human resources. This involves a higher level of public sector investment in key areas for the knowledge society and, where appropriate, a higher level of private investment, particularly in higher education, adult education and continuing vocational training (EC 2004d: 4).

A key area is also higher education which is central to a Europe of Knowledge:

> Given that the higher education sector is situated at the crossroads of research, education and innovation, it is a central player in the knowledge economy and society and key to the competitiveness of the European Union. The European Higher Education Sector should therefore pursue excellence and become a world-wide quality reference to be in a position to compete against the best in the world (EC 2004d: 12).

The ET 2020 strategy, in general, is consistent with the major ideas expressed in the ET 2010 strategy. The methods of conceptualizing youth and students, as well as higher education institutions, education and training systems are structurally similar.

3 Developing Lifelong Learning strategies and "Education and Training 2010"

The most relevant documents for this section include the following: "New skills for new jobs" (*Adoption of the Council Resolution,* November 2007); "Towards more knowledge-based policy and practice in education and training" (*Commission Staff Working* Document, August 2007*)*; "Efficiency and equity in European education and training systems" (*Conclusions of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council and Communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament,* September 2006); "Investing efficiently in education and training: an imperative for Europe" (EC Communication*,* January 2003); "Lifelong Learning" (*Council Resolution,* June 2002); "Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality" (EC Communication*,* November 2001); and "A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning" (*Commission Staff Working Paper,* October 2000). The two guiding passages for brief analyses below are the following:

> The need to increase participation rates in further learning remains a major challenge for Europe, particularly in the southern European countries and the new Member States. Greater numbers of adults in lifelong learning would increase active participation in the labour market and contribute to strengthening social cohesion (EC 2006f: C79/4).
>
> Many countries are encouraging universities to play their part in making a reality of lifelong learning by widening access for non-traditional learners, such as those from low socio-economic backgrounds,

> including through the establishment of systems for the validation of non-formal and informal learning (EC 2006f: C79/5).

The European Commission's conceptualizations of education and training systems increasingly link universities and lifelong learning. One of the major tasks of universities in the future could be the accommodation of elements of lifelong learning, especially elements of what is sometimes termed today adult learning. European universities are expected to have much wider openings than currently for older generations of potential students, albeit in different modes of studies with study programmes, particularly short-term vocational courses, specifically designed for them. At the same time, the Commission in general is increasingly concerned with lifelong learning viewed as learning throughout one's life, from pre-school education through higher education and beyond. From this perspective, higher education is merely part of lifelong learning, designed specifically for students, mostly at the traditional age of study and mostly studying to gain either bachelor's, master's, or doctorate degrees (the tripartite division of the Bologna Process). Consequently, in the decade of the 2000s (under the Education and Training 2010 strategy), lifelong learning strategies were by definition focused on "making lifelong learning a reality" (EC 2001b). The definition of lifelong learning adopted by the European strategy ET 2010 was the following:

> In addition to the emphasis it places on learning from pre-school to postretirement, lifelong learning should encompass the whole spectrum of formal, non-formal and informal learning. ... The principles which underpin lifelong learning and guide its effective implementation emphasise the centrality of the learner, the importance of equal opportunities and the quality and relevance of learning opportunities (EC 2001b: 3)

In the next decade (under the new Education and Training 2020 strategy), lifelong learning strategies will be much more focused on all stages and all modes of learning, learning throughout life regardless of the age of the learner. Certainly the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) for Lifelong Learning is going in this direction:

> The European Qualifications Framework (EQF) acts as a translation device to make national qualifications more readable across Europe, promoting workers' and learners' mobility between countries and facilitating their lifelong learning. The EQF aims to relate different countries' national qualifications systems to a common European reference framework. Individuals and employers will be able to use the EQF to better understand and compare the qualifications levels of different countries and different education and training systems.

The EQF introduces a fundamentally new way of thinking about learning as it uses a "learning outcomes" idea with eight levels of reference in respect of all types of education and training. In some countries both are realities, with learning outcomes having been defined and EQF levels 1 through 8 having been applied in policy thinking about education. In others, Poland included, no work has been done in this area so far except for pilot studies.

Both the ET 2010 and ET 2020 strategies increasingly focused on two other types of lifelong learning than formal learning: non-formal learning and informal learning. This is a reflection of a greater appreciation of learning taking place in non-traditional settings (e.g. out-of-school) and taking place in non-traditional modes. As the EC document stresses, so far, these learning experiences have been "invisible" in education systems, and consequently it was not possible to recognize them properly:

> Learning that takes place in formal education and training systems is traditionally the most visible and recognised in the labour market and by society in general. In recent years, however, there has been a growing appreciation of the importance of learning in non-formal and informal settings. New approaches are needed to identify and validate these 'invisible' learning experiences.

At the European level, the following definitions of types of learning are used:

- Formal learning is typically provided by education or training institutions, with structured learning objectives, learning time and learning support. It is intentional on the part of the learner and leads to certification.

- Non-formal learning is not provided by an education or training institution and typically does not lead to certification. However, it is intentional on the part of the learner and has structured objectives, times and support.

- Informal learning results from daily activities related to work, family life or leisure. It is not structured and usually does not lead to certification. In most cases, it is unintentional on the part of the learner.

Within wider lifelong learning debates, the social dimension of higher education has been consistently stressed (see EC 2010b, see also Goetschy 1999 and Heidenreich 2004). This new EC document refers to the old topic in new ways, though. The major differences in themes are the following: the need to strengthen the financial support for students is accompanied by a reference to "affordable, accessible, adequate, and portable students loans" – which perhaps for the first time may lead directly to promoting the implementation of cost-sharing and cost-recovery mechanisms in higher education (because loans in general accompany fees). The role of universities in recognizing non-traditional paths to higher education is stressed, as are "more flexible and diversified learning paths". Knowledge produced at universities is also expected to return benefits to society. And, finally, universities should be prepared to be more open to adult, non-formal and informal learners – which will be made easier through the recognition of learning outcomes and the widespread use of the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) for Lifelong Learning.

> More flexible and diversified learning paths – for example recognising prior learning, part-time education, and distance learning – can help to reconcile higher education with work or family commitments and to encourage wider participation. … Higher education institutions can also exercise social responsibility by making their resources available to adult and informal and non-formal learners, strengthening research on social exclusion, fostering innovation and updating educational resources and methodology (EC 2010b: C/135/5).

Lifelong learning strategies, major components of both the Education and Training 2010 and 2020 strategies, seem to be directed in EU conceptualizations to those parts of diversified higher education systems which are focused mostly on teaching. Research-intensive universities are referred to mostly within the "modernization agenda of European universities", discussed briefly below.

4 Higher education reforms, their contexts, and "Education and Training 2010"

The most relevant documents for this section on higher education reforms include the following: "Modernising universities for Europe's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy" (*Council Resolution,* November 2007); "Delivering on the modernisation agenda for universities: education, research and innovation" (*Communication from the Commission*

to the Council and the European Parliament, May 2006); "Further European cooperation in quality assurance in higher education" (*Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council,* February 2006); "From Bergen to London: The EU Contribution" (*Commission Progress Report,* January 2006); "Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling higher education to make its full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy" (*Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States,* November 2005); "European Higher Education in a Worldwide Perspective" (*Annex to the: Communication from the Commission* 'Mobilising the brainpower of Europe: enabling universities to make their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy', April 2005); "The role of the universities in the Europe of knowledge" (EC Communication*,* February 2003); and "Strengthening cooperation with third countries in the field of higher education" (*Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the* Council, July 2001). In addition to these, there are two recent documents from the EC: "Communication from the Commission: Supporting growth and jobs – an agenda for the modernisation of Europe's higher education systems" and "European Commission staff working document: Supporting growth and jobs: an agenda for the modernisation of Europe's higher education systems" (see EC 2011a, 2011b).

Additionally, the policy agenda for the "higher education reform" component of the ET 2010 will be analysed below in two other contexts that are most relevant for EU-level debates: the first is the "modernization agenda of European universities", and the second is the new Europe 2020 Strategy.

The first context is the "modernization agenda of European universities". The policy agenda for the "higher education reform" component of the ET 2010 strategy will be compared with another related – but separate and distinct – agenda pursued by the EC throughout the 2000s: the "Modernization Agenda" regarding European Universities, along with its policy documents as well as accompanying discussions within the emergent European Research Area (ERA).

The modernization agenda of the EC is directed towards research and innovation, especially in the Green Paper, "The European Research Area: New Perspectives" (2007, and the accompanying Staff Working Document). The creation of the ERA was proposed by the European Commission in its communication "Towards a European Research Area" of January 2000 (which can be viewed as both a starting and a reference point). Subsequently, both the "higher education reform" component of the ET 2010 strategy and the modernization/ERA agendas can be compared with the new, emergent "2020 vision for the ERA". Overall, and without going into details, youth/students appear in the latter context in quite a limited way.

The overall view of higher education by the EC in both the "modernization agenda" of European universities and the ERA strategy is that universities are currently prime loci for economic growth, economic competitiveness and engines for innovation-driven knowledge-based economies. Social cohesion, equitable access to education, widening participation in education – and related issues – seem to be left mostly to the ET 2010 strategy, with both the modernization agenda and the ERA strategy being generally not involved with these issues (see Holman 2006).

The modern university in Europe (especially in its German-inspired Humboldtian version) has been closely linked to the nation-state. With the advent of globalization, and its pressures on nation-states, universities are increasingly experiencing their de-linking from both the

traditional needs of the nation-state (inculcating national consciousness in the citizens of nation-state, etc.) and from its financial resources as the sole source of their revenues (Kwiek 2006a, 2009a and Kwiek and Maassen 2012). The share of non-core non-state revenues has been on the rise in many European systems. Universities increasingly need to rely on "third stream income" – especially non-core non-state income and earned income (as opposed to core state income and fee based income). In Europe, the overall social and economic answer to globalization has been the strengthening of European integration, and the policy agenda for this regional response to globalization was called the "Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs". European universities, as well as the governments of EU member states, find it useful to refer to this strategy in redefining the role(s) of educational institutions under both globalization and its regional response, Europeanization. Consequently, the 2000s brought about substantially new ways of thinking about universities at the level of the European Commission. Emergent EU educational policies are increasingly influential as the university reform agenda is viewed as part of the wider Lisbon strategy reforms. The EU member states – national governments – are not only adopting the Lisbon strategy, but also the social and economic concept of the university implied in it and consistently developed in subsequent official documents from the European Commission. The EU member states, for the first time in the fifty years of the history of the European Union, need to balance their educational policies between the requirements of the new policies strongly promoted by the EU and the requirements of their traditional national systems (in the four first decades, higher education in general was left in the competence of the member states; today it is viewed by the European Commission as being of critical importance to the economic future of the European Union as a whole and therefore in need of EU-level interventions). Additionally, national educational policies are under strong globalization-related (mostly financial) pressures, as are all the other social services provided under the general label of the "European social model".

In these new ways of thinking, the traditional link between the nation-state and the modern institution of the university has been broken; moreover, higher education in the EU context has clearly been put in a post-national (and distinctly European) perspective in which the interests of the EU as a whole and of particular EU member states (nation-states) are juxtaposed. The reason for the renewed EU interest in higher education is clearly stated by the European Commission: while responsibilities for universities lie essentially at national (or regional) levels, the most important challenges are "European, and even international or global" (EC 2003f: 9). The major challenges facing Europe – related to both globalization and demographics, such as losing its heritage and identity, losing out economically, giving up the European Social Model, etc. – should, according to an influential *Frontier Research: The European Challenge* report, be met through education, knowledge, and innovation:

> The most appropriate response to these challenges is to increase the capacity of Europe to create, absorb, diffuse and exploit scientific and technical knowledge, and that, to this end, education, research and innovation should be placed much higher on the European policy agenda (EC 2005b: 17).

Thus recent years have brought about intensified thinking, from a distinctly EU perspective, regarding the future of public universities in Europe. Regional processes for the integration of educational and research and development policies in the European Union add a new dimension to the nation-state/national university issue. On top of discussions about the nation-state (and the welfare state), we are confronted with new transnational ideas on how to revitalize the European project through higher education, and how to use European

universities for the purpose of creating, in Europe, a globally competitive knowledge economy. In the 2000s, for the first time, new ways of thinking about higher education were formulated at the EU level – and were accompanied by a number of practical measures, coordinated and funded by the European Commission. Higher education, left at the disposal of particular nation-states in previous decades in Europe, seems to have returned now to the forefront in discussions about the future of the EU (see Kwiek 2006b, 2012b, Maassen 2008, Maassen and Olsen 2007).

Consequently, Europe in the 2000s was undergoing two powerful integration processes, initially separate but recently increasingly convergent. The former is the Bologna process, the gradual production of a common European Higher Education Area (started by the Bologna Declaration signed in 1999) by 45 Bologna-signatory countries (reaching far beyond 27 EU member states and ranging geographically from the Caucasus to Portugal). Its main goals include the adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, the adoption of the three cycles of studies – undergraduate, graduate and doctoral, the spread of credit transfer systems enabling student mobility, and the promotion of pan-European quality assurance mechanisms. The latter is the Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs, adopted by EU countries in 2000 and simplified and re-launched in 2005: it had two targets – total (public and private) investments of 3% of Europe's GDP in research and development, and an employment rate of 70%, both to be reached by 2010, and both not achieved by most European economies. Increasingly, the goals of the Bologna process were being subsumed under the goals of the Lisbon strategy and then the Europe 2020 strategy (see Davoine et al. 2008, Palmer and Edwards 2004, Sjørup 2004, Triantafillou 2009).

The European Commission stresses that the divergence between the organization of universities at the national level and the emergence of challenges which go beyond national frontiers has grown, and will continue to do so. Thus a shift of balance is necessary, the arguments go, and the Lisbon strategy in general, combined with the emergence of the common European Research Area (co-funded by EU research funds totalling 51 billion EUR for 2007-2013) in particular, provided new grounds for policy work at the European level, despite restrictions on the engagement of the European Commission in education – leaving the area of education in the competences of the member states – as defined by the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union (1992).

In recent years, the project of European integration seems to have found a new leading legitimizing motif: education and research for the "Europe of Knowledge". A crucial component of the Europeanization process today is its attempt to make Europe a "knowledge society" (and "knowledge economy") in a globalizing world. "Education and training" (a wider EU category) becomes a core group of technologies to be used for the creation of a new Europe; the creation of a distinctive and separate "European Higher Education Area" as well as a "European Research (and Innovation) Area" were the goals the EU had set itself by a deadline of 2010. The construction of a distinctive European educational policy space – and the introduction of the requisite European educational and research policies – has become part and parcel of EU "revitalization" within the broad cultural, political and economic Europeanization project (see Lawn 2003).

We are witnessing the emergence of a "new Europe" whose foundations are being constructed around such notions as, on the one hand, "knowledge", "innovation",

"research", and on the other, "education" and "training". Education in the EU, and especially lifelong learning, becomes a new discursive space in which European dreams of common citizenship are currently being located. This new "knowledge-based Europe" is becoming increasingly individualized (and de-nationalized), though; as ideally, it should consist of individual European learners rather than citizens of particular European nation-states. The emergent European educational space is unprecedented in its vision, ambitions and possibly its capacity to influence national educational policies. In the new knowledge economy, education policy, and especially higher education policy, cannot remain solely at the level of Member States because only the construction of a new common educational space in Europe can possibly provide it with the chance to forge a new sense of European identity, as well as be a practical response to the pressures of globalization; as the arguments presented by the European Commission go (see Kwiek 2006). "Europeans", in this context, could refer directly to "European (lifelong) learners": individuals seeking knowledge useful in a knowledge economy. The symbol of this new Europe is not "the locked up cultural resources of nation states, but the individual engaged in lifelong learning" (Lawn 2001: 177); not a nationally-bound and territorially-located citizen of a particular member state but an individual with an individuated "knowledge portfolio" of education, skills, and competencies. European citizenship is being discursively located in the individual for whom a new pan-European educational space is being built. The individual attains membership of this space only through knowledge, skills and competencies. At the same time, the economic future of Europe is increasingly believed to depend on investing in knowledge and innovation and on making the "free movement of knowledge" (the "fifth freedom", complementing the four freedoms of movement in goods, services, people and capital) a reality (EC 2007h: 14); therefore, "science and technology" are "the key to Europe's future", as the title of an EC communication runs (EC 2004a); and "the success of the Lisbon strategy hinges on urgent reforms" of higher education systems in Europe, as another title runs (EC 2003a).

The idea of Europe, as well as the core normative narratives and major discourses that hold Europeans as Europeans together, is being redefined; and this new education space (being constructed through the emergent European educational and research policies) in which the new European identity is being forged seems crucial. Through prioritizing the idea of "lifelong learning" in the Lisbon strategy and in the EU agenda of "Education and Training 2010" (see EC 2000c), learning becomes redefined as an individual activity, no longer as closely linked with national projects. The new "learning society" comprises more and more "(European) learning individuals", wishing and able to opt in and opt out of particular European nations and states. Consequently, one of the key concepts in the Bologna process is no longer employment but employability, a transfer of meanings through which it is the individual's responsibility to be employed, rather than the traditional responsibility of the state, as in the Keynesian "full employment" welfare state model.

The process of creating the European Higher Education Area and the simultaneous emergence of the European Research Area have one major common dimension: that of a redefinition of missions for the institution of the university (even though universities were at first neglected as places for research in EU thinking – for instance, in the first EU communication on the subject, "Towards a European Research Area", universities and higher education in general were not even mentioned, see EC 2000c). Both teaching and research are undergoing substantial transformations today. The institution of the university is playing a significant role in the emergence of the common European higher education and common

European research spaces, but in none of these two processes is the university seen in a traditional modern way – as discussed in the context of the emergence of the modern university in traditional European nation-states. It is evolving together with radical transformations of the social setting in which it functions (the setting of "globalization" and, regionally, "Europeanization"). Globalization is the overriding notion in most major European discussions about the role(s) of higher education and research and development, the notion behind the Lisbon strategy, especially when combined with such accompanying new notions as the "knowledge economy" and the "knowledge society" – and in respect of the traditional contexts of economic growth, national and European competitiveness and combating unemployment. The Lisbon "strategy for growth and jobs" was a regional (European) response to the challenges of globalization. As globalization seems to be redefining the role of nation-states in today's world, it is indirectly affecting higher education institutions. In this context – and thus indirectly – the pressures of globalization are behind new higher education policies which promote the competitiveness of nations (and regions) through education, research and innovation. Globalization affects the proposed policy solutions in higher education for both national governments and the European Commission (Kwiek 2006a, 2009a, 2009b).

The impact of globalization on EU-level educational policies and strategies, and increasingly on the ensuing national policies and strategies, is substantial. Higher education is viewed, assessed and measured in the context of both globalization and Europeanization. Globalization, indirectly, for instance through the broad Lisbon Strategy for growth and jobs, fundamentally alters the lenses through which universities are viewed, assessed and measured. Its most evident impact on universities is the overall sense that European (predominantly public) universities need profound transformations if Europeanization is to be a successful response to globalization. Consequently, the overall picture on reading recent EU documents, reports, working papers and communications is that the relationship between government and universities is in need of a profound change. The two documents, "Mobilising the Brainpower of Europe: Enabling Universities to Make Their Full Contribution to the Lisbon Strategy" (EC 2005b, see Kwiek 2006a) and "Delivering on the Modernisation Agenda for Universities: Education, Research and Innovation" (EC 2006a) make clear that radical transformations of university governance are expected by the European Commission to make possible their full contribution to the Lisbon Strategy. Universities are urged to consider fundamentally new arrangements (new "contracts") with societies and governments are urged to consider establishing new partnerships with universities, accompanied by a shift from state control to accountability to society (EC 2005a: 9). As explained clearly in an EU issue-paper on university governance: "coordinated change is required both in systems regulation and in institutional governance in order to mobilise the enormous potential of knowledge and energy of European universities to adapt to new missions" (EC 2006a: 1). The policy lesson for the EU member states is that substantial changes in governance are needed: according to the new university/government contracts envisaged by the EU, universities will be responsible and accountable for their programmes, staff and resources, while the state will be responsible for the "strategic orientation" of the system as a whole – through a framework of general rules, policy objectives, funding mechanisms and incentives (EC 2006a: 5).

Globalization is viewed as a major factor influencing the transformations to the state today, in its two major dimensions: the nation-state and the welfare state. As the nation-state is

changing, the argument goes, so is the modern university, most often very closely linked to the state in major European variants of higher education systems. The modern university becomes radically delinked from the nation-state – and in the European context, new EU higher education policies are being developed which put lifelong learning (and the lifelong learner) in the centre of the project for an integrated European Union. In the EU discourse on future university missions the individualized learner, the product of both globalization and Europeanization, is contrasted with the traditional citizen of the nation-state, formed by the modern university which was born along with the nation-state. These challenges and opportunities seem to be clearly seen in the emergent EU discourse on the university in which both universities and students are delinked from nation-states; while universities are expected to be linked to the Lisbon strategy of more growth and more jobs, and more competitiveness of the European Union economy, students are expected to be more linked to the new project of the "Europe of Knowledge" than to traditional, individual national projects of particular European nation-states (see Maassen and Olsen 2007, Maassen 2008, Kwiek and Maassen 2012).

The second context is the *Europe 2020 Strategy.* The policy agenda of the "higher education reform" component of the ET 2010 strategy can be compared with the new ET 2020 strategy as viewed through several recent EC documents of 2009-2010: "Key competences for a changing world" (2009); "Joint progress report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the 'Education & Training 2010 work programme'" (January 2010); "Messages from the EC Council in the field of education as a contribution to the discussion on the post-2010 Lisbon Strategy Council messages" (November 2009); "Developing the role of education in a fully- functioning knowledge triangle" *Council conclusions* (November 2009); "A strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training" (ET 2020) *Council conclusions* (May 2009); and "Enhancing partnerships between education and training institutions and social partners, in particular employers, in the context of lifelong learning" *Council conclusions* (May 2009).

In most general terms, *Europe 2020: A European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth* in the European Commission's description is "the EU's growth strategy for the coming decade. In a changing world, we want the EU to become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy. These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and the Member States deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion. Concretely, the Union has set five ambitious objectives – on employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy – to be reached by 2020. Each Member State will adopt its own national targets in each of these areas. Concrete actions at EU and national levels will underpin the strategy". To measure progress in meeting the Europe 2020 goals, 5 headline targets have been agreed for the whole EU, and they are being translated into national targets in each EU country. The 5 targets for the EU in 2020 include the following:

- Employment: 75% of 20-64 year-olds to be employed;
- R&D/innovation: 3% of the EU's GDP (public and private combined) to be invested in R&D/innovation;
- Climate change/energy: greenhouse gas emissions 20% lower than 1990, 20% of energy from renewables, 20% increase in energy efficiency;

* Education: reducing school drop-out rates below 10% and at least 40% of 30-34–year-olds completing third level education (or equivalent);

* Poverty/social exclusion: at least 20 million fewer people in or at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

The targets should give an overall view of where the EU should be on key parameters by 2020; they are being translated into national targets so that each Member State can check its own progress towards these goals. They do not imply burden-sharing – there are common goals, to be pursued through a mix of national and EU action. They are interrelated and mutually reinforcing: educational improvements help employability and reduce poverty, more R&D/innovation in the economy, combined with more efficient resources, makes us more competitive and creates jobs; and investing in cleaner technologies combats climate change while creating new business/job opportunities. Every EU country is in the process of adopting the targets. These will be used to measure progress in meeting the Europe 2020 goals.

The targets are being translated into national targets. Those areas most in need of attention will be addressed by 7 flagship initiatives at the EU, national, local and regional levels. Within each initiative, both the EU and national authorities will have to coordinate their efforts so that they are mutually reinforcing. Within one of the three priorities (the Inclusive Growth component) of Europe 2020, what is of interest here is the flagship initiative called "An agenda for new skills and jobs".

The agenda has been defined in 2010 as having the aim to "modernize labour markets and empower people by developing their skills throughout the lifecycle with a view to increase labour participation and better match labour supply and demand, including through labour mobility" (EC 2010c: 4). The strategy offers a vision of "Europe's social market economy for the 21st century" (EC 2010c: 8). What are the implications of Europe 2020 for higher education reforms and for universities in particular? With reference to the EU target of 3% of GDP spent on research and development, the strategy means stronger links between knowledge (including knowledge produced in universities) and innovation. The strategy also refers to increases in both public and private funding for R&D and calls for improving the conditions for private R&D in Europe. There are two overall recommendations in the strategy referring directly and indirectly to universities:

- Innovation: R&D spending in Europe is below 2%, compared to 2.6% in the US and 3.4% in Japan, mainly as a result of lower levels of private investment. It is not only the absolute amounts spent on R&D that count – Europe needs to focus on the impact and composition of research spending and to improve the conditions for private sector R&D in the EU. Our smaller share of high-tech firms explains half of our gap with the US.

- Education, training and lifelong learning: A quarter of all pupils have poor reading competences, one in seven young people leave education and training too early. Around 50% reach medium qualifications level but this often fails to match labour market needs. Less than one person in three aged 25-34 has a university degree compared to 40% in the US and over 50% in Japan. According to the Shanghai index, only two European universities are in the world's top 20 (EC 2010c: 13).

Universities are also explicitly referred to in three (out of seven) flagship initiatives of Europe 2020:

“Youth on the move”, “Innovation Union”, and “Agenda for New Skills and Jobs”. The conceptualizations of universities in each of the three initiatives will be briefly discussed below. Universities are directly or indirectly involved in these three flagship initiatives, at both the EU and national levels.

The Europe 2020 strategy in its “Youth on the move” flagship initiative involves a selection of tasks for universities: “The aim is to enhance the performance and international attractiveness of Europe's higher education institutions and raise the overall quality of all levels of education and training in the EU, combining both excellence and equity, by promoting student mobility and trainees' mobility, and improve the employment situation of young people”:

At the EU level, the Commission will work: - To step up the modernisation agenda of higher education (curricula, governance and financing) including by benchmarking university performance and educational outcomes in a global context; - To promote the recognition of non-formal and informal learning; - To launch a youth employment framework outlining policies aimed at reducing youth unemployment rates: this should promote, with Member States and social partners, young people's entry into the labour market through apprenticeships, stages or other work experience.

At the national level, Member States will need: - To ensure efficient investment in education and training systems at all levels (pre-school to tertiary); - To improve educational outcomes, addressing each segment (pre-school, primary, secondary, vocational and tertiary) within an integrated approach, encompassing key competences and aiming at reducing early school leaving; - To enhance the openness and relevance of education systems by building national qualification frameworks and better gearing learning outcomes towards labour market needs; - To improve young people's entry into the labour market through integrated action covering i.a. guidance, counselling and apprenticeships (EC 2010c: 11).

The above selected tasks within the “Youth on the Move” flagship initiative may be viewed as EU priorities in conceptualizing the future of public universities: the modernization agenda for European universities, promoted throughout the 2000s, will be maintained; the attractiveness of European higher education will be linked to both excellence and equity; there will be increasing pressure on involving universities in lifelong learning, including the recognition of non-formal (and perhaps even informal) learning – with increasing emphasis on the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) within which universities are included as stages 6-7-8 in the stages relating to learning (BA-MA-PhD). Investments in education are expected to be efficient – and increases in investments are not mentioned in the document. Universities will be expected to be much more strongly linked to the labour market, by means of, inter alia, defining educational outcomes at higher education level and developing national qualifications frameworks leading to the EQF.

The Europe 2020 strategy in its “Innovation Union” flagship initiative includes another selection of tasks for universities: “to re-focus R&D and innovation policy on the challenges facing our society, such as climate change, energy and resource efficiency, health and demographic change. Every link should be strengthened in the innovation chain, from 'blue sky' research to commercialization”.

At EU level, the Commission will work: - To complete the European Research Area, to develop a strategic research agenda focused on challenges such as energy security, transport, climate change and resource efficiency, health and ageing, environmentally-friendly production methods and land management, and to enhance joint programming with Member States and regions; - To strengthen and further develop the role of EU instruments to support innovation; - To promote knowledge partnerships and strengthen links between education, business, research and innovation.

At national level, Member States will need: - To reform national (and regional) R&D and innovation systems to foster excellence and smart specialisation, reinforce cooperation between universities, research and business; - To ensure a sufficient supply of science, maths and engineering graduates and to focus school curricula on creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship; - To prioritise knowledge expenditure, including by using tax incentives and other financial instruments to promote greater private R&D investments.

Within this flagship initiative of Europe 2020, the following themes linked to the future of public universities are raised: greater commercialization of research; closer links between research and innovation; strengthening the European Research Area; linking research-intensive universities; strengthening of EU research programmes to be more closely linked with innovation; linking EU funded research to the business community; strengthening cooperation between universities and business through linking research with innovation; a focus on science, technology, engineering and mathematical areas of study (STEM) at universities, with possible shifts in the funding of teaching and research areas; and promoting greater private R&D investments, possibly with more public funding involved.

To sum up, the Europe 2020 strategy does not diverge from what was assumed for universities in the Lisbon Strategy regarding their ever-closer links to the knowledge economy. There are no significant differences between the roles of universities promoted in both strategies and in the "modernization agenda of European universities", explicitly mentioned in Europe 2020. The major direction in conceptualizing the future roles of universities, and research-intensive universities in particular, has been reinforced in recent EU documents.

The "higher education reform" agenda of ET 2010 could also be analysed in the context of a series of 7 recent expert group analyses of the European Research Area, on a single labour market for researchers, on a world-class research infrastructure, on strengthening research institutions, on optimizing research programmes and priorities, and on opening up to the world (all published between 2008-2009) – which provide a large-scale experts' account of the ideas developed in the Green Paper ("The European Research Area: New Perspectives", EC 2007i) published by the European Commission, and which may result in future initiatives. Also, the context of the new EC communications on "Better careers and more mobility: a European partnership for researchers" and "Towards Joint Programming in research: Working together to tackle common challenges more effectively" (both with accompanying staff documents) would be valuable. The focus of research in this direction could be the overall missing dimension of youth/students in EU-level analyses, strategies, policy documents and expert-level reports (see also Weiler 2009).

The "Education and Training 2010" strategy was operating between a knowledge-based economic rationale and a knowledge-based society rationale. In the area of higher

education, there is clearly a shift in public policy towards both "economization" of educational problems and towards "educationalization" of economic problems: European universities are increasingly made responsible for the (economic) future of countries, regions, and individuals. However, this is a relatively new institutional responsibility for an 800 year-old European social institution, even in its modern Humboldt-derived form which is 200 years old. Most EU-level policy documents seem to confirm the new, strongly economic role of universities, despite numerous references to other (e.g. social, cultural, democracy-related, citizenship-related) dimensions of their functioning. A global public good/private good debate on higher education is very useful in this context: increasingly globally, and more often in the last five years at the EU-level, higher education credentials are viewed as a mostly a private good (which, over the passage of time, leads to conclusions that higher education systems bring about high private returns – consequently, credentials may have to be paid for, which paves the way for new cost-recovery and cost-sharing mechanisms to be discussed in EU economies). The wage premium for higher education in an EU-27 comparative perspective is high, and it is very high in major new EU member states (with Poland and Hungary among the top five OECD economies). The related issues include the uncertain role of the bachelor degree in the transition from higher education to the labour market (see Fleckenstein). The bachelor degree has been strongly supported at the EU level throughout the 2000s, despite the Bologna Process officially being an intergovernmental, rather than supranational, process.

The ET 2010, like the Bologna Process, seems to have different priorities than the modernization agenda for European universities. The social priorities of the ET 2010 can be juxtaposed with the economic priorities of both the European Research Area (ERA) and the "modernization agenda of European universities" promoted by the EC throughout the 2000s. The extent to which this social/economic distinction at the level of intergovernmental (Bologna Process) and supranational (ERA and modernization agenda) large-scale European processes – and the accompanying European strategies – is reflected in national level policies is still unclear. But, as reflected in the policy literature, the economic dimension, at least in the area of higher education policy, is clearly gaining a higher priority today than the social dimension.

The ET 2010, like the Bologna Process (and higher education institutions in general), functions within European Higher Education Area (EHEA) initiatives – while the modernization agenda of universities functions within the ERA (and top-level, research-intensive universities). To what extent are different priorities at the EU level translated into national level ones in EU member-states? To what extent are national translations of EU-level education and training strategies limited, or enhanced, by the traditions from which national higher education systems come (Napoleonic or southern models, Humboldtian or Central European models, as well as Anglo-Saxon models)? While the impact of traditions on national translations of EU-level strategies in higher education can be high in some systems, in others the impact on national strategies in respect of lifelong learning, rather than higher education, can be high. The EC's "creeping competence" in education generally may mean that the EC is much more interested in those policy areas in which its influence is not easily contested: lifelong learning and the vocational (VET) sector are good examples here.

In particular, the natural policy question would be why the "modernization agenda of European universities" does not belong with the ET 2010 (and, subsequently, to the new ET

2020)? Is it specifically economy-focused, rather than youth/student-focused? The answer is positive: the modernization agenda refers clearly to research universities as top research performers within particular national higher education systems. The ET 2010 refers to all higher education institutions, regardless of their research engagement levels. The more universities are linked to the economic dimension, the more will their cooperation with the business communities be supported, the more will universities' financial self-reliance be promoted – and the more will European research-intensive universities stand apart from European higher education institutions generally. What are the consequences of the possible Europe-wide acceptance of this divide between economy-focused research intensive universities and teaching-focused (all the others) higher education institutions? What is the future of the (traditional) unity of research and teaching in institutional missions? The questions are beyond the scope of the present chapter but we have analysed them elsewhere in more detail (see Kwiek 2009b).

Consequently, there is an ever-growing diversification of higher education institutions in Europe: so the ET 2010 (and ET 2020) strategies may be linked more to teaching-oriented institutions (related to youth/students, the equitable access agenda, widening access agenda, etc.); while the "modernization agenda of European universities" (and ERA initiatives) – may be linked more to research-intensive universities. This may have far-reaching consequences for the funding and governance patterns of both types of institutions. The focus on research (international rankings, detailed research assessment exercises closely linked to funding levels, etc.), clearly separates the top 200 European universities (generally viewed as research-intensive and present in global university rankings based mainly on their research output and the international visibility of their research faculty) from the vast majority of the 3,800 European institutions focused on teaching youth/students, etc. And this, slowly emergent from various EU-level policy initiatives in the 2000s (ET 2010, Lisbon Strategy, "modernization agenda", EHEA, ERA), is one of the most striking consequences of the combination of social and economic goals, the emergence of the possibility of two separate higher education regimes existing within national systems: one focusing on the economy (called research-intensive universities and involved in the ERA and the "modernization agenda"); and the other, comprising all the other institutions, focusing on students and their (increasingly economized, or viewed through a lens of economic rather than social) concerns. This emergent structural differentiation would cut across national systems and across the EU as a whole. The combination of a research mission and a teaching mission for 90 per-cent of higher education institutions in Europe anyway seems "mission impossible" for a variety of structural reasons, including access to research funding, increasingly restricted to top national research performers with an increasing concentration of funds, and the sectors increasing competition-related parameters.

5 Conclusions and areas for further research

Slightly more than a decade ago, when the discourse regarding the knowledge economy was only emergent, youth and students were a major concern in the context of the ever growing attainment levels in higher education. Currently, especially in the European policies studied in the present chapter (but also in global thinking about economic growth on the one hand, and the role played by education in economic growth along human capital lines of thinking),

the role of the low-skilled (and the low-waged) has been viewed as increasingly important; the low-skilled being of all ages, not only in the traditional student age bracket. Consequently, as shown in this chapter, the role of lifelong learning is growing, combined with the role of all educational providers, not only higher education institutions preparing higher education graduates for entry into the labour market. The traditional EU-level concern with youth is slowly being replaced by, or at least powerfully accompanied by, a concern for the generally low-skilled (because "new skills" for all age categories are needed for "new jobs", also to be available to all age categories). The traditional EU-level concern for higher education and its graduates is accompanied by a concern for lifelong learning in general, and as a much wider category of both formal (in school, in university), non-formal and informal types. The overall interpretation of youth in the EU strategies studied here is strongly related to other wider constructs: the education and training sector in general, represented in the European Quality Framework by various levels from 1 to 8, and lifelong learning in general for both young and older workers.

Both "youth" and "universities" in the EU-level discourse can be construed as social policy targets, to be used to introduce relatively (historically) new ways of thinking about youth/students and their educational institutions. Together with the notions of employability and flexible job security, individuals themselves are becoming responsible for their social and economic fortunes (or misfortunes). Together with the notion of globally, or comparatively, "underperforming" universities, with European universities seen as "lagging behind" their American counterparts, European universities are becoming increasingly responsible for what they produce (research output and graduates), and increasingly accountable to society – with an emphasis on seeking non-state income, increasingly private income, to support their new missions and expand in a social setting in which all social programmes have to increasingly compete for public subsidies. Both youth and universities are interpreted in the EC discourse in such a manner that their own responsibility increases, and the responsibility of their nation states decreases, especially from a public funding perspective. At the same time, wider constructs are in progress: all-encompassing education and training systems, lifelong learning, the low-skilled, new skills for new jobs, and related items. Their implications for national policies are still unclear. Regarding social policies in post-communist countries, the impact of the European social model in general, and several selected EU-level strategies and policy mechanisms in particular that were studied in this chapter, on the changing status of Central European countries in a historically unprecedented manner from "transition" to "accession" to "EU member states" within the last two decades, has been huge in ideological terms. But in practical terms, it has been negligible so far.

In general, "catching up" with the West at the beginning of the 1990s meant joining rich Western European democracies: economically, politically and socially. While the political transformation towards democracy has been successfully completed, and the economic transformation towards a market economy has been completed as well, the social transformation towards a European social model does not seem to have been completed, and it can be argued that from the very beginning of the transformation period it may have not have even been attempted in practical terms. It has not been attempted at the level of particular nation states – and, to a large degree, it has not been supported internationally; either by the subsequent European Commissions or by other international and transnational actors active in the areas of social policies in transition countries. The European Union, in

general and without examining national variations, did not seem to support reforms leading to the introduction of this welfare model in post-communist countries. Perhaps the reason was that social policy reforms in this direction would have, in all probability, led to the destabilisation of the very fragile economic growth that followed the collapse of command-driven economies. The political priority throughout the region was given, and historically rightly so, to economic concerns, at the expense of social concerns that were left for more opportune times. In the meantime, Central European welfare states were evolving in different directions (Inglot 2008): different across post-communist countries, and different from their Western European counterparts. Central Europe was on its own in reforming its post-communist social policies, including pensions and healthcare, unemployment, and educational policies. A decade of neglect in reforms (generally the 1990s) may have led to the emergence of the post-communist welfare state, or a new model of social policies specific for (the majority of) new EU member states.

Consequently, the EU-level strategies and policy mechanisms discussed here – the "Education and Training 2010" strategy, "the modernization agenda of European universities", the European Research Area, the Lisbon Strategy, the Europe 2020 strategy, and related ideas – have had the double impact on national policies and national strategies in the region.

First, in the most general terms, those strategies and policies which required limited public financial support were followed, both in theory and in practice; those which required substantial public financial support were followed in theory rather than in practice. And, finally, those requiring unprecedented increases in public expenditure – for instance, major guidelines and benchmarks related to social policies, labour market activation policies, unemployment policies, public funding for research and development, public funding for higher education, etc. – resulting from the overall principles of the (economic) Lisbon and Europe 2020 strategies (or from "the modernization agenda of European universities" combined with the guiding principles of the emergent "European Research Area"), were generally disregarded. There were important cross-country differences in the region, for instance, in public expenditure on research and development or public expenditure on higher education (with different starting levels for the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, and different levels in 2010).

Second, EU-level strategies and policies were politically useful in Central Europe. Whenever it was politically useful for national governments in the region (while employing tough social reforms, especially related to the levels of coverage or costs of the public services available, or to the reforms of pensions or healthcare or higher education that led to them becoming partially privatized or substantially more market-oriented, as well as more privately-funded and less-publicly funded), EU-level strategies and policies were both referred to in public debates and in policymakers' arguments within national legislative bodies. Whenever it was not politically useful, they were not brought into the public arena, leading to the conclusion that their impact on national policies was also highly instrumental.

EU-level conceptualizations of ET 2010 were generally much less relevant for public debates about the future of public services or higher education in France, Germany or the United Kingdom than the same conceptualizations in new EU member states where they were used in all those cases in which supranational support for tough economic or social reforms were

sought. In this sense, the overall relevance of the EU-level strategies studied in this chapter was much higher in new EU member states than in the EU-15 countries – but not necessarily in full accordance with their original spirit.

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PART III: CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THEORY AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

11. Operationalisation of the Capability Approach

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Abstract

While the Capability Approach offers a rich, comprehensive and innovative way to analyse well-being, its operationalisation is a demanding task, posing several conceptual, methodological and empirical challenges. This chapter provides an overview of the current state of the art of the application of the Capability Approach in economically developed countries to labour market and education research. The intrinsic complexity and multi-layered structure of the Capability Approach seems to be particularly suitable for conceptualising and contextualising the integration of different aspects of the education-employment-community nexus. The education to work transition is used as an example, where a comparative perspective is taken to analyse employment and educational policies at the local, regional, national and European levels. The chapter presents methodological and empirical strategies to highlight how the issues of suitably capturing and measuring young people's capabilities can be addressed. In doing so the chapter presents interesting perspectives and examples for those who wish to make use of the Capability Approach for future investigation.

1 Introduction

While the Capability Approach offers a rich, comprehensive and innovative way to measure well-being, its operationalisation is a demanding task[1]. It starts by broadly discussing some central issues related to the operationalisation of the Capability Approach and providing an overview of how these have been addressed in the recent empirical literature. Applications of the Capability Approach in labour market and education research are then explored,

[1] Poverty is also seen by some as a lack of capabilities.

discussing how methodological and empirical challenges have been tackled. The chapter then moves to present the methodological and empirical strategies used in the WorkAble project, highlighting how the issues of how to suitably capture and measure young people's capabilities were addressed, and outlining lessons learned that are relevant to those using the Capability Approach in the future.

2 Operationalising the Capability Approach

Since early seminal contributions in the mid-1980s, the Capability Approach has been widely recognised by its supporters as: one of the richest and most complete approaches to well-being analysis; a comprehensive and suitable framework for describing and investigating the multifaceted nature of individual well-being; and an innovative "way of thinking" able to embrace relevant aspects such as freedom or agency that are generally neglected or inadequately formulated in traditional approaches to well-being.

These strengths of the Capability Approach have been interpreted by some others in the reverse manner, casting doubts about the possibility of making effective use of this theoretical framework. Indeed, the complex, multidimensional and context-dependent nature of this approach, the lack of specificity as to how these dimensions should be selected and assessed, the absence of a rigorous formalisation, a definite metric, an algorithm or an index for measuring, ranking and comparing interpersonal conditions, can limit the practical application of this approach[2].

It is unquestionable, and largely acknowledged by capability scholars themselves, that the operationalisation of the Capability Approach is a demanding task, posing several conceptual, methodological and empirical challenges that are not easy to resolve. Nonetheless, despite its "underspecified" nature, this framework plays a central role in the current debate on individual and societal well-being, and despite the methodological difficulties, a large and growing body of empirical studies based on the Capability Approach is available showing that measuring capabilities and functionings remains a challenging but feasible exercise.

The aim of the current section is to discuss some central issues related to the operationalisation of the Capability Approach and to provide a (non-exhaustive) overview of how these issues have been addressed in some consolidated contributions and in recent empirical literature[3].

Even if the scope and focal points are broad and largely heterogeneous, researchers interested in making empirical use of the Capability Approach have usually to address a series of choices and decisions with regard to: i) the evaluative space to be chosen

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[2] See Sugden (1993), Srinivasan (1994) and Roemer (1996).

[3] For a review of the attempts to operationalise the Capability Approach and a comparison of different methods and techniques applied see: Chiappero-Martinetti and Roche (2009). See also Lessman (2012) on the empirical application of the Capability Approach in labour-related studies. An extensive and in-progress database on the empirical literature managed by the thematic group on quantitative methods is available on the Human Development and Capability Association website (www.capabilityapproach.org).

(capability and/or functionings typically but also agency, autonomy or empowerment); ii) the number of dimensions, indicators and scales (quantitative or qualitative) to be measured; iii) the unit of analysis (individuals, households or subgroups of population) and the elements of heterogeneities that differentiate these units (typically, gender, ethnicity, age or any other relevant characteristics); and, finally, iv) the variety of socio-economic, geographic, institutional contexts that can affect their well-being process, the capability set and the achievement of functionings.

Most of these choices (that incidentally do not pertain exclusively to the Capability Approach but are common to every other multidimensional approach to well-being) are not merely technical or empirical but are primarily normative, since they characterise the core meaning of well-being that we want to describe and analyse. An element of distinction in this literature has been its capacity to endorse a broad and intensive debate at each single step. For instance, considerable discussion has focused on which capabilities should be considered, who should compile this list, whether or not there should be a scale of priority among them, and how should all of this be done. The positions range from: Sen's view that it is inappropriate to make any *a priori* list, since the definition of what people value should be open to diverse conceptions of good, justice and advantage (Sen 2004, 2009); to that of Nussbaum, who argues forcefully in favour of a universal list of capabilities and formulates a specific list of ten human capabilities (Nussbaum 2000, 2003, 2011).

Other authors have contributed to this discussion: Robeyns (2003) identifies a procedure and a set of criteria for selecting dimensions and reaches a consensus on a list of capabilities or functionings; and Alkire (2007) matches some existing lists and compares the methods adopted in several studies for selecting these dimensions. Many authors argue that "the list of things people have reason to value" should reflect people's values and priorities and therefore it should be effectively drawn from deliberative and participative processes (Crocker 2006, 2007, 2008).

This debate, which is primarily philosophical and methodological, nevertheless affects empirical analysis: Nussbaum's list, or reduced versions narrowed down to a set of basic capabilities, has inspired several empirical papers (see, amongst others, Anand et al 2005). Similarly, bottom-up participative procedures have been implemented to empirically derive a list of capabilities (see: Biggeri et al 2006; Burchardt and Vizard 2011).

The question of whether capabilities or functionings can be measured has also been debated at length, swinging from those who argue that substantive freedoms and opportunities (i.e. capabilities) should (and potentially can) be considered and those who think that these are neither comprehensively observable nor measurable and hence only a person's attainments (i.e. functionings) can be assessed.

Looking at the empirical literature we can see that both evaluative spaces, i.e. capabilities and functionings, have been considered (even if the latter is more common than the former) and that in most cases this choice is preliminary based on the empirical strategy adopted by the researcher. In particular, secondary data, both micro-individual (e.g. household surveys) or macro-aggregated data (such as UN, OECD or EU indicators), are more frequently used as a proxy for measuring functionings (and less frequently for estimating capabilities as latent

variables), while primary analysis is generally conducted for gathering capability-related information (Anand et al 2005, 2009)[4].

The type and nature of indicators and scales used, as well as the amount of human and contextual diversity accounted for, is also affected by the evaluative space selected, as well as by the empirical strategy chosen (i.e. secondary or primary analysis). There is a large prevalence in the use of quantitative, large-scale surveys and cross-sectional data when available datasets are used for measuring functionings (see, amongst others, Chiappero-Martinetti 2000; Klasen 2000; Lelli 2001; Kuklys 2005; Roche 2008), while qualitative analysis conducted by interviews, focus groups and participatory methods is usually required for gathering information related to values and freedom of choice, agency and empowerment and for assessing capabilities (Anand, Krishnakumar and Tran 2011)[5].

Finally, the choice of the unit of analysis, even if affected by the scope of the analysis and the kind of data used, in principle should mainly refer to individuals, as the Capability Approach is an ethically or normatively individualistic approach where "individuals, and only individuals are the *ultimate* units of moral concern" (Robeyns 2008, p. 90).

Looking at the large amount of empirical evidence based on, or inspired by, the Capability Approach, it can be noted that a wide range of methodological tools and statistical techniques have been used. Roughly speaking it is possible to classify these methods into four main clusters:

i) Standard statistical methods traditionally used in the social sciences, such as regression analysis and multivariate data reduction techniques, are applied in order to select dimensions and aggregate variables, to analyse the interrelations among dimensions, to investigate the role of contextual variables or socio-demographic characteristics. Most of the empirical applications that make use of large representative household surveys adapt and combine these consolidation techniques for dealing with the methodological requirements of the Capability Approach. However, even if much progress has been made in operationalisation, some distinctive features of this approach (such as the distinction between opportunities and achievements, the freedom of choice, the agency aspects), its intrinsic complexity and the heterogeneity of conditions and situations that characterises an individual's well-being are partially lost or difficult to capture with these techniques.

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[4] Household surveys and aggregate indicators provide an extensive amount of information allowing the assessment of a broad spectrum of well-being domains. Nevertheless, some relevant dimensions still remain unexplored as outlined by Alkire (2007). The OPHI project on missing dimensions aims to fill this gap and identifies five dimension of poverty that should be integrated in surveys (informal employment, empowerment, physical safety, ability to go about without shame, psychological and subjective well-being).

[5] This distinction between functionings measured using quantitative data, on the one hand, and capabilities measured using qualitative collected data, on the other hand, can be appropriate for clustering most empirical studies, but not every study. There are, for instance, interesting attempts to estimate capabilities using micro-data household surveys (see for instance: Burchardt and Le Grand 2002; Krishnakumar 2007) and similarly there are ad-hoc surveys conducted for measuring functionings (see: Qizilbash and Clark 2005).

ii) Scaling techniques and aggregative strategies have been used in order to obtain a single multidimensional measure for ranking comparisons. The most famous example is the Human Development Index, calculated by the UNDP since 1990 using aggregate data at the global level, while the Alkire-Foster method represents the most recent attempt to formulate multidimensional poverty indexes calculated on micro-data related to more than a hundred developing countries. An advantage of this method is the possibility to rank and compare the units of analysis (e.g. countries or regions), to assess and monitor their performances in a relatively easy manner, to catch "the public's eye" (Streeten 1994, p. 235) and to raise public awareness and public debate on poverty and development issues. There are, however, some serious limitations related to the choice of indicators, their comparability at a global level, the procedures used to normalisation the data and the weighting structure chosen for their aggregation. All these steps are by and large arbitrary, and each of these methodological choices can have a significant effect on the results[6]. In addition, very little of the richness of the Capability Approach is preserved by this methodology, which is basically an attempt to go beyond uni-dimensional income-based measures and include some other dimensions of well-being at aggregate level.

iii) A range of non-standard methods of analysis, such as fuzzy methodologies (Chiappero-Martinetti 2000, 2006; Baliamoune-Lutz 2006; Berenger and Verdier-Chouchane 2007; Lelli, 2001; Roche 2008; Vero 2006), partial ranking (Brandolini and D'Alessio, 2008) and supervaluationist approaches (Qizilbash 2002; Qizilbash and Clark 2005) have been adopted with the aim of preserving the richness of this approach and of handling its complexity and vagueness. These methods, while innovative and promising, are not traditionally part of the "tool box" of social scientists, and require some analytical and methodological effort. Moreover, more work needs to be done on testing and consolidating these methodologies in this field of investigation.

iv) Finally, qualitative analysis, participatory methods, focus groups and ethnographic research are now extensively used by capability scholars, particularly in fieldwork conducted in developing countries, in order to investigate what "people have reason to value", to develop and agree on capability lists through deliberative consultations, to investigate the role of social and cultural norms in shaping preferences and choices and to evaluate how participatory methods themselves can impact on people's capabilities. There are some undeniable merits in this kind of analysis, which seems to fit well with some distinctive principles of the Capability Approach, first and foremost that people matter and it is essential to allow them to express their opinions, values and priorities. There are equally and evidently some limits, since such methods are expensive and time-consuming, their validity and reliability is generally difficult to

[6] Ravaillon (2010a) outlines that most of the "mashup indices" of development and poverty currently available are rarely rooted into a prevailing theory or grounded on robust methodological assumptions. For a discussion on this issue see also Ravaillon (2010b, 2011) and the contributions to the special issue of the Journal of Economic Inequalities, vol. 9, no.2, 2011.

verify, information on the full contexts of people's situations is not usually possible to gather in their entirety, researchers may misinterpret what people mean, and the transferability of their findings may be limited.

Overall, the growing body of empirical literature and the variety of techniques briefly outlined above should dissipate concerns that the Capability Approach cannot be operationalised. Nevertheless, more research work still needs to be done in the direction of consolidating methodological tools and experimenting with new techniques and approaches, and an interdisciplinary effort might prove helpful in this regard.

3 Quantitative and qualitative applications of the Capability Approach in education and labour market research in EU countries

In the early stages of its formulation, the Capability Approach was considered as an important theoretical framework for understanding poverty and development issues in economically developing countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first empirical evidence was mainly related to those countries (see: Sen 1985). It is only during the last decade that this approach has become more significant in the debate on well-being in industrialised countries, with a corresponding and growing amount of empirical evidence in different sectors of analysis.

In this section we briefly review the current state of the art of the application of the Capability Approach in economically developed countries in two interrelated and relevant fields of investigation, namely, labour markets and education, and discuss how methodological and empirical challenges have been tackled. We limit our attention to some of the most relevant or representative contributions to this literature as well as to several European projects undertaken in recent years based on, or inspired by, the Capability Approach. The subsequent section discusses the contribution and added value of the approaches used in the WorkAble project to these subjects and to analysing in more detail the various methodological and empirical strategies used when operationalising the Capability Approach.

Concerning the first topic of investigation, i.e. labour market capability-related studies, one of the initial and finest attempts to apply the Capability Approach is the empirical analysis conducted by Schokkaert and Van Ootegem (1990) on a sample of Belgian unemployed people. In this paper, factor analysis is used to identify a list of six refined and relevant functionings (social isolation, happiness, physical functioning, micro-social contact, degree of activity and financial situation) for this specific group of people and to assess the impact of several individual and household characteristics on their living conditions. Equally innovative and pioneering is Burchardt and Le Grand's (2002) contribution, which proposes a two-stage method for measuring employment opportunities for women: in the first stage, the potential constraints women can face in accessing paid employment are considered, while in the second stage women's preferences in terms of labour choices are assessed in order to differentiate those who are voluntarily out of work from those who are involuntarily unemployed or inactive.

Since then, further analysis has been conducted adopting "a panoply of different research methods" (Leßmann, 2012) with the aim of investigating other relevant issues such as inclusion in, or exclusion from, the labour market (Strotmann and Volkert 2008) or the range of capabilities available over the life course (Bartelheimer, Büttner and Schmidt 2011)[7].

Any attempt to operationalise the Capability Approach for empirical purposes struggles with the difficulty of finding adequate data able to represent the richness of this framework, and particularly to capture the opportunity dimension, which is particularly relevant in this field of investigation. The importance of complementing quantitative information and providing a deeper understanding about the quality of employment has been underlined by, among others, Lugo (2007) who remarks on the need to gather data and indicators on aspects that are generally disregarded such as informal work, occupational hazard, under- and over-employment and discouraged unemployed people[8]. The necessity to frame and extend the analysis to relevant qualitative aspects such as job satisfaction, informal employment and reproductive work from a capability perspective has also been recently pointed out by Leßmann and Bonvin (2012).

An interesting corpus of conceptual contributions and comparative analysis of labour relations and working lives in European countries and policy recommendations for social protection policies has been developed within CAPRIGHT, an interdisciplinary research project supported by the European Commission[9]. The main scope of this project was to frame a set of capability-based fundamental rights and identify a corresponding set of public policies and labour relations designed to support workers (see: Bourguin and Salais 2011). Two elements of distinction characterise this project: first, the focus on opportunities, empowerment, rights and deliberative processes that are effectively available and exerted by European workers; and second, the attention paid to institutional conversion factors, industrial relations, collective responsibility and labour force management at company level.

The research experience developed within the CAPRIGHT project stimulated an interesting debate showing the potential of this framework particularly for analysing labour market policies and helping design the European social policy agenda. A couple of recently published journal special issues[10] have been devoted to the discussion of issues currently of paramount relevance, such as: unemployment policies (Berthelheimer et al 2012 and Olejniczak 2012); security and employment flexibility (Lehweß-Litzmann 2012; Vero et al. 2012; and Pandolfini

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[7] If these papers are deeply and deliberately rooted in the capability literature there are other, no less remarkable, contributions frequently mentioned which are only weakly connected to it. For instance, Defloor, Van Ootegem and Verhofstadt (2009) apply and interpret standard microeconomic methodological tools, such as the transformation curve, in terms of capabilities, while Schokkaert, Van Ootegem, Verhofstadt (2009) measure well-being in a broad sense, including aspects such as job quality and job satisfaction.

[8] This proposal is part of a broader project promoted by OPHI (www.ophi.org.uk) on missing dimensions in assessing human development. They designed five short questionnaire modules to be integrated into national household surveys to obtain internationally comparable data on these dimensions, particularly in economically developing countries.

[9] "Resources, rights and capabilities: In search of social foundation for Europe" (http://www.capright.eu. The main findings and policy implications are synthesised in a downloadable policy report (www.capright.eu/News/?contentdID=9048).

[10] See: Transfer - European Review of Labour and Research, no. 18, 2012; and Management Revue - the International Review of Management Studies, vol. 23, no.2, 2012.

2012); and collective action and collective responsibility (Bonvin 2012; Zimmerman 2011, 2012).

Equally inspiring has been the discussion stimulated by RECWOWE[11], a European research network aimed at integrating two traditionally disjointed research areas: labour markets and employment analysis on the one hand, and welfare regimes studies, on the other hand. In this case, the Capability Approach is not explicitly assumed as a theoretical framework of reference for driving the overall discussion, but some specific issues developed are directly related to it[12]. A notable example is its application to analysing work-life balance across European countries and organisations and investigating whether, and to what extent, social policies enable working parents to balance professional careers and parental responsibilities and achieve a better quality of life (see: Hobson and Fahlén 2009; Hobson, Drobnìc and Fagan 2011).

The second topic of research, i.e. the application of the Capability Approach in the sphere of education studies, is less consolidated compared to employment research, and still remains a field in need of further exploration. In this field of investigation, the consolidated role played by Human Capital theory largely dominates theoretical debate and empirical analysis. Nonetheless, several critiques of this theory have been advanced in recent years. First, for the narrow instrumental role that it assigns to education, disregarding other important aspects related to it. Second, because it is often based on rather strong assumptions (e.g. markets work rationally, perfectly and efficiently and the only element of distinction among people being in the different amount of human capital they have), although some developments do relax these assumptions. Third, because it does not seem to adequately reflect the multiplicity of personal and contextual factors that can generate different sets of individuals' opportunities or affect their educational choices.

It has been noted by many capabilities scholars that the framework formulated by Sen and Nussbaum can provide a wider perspective able to acknowledge not only the instrumental value of education in promoting productivity, economic growth and personal income and wealth, but also the direct relevance that education can play in increasing individual well-being and promoting social development (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2006; Robeyns 2006; Unterhalter 2009; Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash 2012; among others).

If all these authors argue for a more comprehensive understanding of education, some of them move a step further, suggesting how this approach can be operationalised and provide empirical evidence of its value and relevance in modern societies. Walker (2008), for instance, analyses the role of higher education and lifelong learning in relation to capability-related aspects such as agency, public values and global citizenship. By means of an empirical qualitative study conducted on lecturers and students she also investigates the capability formation and the role of institutional conditions in the research/teaching nexus.

Another empirical study on how universities can enhance students' capabilities has been conducted by Boni et al (2010). They elaborate a list of what they define as "cosmopolitan

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11 "Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe (http://www.recwowe.eu).

12 See, for instance, Goerne's (2010) paper on the application of the Capability Approach for social policy analysis.

capabilities", which include critical thinking, empathy, participation, intercultural respect, reflexiveness and curiosity, and interview a group of students in order to investigate the role of universities as a driving force for creating a cosmopolitan citizenship[13]. Young (2009a, 2009b) examines standard qualitative and quantitative income-based approaches for evaluating learning outcomes. In particular, she critically compares and discusses the relevance-based and performance-based methods and suggests combining them in order to integrate the local perspective into an evaluative framework sufficiently flexible to be adapted to different cultures and contexts.

Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash (2012) propose complementing the Capability Approach with some methodological and conceptual aspects developed in Human Capital Theory in order to measure the threefold role of education – namely, education as a means for other purposes, including: as an investment for the labour market; as an end in itself; and as a crucial factor in the conversion process of means into well-being. Making use of the British Cohort Study (BCS70)[14] they map the variables that can be considered as good proxies for measuring both market and non-market benefits of education. The same dataset is also used by Burchardt (2009) for examining agency goals, education and work aspirations of British youth and operationalising the dynamic and broad concept of "capability as autonomy"[15].

Finally, a thematic issue on education, in relation to human development and capabilities, has been published in the Journal of Human Development and Capabilities (2012). The collection of papers offers an important theoretical, empirical and methodological contribution to the current scientific debate, showing the potential of the human development and human capabilities framework for education inquiry and education policies (see Walker 2012, for an overview of its contents).

4 Examples of the application of the Capability Approach from WorkAble

In an EU context of high rates of early school leavers and young people who have not completed their upper secondary school education, as well as the recent transition from industrial to more knowledge-based societies, the "WorkAble: Making Capabilities Work" project aimed to: *"provide knowledge on how to enable young people to act as capable citizens in the labour markets of European knowledge societies. It assesses the political and*

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[13] On higher education and the Capability Approach, see also the volume edited by Walker and Boni (2012).

[14] BCS70 is a longitudinal secondary dataset which provides detailed information on the educational and professional choices of a sample of individuals regularly tracked and interviewed since their birth in 1970.

[15] A Marie Curie International Training Network project is consolidating research on education and welfare and investigating young people's opportunities in three central interrelated dimensions of welfare (i.e. work, autonomy and participation) using the theoretical framework of the Capability Approach. The innovative research lines undertaken by the young doctoral students involved in this project should advance the knowledge and empirical evidence on this specific topic and enhance the frontier of the operationalisation of this approach (see: www.eduwel-eu.org).

institutional strategies aiming to cope with the high rates of youth unemployment, early school leaving and dropouts from upper secondary education" (http://www.workable-eu.org/about-workable/objectives). WorkAble used a comparative perspective to analyse employment and educational policies at the local, regional, national and European level. WorkAble had six work packages, although this section focuses upon the three where primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis was undertaken, specifically:

- identifying the educational, vocational and policy landscapes in Europe;
- studying educational programmes from a micro perspective;
- understanding their effects on the transitional trajectories, from education to work, of young people.

This section outlines the questions asked, the methods used and reflections on the lessons learned when operationalising the Capability Approach in WorkAble.

4.1 Identifying the educational, vocational and policy landscapes in Europe: the importance of contextual research and the Capability Approach

Contextual information was collected as part of WorkAble in order to situate and shape the primary and secondary data collection and analysis undertaken in the rest of the research. The Capability Approach recognises that individuals are affected by the institutions that surround them (Bonvin and Orton 2009) and in order to understand an individual's capabilities set you need to examine the goods and services they may have access to and the social environments in which they are embedded, as these can hamper efforts to convert resources into capabilities (Bonvin and Moachon 2008). Contextual information also highlights the informational basis of educational and vocational policy making by identifying what the information judgements are based upon, i.e. what is considered as a legitimate transition (from education to work), and what behaviours and responsibilities are expected of young people (Sen, 1990; Bonvin 2012). A purely informational basis of judgement is not sufficient in that it *"implies a selection of specific factual data or information which is then considered as the adequate yardstick for public evaluation and action. This data selection coincides with the exclusion, explicit or not, of other information seen as irrelevant"* (Bonvin and Farvaque 2006: 122).

The purpose of collecting contextual information in WorkAble was for the national research teams to describe and provide a critical analysis of the educational regimes in the countries investigated, and analyse the standard paths of education and transition to employment and the labour market. The aim was not only to describe the educational and training systems, but also to see how they were situated in the "education-employment-community/social integration" nexus. As such the ways in which these educational regimes integrate labour market requirements were also explored for example. In addition, those young people who typically fail in the standard routes of education and transition to employment, and the reasons for this were explored. The strategies and methods employed by the various educational regimes to cope with these groups of young people were explored. In analysing

the provisions for early school leavers and young people facing problems entering the labour market, knowledge was added to the discussion about educational regimes.

Four dimensions were emphasised: (i) the *objectives* that policymakers sought to achieve; (ii) the *configurations of actors* involved and the distribution of roles and responsibilities between them; (iii) the *ways in which training and the transition to employment were organised;* iv) the *provisions (programmes, measures, support) available for those young people who have problems* in following the standard routes of education and transition to employment/the labour market. In order to address these, questions centred on four key themes identification of: the relevant educational regimes; the relevant actors and governance modes; the main strategies to support people who fail in the standard routes of education and transition to employment; the extent to which the national debates refer to the European level debate. Two key methods were employed: (i) documentary analysis regarding legislative and administrative provisions at national, regional and local level, collective labour agreement and other official documents; and (ii) interviews with key stakeholders in the educational system such as government policymakers. Other methods were also adopted to add further depth including statistical overviews on education and unemployment and small case studies of the issues raised.

4.2 Studying educational programmes in a micro perspective: qualitative case studies of innovative programmes supporting young people in their school-to-work transitions

The aim of the WorkAble qualitative case studies was to enhance understandings of successful ways in which to support young people (who encounter difficulties, or who fail, in the 'standard' routes of education and transition towards employment - identified through the contextual research) by empowering their capabilities for voice[16], work and education. In order to do this, case studies were conducted on new and/or innovative programmes that support (disadvantaged) young people in their transitions between education, training and work, and were provided by organisations across the public, private and third sectors. The transitions of young people who are at a disadvantage in the labour market, and who are not involved in any specific kind of programme, were also considered. The groups of young people of concern in the case studies were: early school leavers (France; Switzerland; Italy); unemployed young people (Denmark; UK); those lacking skills and qualifications (Austria; Germany; Poland); and higher education graduates experiencing difficulties finding the work they wanted (Sweden). The case studies were analysed by applying the Capability Approach, in particular focusing upon the young people's capability for voice, work and education. Details of the operationalisation of the Capability Approach in the qualitative case studies can be found in Hollywood et al (2012).

A common survey framework was developed for use in all the qualitative case studies. The questions centred on the ways in which three capabilities in particular developed: voice, work and education. Rather than using a predefined list of capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000,

[16] Voice has been defined as *"the extent to which people are allowed to express their wishes, expectations and concerns in collective decision-making processes and make them count"* (Bonvin 2012: 15).

2003) the approach focused on capabilities specific to the contexts of the wider aims of the WorkAble thus acknowledging that the Capability Approach is used for different goals (Robeyns 2005a, 2006; Alkire 2007). Four factors were identified as core to the development of these capabilities:

(1) Resources: what resources are available for the initiatives in order to help develop the capabilities of young people and what resources do the beneficiaries bring with them to the programmes. It was acknowledged that individuals could achieve different functionings, as they have different conceptions of what they have reason to value (Robeyns 2005b).

(2) Empowerment: are beneficiaries empowered to have autonomy, freedom and a voice in the delivery and implementation of the initiatives (Sen 1985, 1998) or do they have to comply with organisational expectations (Bonvin and Moachon 2008).

(3) Individual conversion factors: whether individuals have the necessary conversion factors in terms of individual characteristics (e.g. gender, education, social status) to transform resources into capabilities (Robeyns 2005b; Bonvin and Moachon 2008).

(4) External conversion factors: the role of external social and structural factors (e.g. labour market conditions, workfare policies, social stratification) in the conversion of resources into capabilities/functionings (Robeyns 2005b; Bonvin and Orton 2009).

In order to answer these questions the focus was on individual accounts and these were used to examine the development of capabilities at: the micro level (the subjective, professional and interactive level); the meso level (the interactive, institutional and conceptual level); and the macro level (the political and societal level).

Research interviews (group and individual) with young people and other stakeholders in the case studies (e.g. managers, staff) were the most commonly used method. The rationale was to gauge a wide variety of individual insights and perceptions, and gain understandings of complex relationships. In addition to the interview approach some cases also used documentary analysis to help in case selection, to provide context and for triangulation. Participant observation was also used in one case study. In terms of data analysis, a thematic content/coding analysis of the data was most commonly used although the approach taken to this varied. Although some followed Grounded Theory guidelines (see for example: Strauss and Corbin 1998) the Capability Approach acted as a framework for analysis with each case drawing on the common questions and focusing on the capabilities for voice, education and work. Table 1 summarises the methods used in the qualitative element of WorkAble.

Table 1: Summary of the Methods Used in the Qualitative Element of WorkAble

Method	Rationale	Case study example
Interviews with programme beneficiaries /young people	Insight into young people's individual experiences of their transitions and/or the programmes they are enrolled in. The development of the capabilities for voice, work and education were focused upon by some.	In the German case study problem centred interviews were conducted with young people. The aim was to examine how do young people experience, interpret and value aspects of the school-to-work transition and the programme they were involved with.
Interviews with programme deliverers	Insight into the programmes in terms of organisational processes, every day practices and profiles, and how these affect the young people's transitions. This method also captured individual experiences.	In the UK case study interviews were conducted with service managers and project workers in order to get their insights into the programme delivery. In the Austrian case study the explorative and expert interviews with managers, trainers and social pedagogues gave an insight into the logic, philosophy and ways in which the programme managed the beneficiaries' transition into employment.
Interviews with policy makers	To understand institutional processes, frameworks and policy involvement, and the impact of public action on the development of capabilities.	The French case study included semi-structured interviews with the regional public authorities and in the Italian case study with policy makers from the regional council. The case study interviewed representatives from the head offices of the programmes (i.e. those responsible for the programme direction).
Interviews with employers, union representatives and employment office	To provide a labour market perspective.	The use of this method was specific to the Swedish case study which focused on higher education graduates experiencing difficulties in finding a desired job.
Interviews with employees at the university	To understand how students voice their opinion and make it count within the public policy process; and how policy documents, texts and accounts are used in practice.	The use of this method was specific to the Swedish case study.
Group interviews with beneficiaries	Overview; evidence on how the youngsters interact; preparation for the face-to-face interviews; and understanding the programmes' effects on capability development.	The French case used both small group interviews of 3-5 pupils and larger class groups (greater than 10 pupils). The interview guide focused on capability for voice, education and employment.
Group interviews/focus groups with policy makers and project workers	Understand the level of the organisational processes and interactions.	The Italian case study conducted focus groups with policy makers from the regional council, and project leaders/social workers from the programme organisation. In conjunction with the other methods, they facilitated the investigation of conversion factors and the implementation process. For the Danish case study, group discussions arose spontaneously when interviewing teachers.
Participant observation	Understand the level of the organisational processes and interactions.	The Italian case study conducted participant observation of various phases of the programme. The Polish case study was unable to use of participant observation due access and resource constraints.
Documentary analysis	Contextual information. For some, documentary analysis aided case selection and was used for the purposes of triangulation.	The Swiss case study used documentary analysis to understand the political and economic context of the programme and to identify the main stakeholders in the programme.
Statistical data analysis	Case selection and triangulation.	The Polish case study used this method for the selection of a relevant educational initiative to study. It also helped plan the rest of the research as well as supplementing and controlling information from the interviews and the interpretation of results.

4.3 Understanding the effects on transitional trajectories of young people: quantitative analysis of young people's transitions from education to work

Using the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) longitudinal data as well as more in-depth analyses of specific countries and comparative analyses of pairs of countries, the quantitative element of WorkAble sought to identify and understand transitions from the educational system to the labour market among young Europeans and whether educational strategies contribute to extending their capabilities for work and social participation. The quantitative element in particular analysed: the degree to which comparable educational attainments among young people led to different labour-market opportunities depending on the configuration of labour market and educational regimes; as well as the relationship between education, transitional trajectories and individual well-being and social exclusion and how this relationship varied between different EU member states.

EU-SILC data were used by the teams to make comparisons between countries, although in addition some studies focused on national data sources from a small sample of countries[17]. EU-SILC comprises of cross-sectional and longitudinal multidimensional microdata on income, poverty, social exclusion and living conditions. It is based on a common framework rather than a common survey. Variables are collected at the individual and the household levels (Eurostat 2010, 2011a). The minimum sample size surveyed every year for the cross sectional data is approximately 130,000 households and 270,000 persons aged over 16. For the longitudinal data approximately 100,000 households and 200,000 persons aged over 16 participate (Eurostat 2011b). It must be acknowledged that EU-SILC does have certain limitations e.g. varying approaches to data collection in different countries (Lohmann 2011). However for the purposes of WorkAble the fact that EU-SILC is made up of representative samples of the total population in each country made it possible to compare the situation of young people with other age groups, which is essential in order to understand what characteristics in each country are specific for young people and what are more general country, or regime, characteristics. EU-SILC data have been previously used in research adopting a capabilities perspective. For example, Vero et al (2012) examine European employment security indicators derived from EU-SILC data and Lehweß-Litzmann (2012) analyses the coincidence of employment flexibility and poverty using EU-SILC micro data.

A range of analytical methods was used such as: descriptive analysis; parametric statistics; OLS and logistic regression; cluster analysis; multivariate analysis. This is summarised in Table 2, along with the main conclusions drawn.

[17] Some of the analysis made use of datasets other than EU-SILC data to make more in-depth studies of specific countries. The British Household Panel Survey was used to explore the effects of scarring on transitions of young people in the UK and the Northern Swedish Cohort study to examine the long term mental health effects of two different forms of unemployment experiences in Sweden.

Table 2: Summary of the Questions Asked and Methods Used in the Quantitative Element of WorkAble

E.g.	Theme and main findings	Data set	Analysis
A	Theme: Labour-market trajectories of young Europeans and educational and occupational intergenerational social mobility in 26 European countries. Main findings: In the great majority of European countries, education systems and labour markets: higher educational levels lead to better jobs and better life chances; but the number of good and top jobs in a given labour market system is always limited, regardless of the educational level of its workforce, so the rewards from higher education vary.	EU-SILC and matrices of the transitions between the three major labour market statuses (employment, unemployment and inactivity) were used following the OECD's Employment Outlook series.	Descriptive analysis of labour market trajectories based on transition matrices Logistic regression to explore the relationship between the selected socio-economic variables and transitions between non-employment (including both unemployment and inactivity) and employment. The reference country is the United Kingdom, the reference education level is first stage of tertiary education, the reference marital status is divorced, the reference health status is very bad and the reference gender is female.
B	Theme: Effects of scarring on transitions of young people in the UK. Main findings: The results indicate that periods of unemployment while young lead to scarring in terms of pay and unemployment, but not significantly for well-being (measured by life satisfaction), with some other factors being important in different periods for the cohort. Second, the importance of people losing confidence appears to be important in all cases and indicates that such psychological factors need to be considered more carefully as they affect the capabilities of young people in the labour market.	British Household Panel Survey waves H, which is mainly 1998, and R, which is mainly 2008. The cohort of those aged 18-24 in 1998 are followed for a decade, hence by 2008 they are 28-34 years old. Sample size varies by model, up to 565 participants).	Pay: an Ordinary Least Squares regression model was used to fit the natural log of the last month's current pay. Further variables were included in the analysis in order to determine the scarring effects unemployment 5 and 10 years previously. Unemployment: As the dependent variable was binary (employed or unemployed) a binary logistic regression was used to obtain the probability of being unemployed in the respective year. Satisfaction with life: A binary logistic regression model was used to model satisfied with life versus not particularly satisfied. In this model, further financial related variables were included.
C	Theme: Labour market trajectories and young Europeans' capabilities to avoid poverty, social exclusion and dependency in 23 European countries. Main findings: Young people are variously exposed to different types of labour market trajectories but this does not explain many of the differences in poverty, deprivation and independent living between EU countries. It is identified that Nordic countries have a system where young people have the capability to set up an independent household at an early age. It makes them relatively poor financially, but not particularly deprived; and it could be that they believe that such poverty is a price worth paying for being capable of living a life they have reason to value.	EU-SILC from 2007- 2008. The sample was restricted to those aged 16-65, focusing on the age span 16-25 (sample size of 26,755). A 3-year panel was selected: those who participated from 2006-2008 and those who participated from 2005-2007.	Cluster analysis was used to derive labour market trajectories from monthly information about "main activities", that is, cluster analysis was used to extract the main independent variables. The substantial analysis was carried out with a mixed model regression.

D	Theme: The long-term mental health effects of two different forms of unemployment experiences in Sweden. Main findings: There are strong negative effects of open unemployment on mental health in the short-term, with severe scarring effects at age 21; but participation in youth programmes seems not to cause the same negative short- and long-term mental health scarring as open unemployment when young.	The cohort includes all pupils who at age 16 in 1981 attended, or should have attended, the last year of compulsory school in a medium-sized industrial town in northern Sweden (sample size of 1,083). The participants were revisited at ages 18, 21, 30 and 42. Register data was also used from the Longitudinal Integration Database for Sick Leave and Labour Market Studies.	Pearson correlations for original descriptions of the relationship between the two exposure variables and mental health at ages 16, 18, 21, 30 and 42. Also in order to investigate the questions posed, data were used longitudinally as repeated measures using a repeated-measures linear mixed-models approach with random intercepts.
E	Theme: A longitudinal study of parental social class, education and the non-market capabilities of subjective health, voice and agency. Main findings: First, class background matters for the non-market capabilities of agency and voice, but not for subjective health. Second, education, primarily university level, matters for the non-market capabilities of voice, agency and health. Third, social class of origin is strongly related to educational attainment. Finally, education matters more for youths with a blue-collar background and less for those with a higher white-collar background for all three non-market capabilities studied.	The Swedish Survey of Living Conditions, an annual individual level survey of living conditions that is based on in-person interviews with a random sample of the population aged 16-74. A partial panel approach was used from 1979 and all respondents who were still teenagers and participating in one of the surveys 1988-1995 and re-interviewed eight years later (1996-2003) were selected (sample size 1,058).	Multivariate analyses using standard techniques. The voice variable is treated as a continuous variable and OLS-regressions are utilised. The regression coefficients represent the estimated difference on the voice scale between the study category and a reference category, all other control variables in the model being equal. For the agency and subjective health variables binary logistic regressions are applied. A step-by-step analytical strategy was employed with the aim of adding the independent variables to four regression models. In addition, the paper offers three further models where the full regression model is run separately for three categories of parental class (blue collar workers, higher white collar workers and others).
F	Theme: A comparison of the labour market outcomes of Early School Leavers in France, Italy, Poland and Sweden using a capability-based approach. Main findings: The jobs available to early school leavers are, for the most part, temporary or compulsorily part-time and they indicate that they lack the capability to enjoy work that they have reason to value. Second, the findings demonstrate the limitations of the category of people aged 18-24 when analysing school-to-work transitions.	EU-SILC from 2007, not distinguishing between lower and upper secondary school.	For the analysis of the labour market outcomes for early school leavers the authors harmonised EU-SILC data. To provide figures that matched with the accounts categories and frames defined at the European level, they elaborated national sources either prior to or during the questionnaire design or later in statistical processing procedures.
G	Theme: Empirical evidence from 21 European countries as to whether active labour spending would enhance the capability for work of entrants. Main findings: On average, active labour market policies have little, if any, effect on the capability for work.	EU-SILC data from 2007. The sample was restricted to those aged 16-30 and who left the educational system prior to 2005-2006. A three-year panel was used in order to have a sufficient sample: those who participated 2006-2008 and those who participated 2005-2007. The total sample size of young people was 20,909.	The analysis starts from the hypothesis people are nested within countries: it provides fixed effects, assumed to be homogeneous across countries, and random effects which capture differences between countries. Seven multilevel logit models reveal the relationship between labour market trajectories and the conversion factors that may influence these variables. Individual conversion factors are sex, level of education, residential autonomy and parental situation (when applicable). Social conversion factors include Active Labour Market Policy expenditures, youth unemployment and ESL rates.

4.4 Reflections on Measuring Capabilities in Qualitative and Quantitative Research: Lessons Learned from WorkAble

This section summarises the reflection of the different WorkAble teams on operationalising the Capability Approach.

4.4.a Reflections from the Qualitative Research

The research teams highlighted some methodological issues that need to be considered when undertaking qualitative research, especially with hard to reach and vulnerable groups. While research ethics demand that careful consideration be given to working with such groups, in addition official approval may be needed to undertake research in some (national) contexts, and the possible delays that this may cause need to be factored into the research timetable. Gatekeepers are often crucial in enabling research teams to get access to vulnerable groups. However, they can place conditions on the research team (e.g. when participants can be interviewed, whether audio recordings can be taken etc.) that may have a great effect on access to participants and the ability to accurately record their accounts. The use of gatekeepers can also affect the relationship between the researcher and the participants (see for example Sixsmith et al 2003 and Emmel et al 2007 for further discussions on using gatekeepers to access hard to reach groups). Some teams noted that the young people they engaged with viewed them as part of the 'establishment' and therefore it was not always easy to develop trust with them. The importance of research participants being able to relate to the researcher should not be underestimated (Finch 1993; Oakley 1990; Sixsmith et al 2003). While these are arguably more general issues, they are important when operationalising the Capability Approach with such vulnerable groups.

The capability for voice was especially relevant when considering engagement with the young people in qualitative research. For many of the young people they were not used to having voice so it was important for the researchers to develop trust with them. Equally the young people sometimes found it difficult to answer questions about what they would want to 'change' or 'develop' in their lives or where to make contributions because this is something they had never considered before as they had never been asked what they would like to do. Voice and choice may not have a role if the institutional focus is on the functioning for work. Due to the constraints in the labour market young people may value any job rather than having no job at all (Taylor 2005; Schmelze 2011), and they may have low aspirations (Morris et al 1999; Kintrea at al 2011; Schoon and Parsons 2002; Spielhofer et al 2011). The issue of adaptive preferences is relevant here as people's choices may be 'deformed' by a range of factors (Nussbaum 2000, p. 114) with Bonvin and Farvaque (2005) arguing that institutions that do not promote the development of the capability for voice produce adaptive preferences. In addition research needs to ask whether the initiatives really encourage young people to choose a life they have reason to value, or whether they encourage young people to choose a life as defined as valuable by social/organisational norms.

Qualitative research methods themselves can hamper the development of young people's voice. Young people may find it hard to answer open questions; in group interviews the group dynamics may make it difficult for some participants to voice their opinions if others are more vocal; those with literacy needs may find it hard to answer questionnaires on their own; and low self-confidence, concentration problems etc. may hamper young people's ability to engage in the

research process. But while young people's unwillingness or difficulty to answer questions should be addressed through developing trust with them and using a range of innovative research techniques[1] to enable them to have voice, it should also be considered that this lack of engagement itself can be a sign of young people voicing their freedom not to engage in the research process.

It is difficult to draw conclusions as to whether the qualitative case studies revealed essential features of the Capability Approach. The case studies have highlighted and examined the contexts in which a young person's capabilities might be formed. However, as discussed in section 2 it is acknowledged both in the literature concerning both the qualitative and quantitative operationalisation of the Capability Approach that, while it is possible to observe outcomes (functionings), observing an individual' freedoms (capabilities) is much harder (Miquel and Lopez 2011). One of the case study teams reflected of the capabilities for voice, education and work that the capability for voice was often the most evident and easier to find indicators for. A possible way to address this in future applications of the Capability Approach would to disaggregate each of the capabilities into a series of indicators before undertaking the research rather than trying to identify them afterwards.

4.4.b Reflections from the Quantitative Research

The Capability Approach invites researchers to conceptualise and examine the school-to-work in transition in a different way that goes beyond focusing on a quantifiable measure like the employment rate at a given date. Measuring capabilities in quantitative research can be difficult. In the quantitative element of WorkAble, following the Capability Approach, the teams examined what young people wanted to do and emphasised the abilities of young people to do what they wanted. There was a focused search on variables linked to the Capability Approach. The lack of 'capability variables' in existing datasets such as EU-SILC and national surveys was emphasised, with teams better able to measure achieved outcomes rather than freedoms and capabilities. As outlined in section 2, capabilities cannot be observed in relation to outcomes that individuals have reason to value, only in relation to factual outcomes. In order to address this some partners did use proxies for capabilities, such as variables regarding a person's financial situation as a surrogate for their financial capability – defined as being able manage finances day to day, plan ahead, select financial products, seeks financial advice, and the motivation to efficiently manage finances and effect change (McQuaid and Egdell 2010) (see example B in Table 2). Others used data on labour market trajectories as an indicator of capabilities (see example C in Table 2); or the capability to appeal against a decision made by the authorities as an indicator of the capability of agency (see example E in Table 2). There are also other limitations of using EU-SILC when undertaking research from a Capability Approach. The sample size may be too small to make generalised statements about early school leavers for example. One WorkAble team outlined the lack of information on work and labour market outcomes and that EU-SILC sees employment as the ideal functioning, without taking account of its quality or the person's specific circumstances. Despite these

[1] See Hazel (1995), Punch (2002) and Barker and Weller (2003) who outline examples such as using vignettes and photographs to encourage discussion, and 'secret boxes' where participants can anonymously write down aspects of their experiences that they would not feel comfortable discussing directly with the researcher etc. when researching the experiences of children and young people.

limitations longitudinal data such as EU-SILC do enable researchers to tackle the functioning aspect of the capability for work in a dynamic way that goes beyond simply looking at the employment rate. Overall, however, given the basic restrictions described above, the Capability Approach adds some normative value (highlighting freedom to choose) but remains focused more on functionings in its quantitative empirical applications.

Therefore in order to conduct more effective research in future more measures of capabilities need to be collected. This could encompass direct questions on what people have reason to value in terms of their current outcomes. For example using a scale measure to ascertain how much an individual values their current job. The employment quality issue would also need to be taken into account when studying the school-to-work transition. These perspectives could be achieved by developing new large scale, and preferably longitudinal, surveys specifically to measure capabilities. Otherwise capability questions could be added to existing surveys. Ideally an individual's preferences before they achieved a certain outcome need to be identified (but even if this were possible there would need to be imposed strong assumptions about stability of preferences as what people have reason to value may change over time). Further information is also needed relating to the context of people's lives in order to understand what they have reason to value. Future research from a Capability Approach could also use both longitudinal and linked data in order to tackle both aspects of freedom, i.e. opportunity and freedom.

5 Conclusions

Extensive and increasingly frequent empirical applications of the Capability Approach in a broad range of fields of investigation show that researchers can meet many of the challenges posed by this approach by adopting various empirical strategies and technical solutions. In this chapter we have provided an overview of some of the more significant contributions in research literature and recent related empirical studies on capabilities, labour markets and education in Europe, paying special attention to recent European projects inspired by or based on the Capability Approach including the WorkAble project. The intrinsic complexity and multi-layered structure of this approach seems to be particularly suitable for conceptualising and contextualising the education-employment-community integration nexus. The quantitative and qualitative analyses presented here set out some of the major issues concerning the empirical application of the Capabilities Approach and put forward some interesting perspectives and examples for those who wish to make use of the Capability Approach for future investigation in this field.

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Appendix

Paola Alessia Schintu

1 Introduction

The availability of reliable, accurate, comparable, disaggregated data is a constant need for decision makers. In fact, European policies are based on, or inspired by, indicators and their empirical evidence. Besides EU national governments pay increasing attention to international comparisons of their performances for designing effective policies able to enhance individual's social and economic prospects and equalize opportunities for more disadvantaged and vulnerable groups.

In particular, the extensive coverage of education statistics available at international level, above all for industrialized countries, gives evidence of the acknowledged central role the education plays in modern societies. Researchers and policy makers can now rely on a broad range of indicators, each of them providing different types of information and capturing aspects, whose relevance depends on what one wishes to analyse for. Indeed, as suggested by Vos (1996), education indicators can be classified depending on whether they mainly reflect means, process or ends. Even if a sharp distinction among variables is not always easy to make, according to Vos' suggested taxonomy, input indicators are typically described in terms of amount of means and resources invested in educational services (teachers,schools, private and public level of expenditures etc.). Access indicators identify the use and accessibility of the supplied services, while output and outcomes indicators describe education attainments and achievements in other related well-being dimensions that can benefit from an enhancedhuman capital investment[1].

If the available indicators can shed light on relevant aspects, many others, not less germane for designing policies, still remain in a grey area. For this reason, coherently with the aim of the Workable Project, the attached table is meant to map the current EU available indicators related to education, particularly to lower and upper secondary levels[2]. Our analysis is based on official statistics such as Eurostat, Eurydice, OECD, Unesco and World Bank, which are generally used to describe the current performance of European countries and represent a standard reference point for the decision makers.The table categorizes and synthesizes these indicators on the basis of i) the statistical source; ii) the country coverage and the level of disaggregation offered; and iii) the kind of information provided. The purpose is drawing a synthetic but consistent picture that can

[1] Vos suggests to refer to output indicators for identifying direct and immediate objectives such as enrolment or retention rateswhereas outcomes indicators are related to broader and indirect externalities generated by education investment such as a higher productivity, a better health or enhanced capabilities to participate to social and political life (Vos, 1996)

[2] Lower and upper secondary education corresponds to ISCED Levels 2 and 3. We will consider both levels of secondary education, because even if in Europe compulsory education is generally completed at the end of lower secondary education, however in some countries the upper one constitutes part of the minimum mandatory level required as well.

prove to be helpful for researchers and decision makers interested to investigate this field of analysis or drive policy actions.

2 Statistical sources and indicators

In order to give a broadest but reliable picture of the topic we investigate, we chose to restrict our attention on those organisations that provide a regular and extensive amounts of data, freely available online, on education and related issues and satisfy the worldwide standards for international statistics. On the basis of these criteria, four primary data sources have been selected, namely, Eurostat educational statistics database, OECD regional database,OECD PISA initiative and UNESCO Institute of Statistics database. In these four cases organisations use first-hand data by gathering themselves primary data. In addition twodatasets have been chosen as secondary data sources, Eurydice report "Key Data on Education in Europe", and World Bank World Development Indicators. In these two last cases organisations use second-hand data by bringing together data already available at international level.

At the European level, Eurostat offers a large online database on educational statistics[3], called *"Education and Training"* and based on the UNESCO/OECD/Eurostat (UOE) questionnaire. MoreoverEACEA, a European Agency in charge for some EU programmes in the fields of education, culture and audiovisual**,** coordinates and manages the Eurydice Network, an initiative aimed to provide information and analysis on European education and systems to those who are responsible for education systems and policies. Comparative studies, indicators and statistics on education-related aspects are regularly provided, included the well-known report "Key Data on education in Europe"[4]. This report, based ondata collected through the Eurydice Network, Eurostat and the PISA international survey, provides comparable quantitative and qualitative indicators for over 30 European countries and offers a broad overview of the organisation and functioning of European education systems.

At the worldwide level, the OECD website provides a regional database[5] on industrialized countries with detailed country profiles and specific sections on education, training and skills. Furthermore every three years the OECD promotes the PISA initiative: an international study, first launched in 2000, aimed to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students in almost 70 countries[6] in three main areas: mathematical literacy, reading literacy and scientific literacy. The PISA website also contains a country profiles section, with key indicators on the performance and further context information[7].

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3 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/education/introduction

4 In this context we refer to the 2012 edition:http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/key_data_en.php

5 http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?datasetcode=REG_DEMO_TL2

6 PISA questionnaires cover both OECD members and partner countries. With concern to EU, the Pisa 2009 evaluated 25 member states (with the exception of Cyprus and Malta), whose 22 OECD members (Finland, Netherlands, Belgium, Estonia, Poland, Sweden, Germany, Ireland, France, Denmark, United Kingdom, Hungary, Portugal, Italy, Slovenia, Greece, Spain, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Luxembourg, Austria, Lithuania) and 3 partners (Bulgaria, Romania and Latvia).For Belgium, Spain, Italy, United Kingdom and Finland regional data are also available.

7 http://stats.oecd.org/PISA2009Profiles/#

The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) is one of themain primary sources for cross-nationally comparable statistics on education, science and technology, culture, and communication and covers more than 200 countries and territories. In particular, its website has a "Public reports" page[8] that offers an entire section entitled "Education" where it is possible to find an extensive amount of indicators and data.

Finally, the sixth data source we will consider here is the World Bank's most famous collection of development indicators: WDI - the World Development Indicators[9], compiled from officially-recognized international sources. WDI presents widespread and accurate data including national, regional and global estimates. With concern to our sphere of interest it uses data compiled by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics.

Overall, these organizations provide over 150 education indicators listed in table 1. However, as just said, two out of these six data sources provide data collected by other international organisations; therefore the same information is sometimes listed twice but with slightly different titles. For example, "School enrolment, secondary, gross" is an indicator by WDI, but since World Bank uses data compiled by UIS, we find the same information in UNESCO section under the name of "Gross enrolment ratio. Secondary, Lower secondary, Upper secondary. All". In the same way "Student/teacher ratio in secondary education" is a label by Eurydice that corresponds to "Ratio of students to teacher (ISCED2 and ISCED 3)" by Eurostat.

3 Country coverage and level of disaggregation

All these sources are rather heterogeneous from the point of view of time, geographic coverage and level of disaggregation. Eurydice and PISA are mainly focusedon most recent figures and, therefore, give us an updated but instant picture of EU recent trends in lower and upper secondary education, whereas Eurostat, OECD, UIS and World Bank databases cover a longer span of time that sometime, as in the case of UIS, dates back to '70.

As far as refer the geographic coverage, in most cases our sources break all their indicators by country, but some of them go more in details than others, showing greater attention to the national or even regional level underlining statistical inner differences. This is the case of Eurydice and Eurostat, but also PISA, which presents regional data and trends for a selected number of European countries allowing to observe differences no just between countries but also within countries. Where ethno-linguistic differences matters, as in the case of Belgium, group-based information are provided. Aggregate indicators and average values are also available for European macro-regions, typically represented by EU27 or EU25 and EU15 or EU12. On the contrary, OECD, UIS and World Bank focus just on nationalfigures and OECD gives information exclusively for its member states.

As already outlined, if all five international organisations supply a broad and wide-reaching empirical evidence on education data, the availability of a full range of indicators by gender and by

[8] http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/ReportFolders/ReportFolders.aspx

[9] http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/all

specific age groups still remain rather scarce. In most cases just one of this level of disaggregation is available (gender or age groups) and age brackets are not always internationally comparable.

4 Type of information

A further way to cast light on the collected indicators is to classify them according to the relevant type of information provided. We adopt here a simplified version of the already mentioned taxonomy formulated by Vos (1996): of his four suggested categories (input, access, output and outcomes) we retain, for simplicity only the two extreme ones. In particular, we classify the available indicators as an input indicator when it refers to the amount of means and resources (both financial and human) devoted to educational field or as an outcomes indicator if it looks at the performance and attainments achieved by individuals in education-related spheres.

For each of these two groups, the table specifies if indicators refer to the population and its composition (dem), to the educational process (edu), to the amount of public or private funds invested (fund), to the teachers and management staff devoted (st), to the education systems structure (org), to the students' enrolment (enr) and, finally, to students qualification achieved and their performance (qu/perf). Some of these variables, such as the amount of funds invested in educational system, can evidently be classified as an input indicator; similarly, variables such as students' performance or students enrolment represent an outcomes indicator. In many other cases it might be difficult to make a clear cut typology, as some indicators can be seen as inputs that lead to a certain types of outcomes. For instance, the percentage of recommended minimum taught time allocated to specific subject, a variable provided by Eurydice network for all European countries, can be considered as a means for achieving a better level of education. However, the actual annual taught time for language of instruction compared with the recommended taught time, information also included in Eurydice dataset, can be classified as an outcomes variable.Finally, demographic variables related to population and itsdemographic composition, are included as input indicators even if they do not deal directly with education, nevertheless they inform us about the future demand of potential users.

As shown in the table, in most databases outcomes indicatorsreflect the students' participation at the different educational level and grades with the obvious exception being constituted by PISA database, which is mainly committed to measure educational outcome in terms of performance. In terms of input indicators, teachers' stafffrequently recurs in most databases. This is particularly the case of Eurydice and UNESCO Institute of Statistics that describe with accuracy the investment in teaching and management resources in the different countries. UNESCO presents a considerable amount of indicators related to public and private expenses for education while Eurydice mainly concentrates on educational processes and organisation, presenting a certain number of input indicators on taught time, grouping and class size, assessments and education systems' structure in various European countries.

Table: Taxonomy of education indicators

Sources and variablesdescription	Level of coverage and disaggregation offered					Kind of information provided			
	year(s)	geographiccoverage	gender	agerange	data	Type of indicator		Type of information	
						input	outcome	quant	qual
EACEA/EURYDICE									
Population variation by age groups	1985-2010	no, EU-27	no	0-9, 10-19, 20-29	s	dem		%	
Proportion of the population by age groups	2010	yes+some no EU members +EU-27	no	0-9, 10-19, 20-29	s	dem		%	
Percentage of population born abroad in the 5-9 and 10-14 age groups and among the total population	2010	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	5-9,10-14	s	dem		%	
Distribution of students attending public, private grant-aided and private independent primary and general secondary schools	2009	yes+some no EU members+EU-27+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	No	s		org	%	
Proportion of pupils and students from pre-primary education to tertiary education in the total population	2000, 2009	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	No	s		enr	%	
Participation rate of 15-19 years-old students in lower secondary education to tertiary education	2009	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	15-19	s		enr	%	
Proportion of 15-year-old students with an immigrant background	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT+EU-27	no	15	s		enr	%	
Distribution of upper secondary students by programme type	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	yes	No	s		enr	%	
Participation rates in education up to 2 years after the end of full time compulsory education	2009	yes+some no EU members	yes	14 to 18	s		enr	%	
Distribution of 15-year-old students (median and percentiles) by size of school attended	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	15	s		org	%	
Structure of initial teacher education for pre-primary, primary and general secondary education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	No	p	st			kinds of structures

Required level and minimum length of initial teacher education for teachers from preprimary to upper secondary education and the length of the induction period	2010/11	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT, UK-ENG/WLS/NIR	no	No	p	st			required level and minimum length
Percentages of students aged 15 attending schools where teaching is affected by a lack of qualified teachers in the core subjects	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT+EU-27	no	15	p		st	%	
Types of support available to new entrants to the teaching profession in primary and general secondary education	2010/11	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT	no	No	p	st			types of supports
Teacher employment status in primary education and general secondary education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	No	p	st			types of status
Weekly workload of full-time teachers in hours for primary and secondary education	2010/11	yes+some no EU members+ BEfr,BEde,BEnl	no	No	p	st			kinds of workload
Distribution of teachers by age group in general secondary education, public and private sectors combined	2009	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	< 30 years 30-39 years 40-49 years ≥ 50 years	s	st		%	
Proportions of teachers in age groups close to retirement in primary education and general secondary education, public and private sectors	2009	yes, but also some no EU member	yes	between 55 and 68	s	st		%	
Trends in the minimum basic gross annual statutory salary in PPS EURO (in 2000 prices) for teachers in primary and upper secondary education	2000-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT, UK-ENG/WLS/NIR	no	No	p	st		%	
Relationship between the relative increase of the statutory salary in general education and the years needed to obtain the maximum salary	2009/10	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT, UK-ENG/WLS/NIR	no	No	p	st			relationship
Minimum number of years of professional teaching experience required to become a school head in primary, general secondary education	2010/11	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT	no	No	p	st		abs	
Minimum and maximum basic annual statutory salary for school heads in PPS EURO	2009/10	yes+some no EU member+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT, UK-ENG/WLS/NIR	no	No	p	st		abs	
Recommended minimum annual taught time during full-time compulsory primary and secondary education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	No	p	edu		abs	
Percentage of recommended minimum taught time allocated to specific subjects or subject areas in full-time compulsory general secondary education	2010/11	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	no	p	edu		%	
Actual annual taught time for language of instruction compared with the	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr,	no	15	s		edu	abs	

recommended taught time for 15-year-old students		BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT							
Distribution of 15-year-old pupils according to the number of hours/week spending on homework and study at home by main subject, public and private sectors	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT	no	15	s		edu	%	
Class size limits in primary and secondary general education according to official regulations	2010/11	yes+some no EU member+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT, UK-ENG/WLS/NIR	no	no	p	edu		abs	
Student/teacher ratio in secondary education	2001-2006-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	no	s	edu		%	
Distribution of 15 year-old students by class size, and compared with the officially recommended or required maximum class size	2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT	no	15	s		org	%	
Conditions of admission to lower secondary education, public and government-dependent private sectors	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	no	p	edu			conditions of admission
Certified assessment at the end of general lower secondary education or full-time compulsory education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	no	p	edu			kinds of assessments
Characteristics of certified assessment at the end of general lower secondary education or fulltime compulsory education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	no	p	edu			characteritics
Certified assessment at the end of general upper secondary education	2010/11	yes, but also some no EU member states	no	no	p	edu			kinds of assessments
Characteristics of certified assessment at the end of general upper secondary education	2010/11	yes+some no EU membesr+BEfr, BEde, BEnl, UK-SCT	no	no	p	edu			
Trends in the annual expenditure on public education institutions by pupil/student and by level, in PPS EUR	2000 and 2008	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	no	s	fund		abs	
Proportions of educational expenditure from public and private sources, by level	2008	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	no	s	fund		%	
Distribution of total annual expenditure in public education institutions (by level) across major categories of expenditure	2008	yes+some no EU members+EU-27	no	no	s	fund		%	
EUROSTAT									
Teachers by age groups teaching in public and private at ISCED level 2-3 as % of total teachers teaching in ISCED level 2-3	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, Benl	no	< 30, 30-39, 40-49, >50	p	st		%	

Ratio of students to teachers (ISCED 2) (ISCED 3)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU member+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	no	p	edu		%	
Average number of foreign languages learned per pupil at ISCED level 2	1995-2010	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	no	p	edu		abs	
Pupils and students at ISCED level 2, at ISCED level 3 as % of all pupils and students	1998-2009	yes+some no EU member+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	no	no	p		enr	%	
Students at ISCED-3-GEN, at ISCED-3-GEN as % of all students at ISCED level 3	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Students participation at the end of compulsory age (X-1), (X), (X+1), (X+2) - as % of population aged (X-1), (X), (X+1), (X+2)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	yes	X-1, (X), (X+1), (X+2)	p		enr	%	
Ratio of Students to teachers (ISCED 2), (ISCED 3)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	no	p	edu		%	
Average class size at ISCED 2	1998-2009	yes+some no EU member+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	no	no	p	org		abs	
Percentage of pupils at ISCED level 2 learning 2 or more foreign languages-1 foreign language-no foreign language	1995-2010	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	no	p		enr	%	
Percentage of pupils at ISCED level 3 (GEN) learning 2 or more foreign languages-1 foreign language-no foreign language	1995-2010	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	no	p		enr	%	
Percentage of pupils at ISCED level 3, prevocational and vocational, learning 2 or more foreign languages-1 foreign language-no foreign language	1995-2010	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	no	p		enr	%	
Pupils learning English/ French/ German/ Spanish/ Russian at ISCED level 2 as % of the total pupils at this level-at ISCED level 3 (GEN) as % of the total pupils at this level	1995-2010	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27	no	no	p		enr	%	
Students by ISCED level (2 and 3)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	yes	From 15 to 19 years and 15, 16, 17, 18, 19	p		enr	abs	
Students by ISCED level, type of institution (private or public) and study intensity (full-time, part-time)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	no	no	p		enr	abs	

Students by ISCED level, study intensity and sex	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Teachers and academic staff by ISCED level, age and sex	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	yes	< 25,25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, ≥65	p	st		abs	
Teachers and academic staff by ISCED level, employment status	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl	yes	no	p	st		abs	
Students in ISCED 1-3 by modern foreign language studied	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	no	no	p		enr	abs	
Students in ISCED 1-3 by number of modern foreign languages studied (From no languages up to more than 4 languages)	1998-2009	yes+some no EU members+BEfr, BEde, BEnl+EU-27+EU-25+EU-15+EU-13	no	no	p		enr	abs	
Number of students by level of education and orientation and region	1998-2009	regions+EU-27+single countries	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Number of students by region	1998-2009	regions+EU-27+single countries	yes	10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19, 15 to 19	p		enr	abs	
Population, aged 15 to 74 years by participation in education or training	2000-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	15-19, 15-29, 15-39, 15-59, 15-64, 15-74, 20-64, 25-49, 25-59, 25-64, 25-74, 40-59, 40-64, 50-59, 50-64, 50-74, 55-64, 55-74	p	dem		abs	
Populationaged 15-34	2000-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	15-17, 15-19, 15-24, 15-34, 18-24, 20-24, 20-34, 25-29, 25-34, 30-34	p	dem		abs	
Participation of young people in education and training, by employment status (incl. NEET rates)	2004-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	15-17, 15-19	p		enr	%	
Participation of young people in formal education by employment status	2004-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	15-17, 15-19	p		enr	%	
NEET rates	2000-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16,	yes	15-17, 15-19	p		qu/perf	%	

		EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11							
Young people aged 18-24 NEET rates by NUTS1 region	2008-2010	NUTS1	yes	18-24	p		qu/perf	%	
Early leavers from education and training by employment status	1992-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	no	p		qu/perf	%	
Early leavers from formal education by employment status	2004-2010	European Union, EU27, EU25, EU15, EU12,Euro Area,EA16, EA15,EA13,EA12,EA11	yes	no	p		qu/perf	%	
Early leavers from education and training by NUTS1	2000-2010	NUTS1	yes	no	p		qu/perf	%	
OECD					p				
Distribution of type of educational personnel by level of education, type of educational programme, type of institution, intensity of participation	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	yes	p	st		abs	
Distribution of education expenditure by level of education, funding sources and type of transaction	1998-2008	yes, but just OECD members	no	no	p	fund		abs	
Distribution of education expenditure by level of education, service provider and nature of expenditure	1998-2008	yes, but just OECD members	no	no	p	fund		abs	
Distribution of international students (mobile students) and foreign (non-citizen) students by level of education, programme destination, programme orientation, foreign or international category, and country of origin	2005-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Distribution of graduates by level of education, programme destination, programme duration, programme orientation, type of institution, type of counts	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	yes	p		qu/perf	abs	
Distribution of graduates by level of education, programme destination, programme duration, programme orientation, field of education	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	no	p		qu/perf	abs	
Distribution of new entrants by level of education, programme destination	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	yes	p		enr	abs	
Distribution of students aligned to finance or personnel data by level of education, programme orientation, type of institution, intensity of participation	2002-2009	yes, but just OECD members	no	no	p	enr		abs	
Distribution of all students and adults education programmes) by level of education (ISCED levels 2 and 3), programme destination, programme orientation, part time/full time scale	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	15, 16,17, 18, 19, 15 to 19	p		enr	abs	

Distribution of all students and students in adult education programmes by level of education, programme destination, programme orientation, part time/full time scale, type of institution	1998-2009	yes, but just OECD members	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
OECD/PISA					p				
Proportion of 15-year-old students with an immigrant background	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p	dem		%	
Share of students in their country whose PISA index of economic, social and cultural status is below -1	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p	dem		%	
Reading mean and distribution of students performance by reading and reading subscales (deminuous texts, non-deminuous texts, access and retrieve, integrate and interpret, reflect and evaluate)	2009	OECD/PISA country level	yes	15	p		qu/perf		Other 1
Mathematics mean and distribution of students performance	2009	OECD/PISA country level	yes	15	p		qu/perf		Other 1
Science mean and distribution of students performance	2009	OECD/PISA country level	yes	15	p		qu/perf		Other 1
Proficiency levels by reading and reading subscales (continuous texts, non-continuous texts, access and retrieve, integrate and interpret, reflect and evaluate)	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	%	
Proficiencylevels: Mathematics	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	%	
Proficiencylevels: Science	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	%	
Range of rank by reading and reading subscales (continuous texts, non-continuous texts, access and retrieve, integrate and interpret, reflect and evaluate)	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	abs	
Range of rank (Mathematics)	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	abs	
Range of rank (Science)	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf	abs	
Variation in student performance in reading	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf		Other 2
Mean and distribution of students by socio-economic background	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p	dem			Other 3
Impact of socio-economic background on reading performance	2009	OECD/PISA country level	no	15	p		qu/perf		Other 4
UNESCO					p				
Duration of compulsoryeducation	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	org		abs	

Starting age of compulsory education	1998-2011	yes	no	yes	p	org		abs	
Ending age of compulsory education	1998-2011	yes	no	yes	p	org		abs	
Entranceage of 2A	1998-2011	yes	no	yes	p	org		abs	
Duration of 2A	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	org		abs	
School agepopulation. Secondary.	1970-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
School age population. Lower secondary, upper secondary, post-secondary	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in lower secondary. Public and private. All, general, technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in lower secondary. Public. All, general, technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in upper secondary. Public and private. All, general, technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in upper secondary. Public. All, general, technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in total secondary. Public and private. All.	1970-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in total secondary. Public and private. General, Technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in total secondary. Public. All, General, Technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in post-secondary non tertiary. Public, Public and private. All.	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in secondary by grade (from 1 to 10).	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Enrolment in secondary. All grades.	1970-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Repeaters in secondary. All grades, by grade (1 to 10)	1970-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Teaching staff in lower secondary. Public and private. Full and part-time. Allprogrammes, General programmes, Technical/vocationalprogrammes.	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p	st		abs	
Teaching staff in upper secondary. Public and private. Full and part-time. All, General, Technical/vocational.	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p	st		abs	
Teaching staff in total secondary. Public and private. Full and part-time. Allprogrammes, General programmes, Technical/vocationalprogrammes.	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p	st		abs	

Teaching staff in post-secondary. Public and private. Full and part-time. All, General, Technical/vocational.	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p	st		abs	
Gross enrolment ratio. Secondary, Lower secondary, Upper secondary. All.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Gender parity index gross enrolment ratio. Secondary, Lower secondary, Upper secondary. All.	1998-2011	yes	f/m	no	p		enr	%	
Technical/vocational enrolment in ISCED level 2, 3, 2 and 3 as % of total enrolment in ISCED 2, 3, 2 and 3	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p		enr	%	
Percentage of female students. Total secondary. General, Technical/vocational	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	%	
Percentage of female students. Post secondary non tertiary	1998-2011	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	%	
Net enrolment rate. Secondary. All.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Gender parity index for net enrolment rate. Secondary	1998-2011	yes	f/m	no	p		enr	%	
Under-ageenrolment ratio.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Over-ageenrolment ratio.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Percentage of private enrolment. Secondary, Lower secondary (general, technical/vocational), upper secondary (general, technical/vocational)	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p		enr	%	
Out of school rate for children of lower secondary school age.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Out of school children of lower secondary school age.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	abs	
Percentage of repeaters in secondary by grade (1 to 8), all grades	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Pupil-teacher ratio. Lower secondary, Upper secondary, Secondary	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	edu		%	
Percentage of female teachers. Lower secondary, Upper secondary, Secondary	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p	st		%	
Percentage of trained teachers. Lower secondary, upper secondary, ISCED 2 and 3, total secondary	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p	st		%	
Gender parity index for % of trained teachers. Lower secondary, Upper secondary, Secondary	1998-2011	yes	f/m	no	p	st		%	
Gross entry ratio to lower secondary, general.	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Gross lower graduation ratio, all, general	1998-2011	yes	yes	no	p		qu/perf	%	

Public expenditure per pupil as % of GDP per capita. Secondary	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Public expenditure on education as % of GDP, as % of tot government expenditure, as % of GNI	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Tot expenditure on educational institutions and administration as % of GDP. All sources, Public sources, Private sources. Secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Educational expenditure in lower secondary, upper secondary, post-secondary as % of total educational expenditure	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Public current expenditure on education as % of total current government expenditure, as % of total public expenditure	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Current expenditure on education as % of GNI	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Percentage distribution of public current expenditure on education by level, by level post-secondary	1998-2011	yes	no	no	p	fund		%	
Entranceage of 2A	1970-1997	yes	no	no	p	org		abs	
Duration of lower secondary education	1970-1997	yes	no	no	p	org		abs	
Percentage of female students. Total secondary. All, General, Technical/vocational	1970-1997	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	%	
Enrolment in total secondary. Public and private. Technical/vocational.	1970-1997	yes	tot, f	no	p		enr	abs	
Technical/vocational enrolment in ISCED 2 and 3 as % of total enrolment in ISCED 2 and 3	1970-1997	yes	no	no	p		enr	%	
Gender parity index for gross enrolment ratio. Secondary. All.	1970-1997	yes	yes	no	p		enr	%	
Teaching staff in tot secondary. Public and private. Full and part-time. All.	1970-1997	yes	tot, f	no	p	st		abs	
Percentage of female teachers. Secondary	1970-1997	yes	f	no	p	st		%	
Pupil-teacher ratio. Secondary	1970-1997	yes	no	no	p	edu		%	
WORLD BANK					s				
Expenditure per students. Secondary (% of GDP per capita)	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	fund		%	
Literacy rate. Adult	1980-2011	yes	yes	15 and above	s	dem		%	

Literacy rate. Youth.	1980-2011	yes	yes	15-24	s		qu/perf	%	
Progression to secondaryschool.	1980-2011	yes	yes	no	s		enr	%	
Public spending on education. Tot (% of GDP)	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	fund		%	
Public expenditure on education. Tot (% of government expenditure)	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	fund		%	
Pupil-teacher ratio. Secondary	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	edu		%	
Ratio of female to male secondary enrolment	1980-2011	yes	f/m	no	s		enr	%	
Repeaters, secondary	1980-2011	yes	f	no	s		enr	%	
School enrolment, secondary, gross	1980-2011	yes	yes	no	s		enr	%	
School enrolment, secondary, net	1980-2011	yes	yes	no	s		enr	%	
School enrolment, secondary, private (of tot enrolment)	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s		enr	%	
Secondaryeducation, duration	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	org		abs	
Secondaryeducation, general pupils	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s		enr	abs	
Secondaryeducation, general pupils	1980-2011	yes	f	no	s		enr	%	
Secondaryeducation, pupils	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s		enr	abs	
Secondaryeducation, pupils	1980-2011	yes	f	no	s		enr	%	
Secondaryeducation, teachers	1980-2011	yes	no	no	s	st		abs	
Secondaryeducation, teachers	1980-2011	yes	f	no	s	st		%	
Secondaryeducation, teachers	1980-2011	yes	f	no	s	st		abs	
Secondaryeducation, vocationalpupils	1980-2011	yes	tot, f	no	s		enr	abs	
Secondaryschoolstartingage	1980-2011	yes	no	yes	s	org		abs	

Key to table abbreviations

Data:

p = primary

s = secondary

Type of indicator:

- input = financial, physical, human and processes resources

  st = staff: teacher and management staff

  dem = population and its composition

  edu = educational processes: taught time, grouping and class size and assessments

  fund = funding: public and private expenses for education

  org = organisation: education systems' structure of the various European countries

- outcome = access to public services and impact

  qu/perf = qualification/performances: students' qualification levels and performances

  enr = students' enrolment

Type of info:

- quant info = quantitative information

  % = relative values

  abs = absolute values

- qual info = qualitative information

  Other 1 = All students mean score, All students S.D., Boys mean score, Girls mean score, Score difference B-G, 5th percentile score, 95 th percentile score, All students mean score S.E., All students S.D. S.E., Boys mean score S.E., Girls mean score S.E., Score difference B-G S.E., 5th percentile score S.E., 95th percentile score S.E.

  Other 2 = total variance in SP between schools, total variance in Sp within schools, between-school variance explained, within-school variance explained, mean score, mean score S.E.

  Other 3 = 5th percentile of ESCS, bottom end of 95th percentile of ESCS, mean ESCS, top end of 95% confidence interval of the mean, 95th percentile of the ESCS.

  Other 4 = relative% of explained variance in student performance, % of explained variance in student performance S.E., mean score, legend, mean score S.E.

Glossary

EACEA = EU Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency in Brussels

ESCS = Economic, Social and Cultural Background

GDP = Gross Domestic Product

GEN = General. It refers to general upper secondary education level.

GNI = Gross National Index

ISCED = The International Standard Classification of Education. 1997 version:

- ISCED 0: Pre-primary education
- ISCED 1: Primary education
- ISCED 2: Lower secondary education
- ISCED 3: Upper secondary education
- ISCED 4: Post-secondary non-tertiary education
- ISCED 5: Tertiary education (first stage)
- ISCED 6: Tertiary education (second stage)

NEET = Not in Education, Employment or Training

NUTS =Nomenclature des UnitésTerritorialesStatistiques or Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics

OECD = Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment

UIS =UNESCO Institute of Statistics

UNESCO = United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural, Organisation

VOC = Vocational. It refers to vocational upper secondary education level

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