

COST Action CA17114

**Transdisciplinary solutions to
cross sectoral disadvantage
in youth (YOUNG-IN)**

WG5



Working paper series

Youth-oriented policies beyond ideal-typical welfare regimes in Europe:

Situation and initiatives from the perspective of youth transition regimes

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This WP series contributes to the main aims of YOUNG-IN and WG5 (Knowledge-based social investment policy for youth) by aiming to:

- 1) Describe today's situation of youth in our nine case countries based on characteristics perceived to be the most relevant by the literature of Youth Transition Regimes (YTR);
- 2) Give an overview of the main policy initiatives targeted at youth within key policy areas relevant for YTR.

This WP is structured as follows: Part I gives a harmonised comparative overview of the existing situation in the analysed nine countries in comparison with EU28 (the analyses cover period before Brexit, thus kept EU28 instead of EU27). Part II consists of nine chapters about youth-oriented policy initiatives in those countries in two recent decades across policy areas especially relevant for youth (education, labour market, social inclusion, participation and housing). Part III concludes with an executive summary that compares the countries' youth-oriented policy directions in the modified framework of YTR.

The structure and authorship of respective chapters are as follows (current chapter highlighted):

► **Part I: A comparative introduction of situation of youth, Triin Lauri**

► Part II: Country reports on youth oriented policies:

- Youth-oriented policies in Bulgaria (BG), Veneta Krasteva
- Youth-oriented policies in Switzerland (CH), Berihun Wagaw, Matthias Drilling, Semhar Negash
- Youth-oriented policies in Estonia (EE), Anu Toots and Triin Lauri
- Youth-oriented policies in Spain (ES), Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes, Pau Marí-Klose
- Youth-oriented policies in Lithuania (LT), Daiva Skučienė, Natalija Mažeikienė
- Youth-oriented policies in Latvia (LV), Anna Broka
- Youth-oriented policies in Moldova (MD), Crismaru Mariana
- Youth-oriented policies in Malta (MT), Sue Vella
- Youth-oriented policies in Turkey (TR), Hande Barlin, Nilufer Korkmaz Yaylagul

► Conclusion, Anu Toots, Triin Lauri

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Part I: A comparative introduction of the situation of youth

Triin Lauri

One of the objectives of WG5/YOUNG-IN is to **map national practices in implementing youth-oriented policies and thereby to explore the opportunities and threats to enhancing the social inclusion of youth**¹. Therefore, the aim of this section is to give a comparative overview of youth in nine countries based on key characteristics of YTR in understanding the challenges younger cohorts must cope with (Chevalier 2016, 2017, 2020; Pohl and Walther 2007).

Framework

Several global trends and societal changes, such as increasing inequality, labour market insecurity and the fragility of families have hit young generations more severely than older cohorts². Some (Flanagan, Levine 2010) claim that the period of youth is therefore prolonged, whereas others (Biggart, Walther 2005) characterise it as a yo-yo-transition that makes young people swing back and forth between studies and labour, economic dependence and independence. This may cause a mismatch between lived realities and institutional assumptions resulting in young people increasingly withdrawing and dropping out of schemes and programmes intended to integrate them, initially, into the labour market and then, as a consequence, into society (Pohl and Walther 2007). The framework suggested by comparative welfare regimes' literature that focuses on regimes' capability to support young cohorts in the transitions over their life-course is known as **Youth Transition Regimes (YTR, Walther 2006; Pohl and Walther 2007; Chevalier 2016, 2017, 2020)**.

YTR theory analyses the access to financial independence of young people via the concept of 'youth welfare citizenship', which is determined by the design of welfare support (social dimension) and labour market integration and skill delivery (economic dimension, Table 1). These analyses distinguish between **the denied, the monitored, the second-class and the enabling citizenships of youth**. The denied youth citizenship does not provide young people with the means for independence as social benefits are familialised and labour market integration is selective. In monitored citizenship social benefits are familialised but an inclusive strategy is pursued in labour market and training, young people are still considered as dependent under close scrutiny, both through the family and the apprenticeship system. However, a high institutionalisation of the school-to-work transition might lead to autonomy relatively quickly and effectively. While the second-class citizenship relies on individualised support in combination with selective integration into the labour market, young people can

¹ <https://www.cost.eu/actions/CA17114/#tabs|Name:overview>

² This series focuses data before the COVID-19 pandemic emphasizing that even before the onset of the crisis, the social and economic integration of young people was an ongoing challenge (https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/youth-employment/publications/WCMS_753026/lang--en/index.htm).

reach only a certain independence, but of a worse quality than adults. Lastly, in the enabling youth welfare citizenship, young people are considered as independent citizens like any other adults in whom the state has to invest in order to foster their independence and productivity, through an inclusive strategy.

		ECONOMIC DIMENSION	
		Individual Focus	Structural Focus
SOCIAL DIMENSION	Individualised	Second Class YTR	Enabling YTR
	Familialised	Denied YTR	Monitored YTR

Table 1: Youth citizenship regimes

Source: Chevalier 2016; Pohl and Walther 2007; amended by author.

The empirical analysis from the perspective of YTR often covers only mature European welfare regimes, and as a rule the same ideal-typical countries are included. If CEE countries are included, they are often merged into one 'post-communist' regime (Pohl and Walther 2007; Hadjivassiliou et al. 2019), which seems inadequate today, 30 years after the fall of the Berlin wall. Finally, the EU's neighbouring countries are scarcely studied, if at all. Hence, numerous academically 'neglected countries' can be observed on which we lack comparable knowledge. Our case selection strategy aimed at capturing countries that have been rarely covered by mainstream literature, including CEE countries and countries outside the EU. The case countries are: Bulgaria (BG), Switzerland (CH), Estonia (EE), Spain (ES), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT), Moldova (MD), Malta (MT), and Turkey (TR).

The way in which socio-economic institutions structure entry into adulthood, leading to a specific youth welfare citizenship regime, and reforms, inspired by a specific growth strategy, contributes towards transforming youth welfare regime (Chevalier 2020). Therefore, for this WP series the framework of YTR serves as a heuristic tool based on which the strength and weaknesses of different types of YTR are conceptualised to guide us on what to look at and how to interpret the data, not so much as an end point of the analysis. Policy areas such as education, labour market and social inclusion are key elements in conceptualising YTR and are central in the analysis. Housing policy and youth participation, areas also growingly important in analysing social risks of younger cohorts (Forrest 2012; Rugg and Quilgars 2015; Pohl & Walther 2007).

Context

Proportion of youth

Figure 1 maps the share of young people (aged 15-29) in case countries, showing the share of youth in 2010 and 2018. While the share of the young cohort is decreasing in all nine countries, there are countries with both higher and lower shares of youth than the EU average. Furthermore, the decrease in the share of the youth cohort is especially sharp in Latvia, Estonia and Moldova. However, the share of youth in Moldova is still one of the highest among the countries analysed.

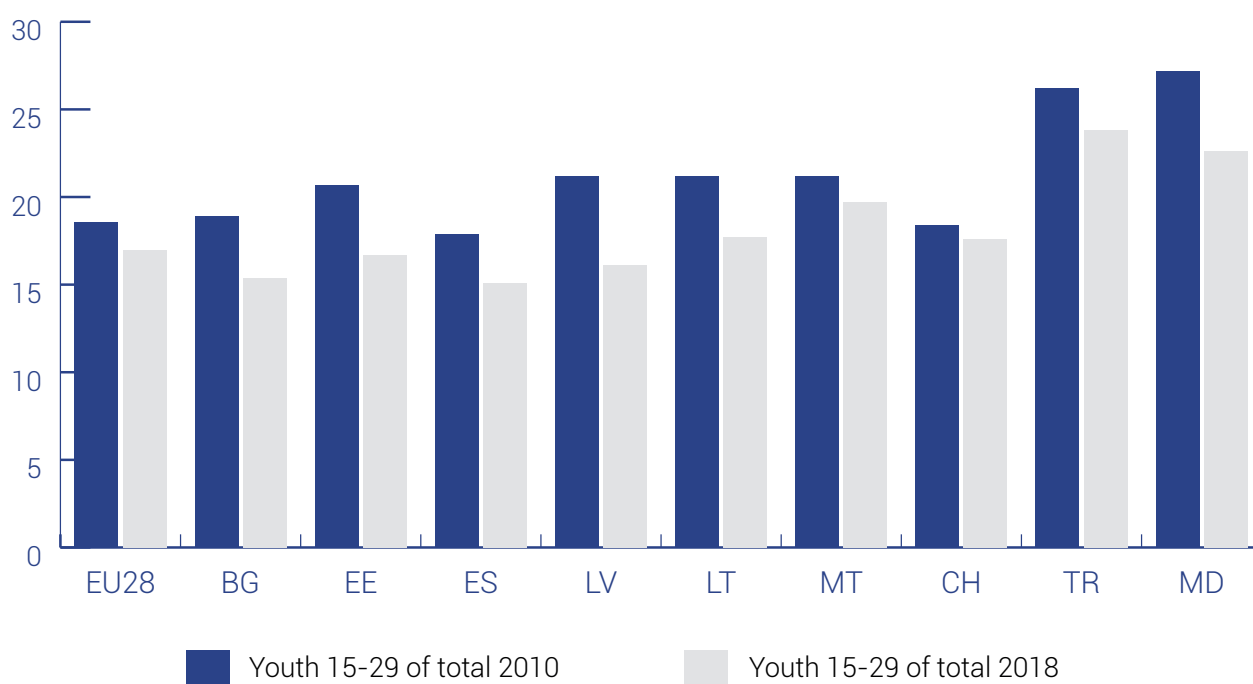


Figure 1: Ratio of young people in the total population, 2010 vs 2018

Source: Eurostat

Young people neither in employment nor in education and training (NEET)

The NEET measure, i.e. the share of young people neither in employment nor in education and training, has become one of the most common comparative measures in describing the youth situation. Despite criticism concerning the NEET measure (e.g. the group is very diverse), it is a measure that reflects the fragility of school-to-work transitions and, therefore, is very telling in designing youth policies (Hadjivassiliou et al. 2020).

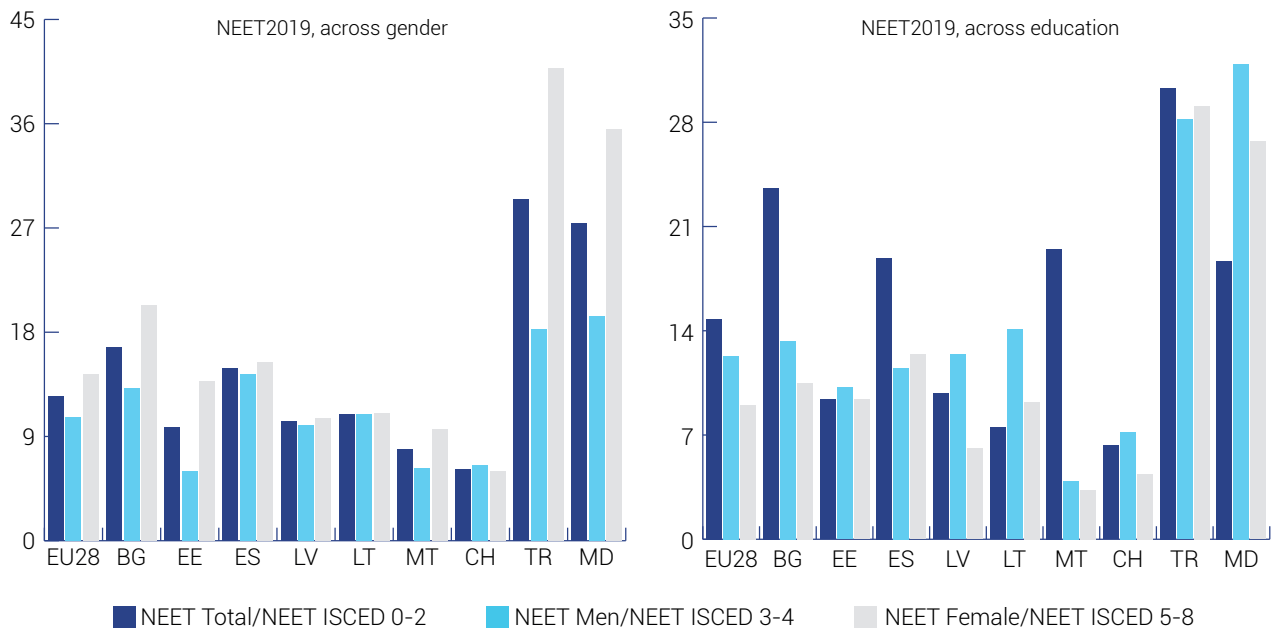


Figure 2: Young people neither in employment nor in education and training by gender (NEET) 2019, % of population aged 15 to 29

Source: Eurostat

The left panel of Figure 2 reveals that five of our case countries are below and four are above the EU28 average in the share of NEET youth, and this pattern stays more or less the same in gender comparison. In some countries, NEET shares are substantially higher for female youth (in Estonia, Moldova, Bulgaria and Turkey), whereas in Switzerland, Latvia and Lithuania there is almost no gender difference. In most countries, the lower educated (ISCED 0-2 in the right panel of Figure 2) demonstrate a higher NEET rate, but in Estonia education does not matter at all. There are some other country specificities as well, including Roma groups in Bulgaria whose NEET shares are many times higher compared to other groups.

1. Education

From the perspective of the literature on youth transition regimes (YTR), when analysing the role of education in supporting young people in school-to-work transitions, the question of education inclusivity, the role and design of vocational education (VET), and patterns of post-secondary educational funding has special importance (Chevalier 2016; Bussemeyer 2014). The literature of YTR distinguishes between 'learn-first' and 'work-first' strategies (Chevalier 2016; 2020). In the former, in order to ease the school-to-work transition, the emphasis is placed on education and training, which entails low school drop-outs and human capital investment oriented active labour market policy (ALMP), facilitating the enabling strategy of youth citizenship. In case of the 'work-first' strategy, the objective is to give young people a job quickly and re-employment measures are prevailing in ALMP.

1.1 Enrolment in VET

Vocational education (VET) has a special importance for young cohorts in facilitating the school-to-work transition and has been considered an important element in the inclusive strategy of youth economic citizenship (Chevalier 2016; 2020). Therefore, the share of VET compared to general education is one of the key characteristics targeted by the EU. The high prevalence of VET does not necessarily mean inclusivity, as a separate VET track with few transfer options can reinforce educational inequality (Busemeyer 2014; Busemeyer and Schmidt-Schmälzle 2014). Therefore, VET design and its integration with the secondary system in particular is, in addition to enrolment, an important characteristic in analysing the youth situation. In addition to enrolment and integration, employers' involvement in VET is important characteristic in evaluating differences in VET education and its role in school-to-work transitions (Busemeyer and Schmidt-Schmälzle 2014). Employers (or their associations) involvement in VET means usually that they have important role in apprenticeships of training schemes, help to determine the curriculum or decide autonomously about the hiring of apprentices (ibid.).

VET consists of initial and continuing VET (IVET and CVET respectively). IVET is usually carried out at upper secondary and post-secondary levels before students begin their working life, whereas CVET takes place either after initial education and training or in parallel with working life. CVET aims to upgrade knowledge, help workers to acquire new skills, retrain and further their personal and professional development. Participation in IVET contributes not only to raising education beyond lower secondary levels, but also to developing skills geared towards specific occupations in the labour market. Therefore, participation levels in IVET provide a proxy measure of VET attractiveness and are more relevant in the analysis of the social risks of youth. The left panel of Figure 3 reveals that IVET mainly takes place at the upper-secondary level in all the countries analysed. However, in most of the countries (except BG and CH) the share of VET is below the EU28 average. Regarding employers' involvement in VET education, the share of work-based learning in IVET (the percentage of upper secondary VET students that are enrolled in combined work- and school-based programmes) is high only in few countries (Switzerland and Latvia) (right panel of Figure 3).

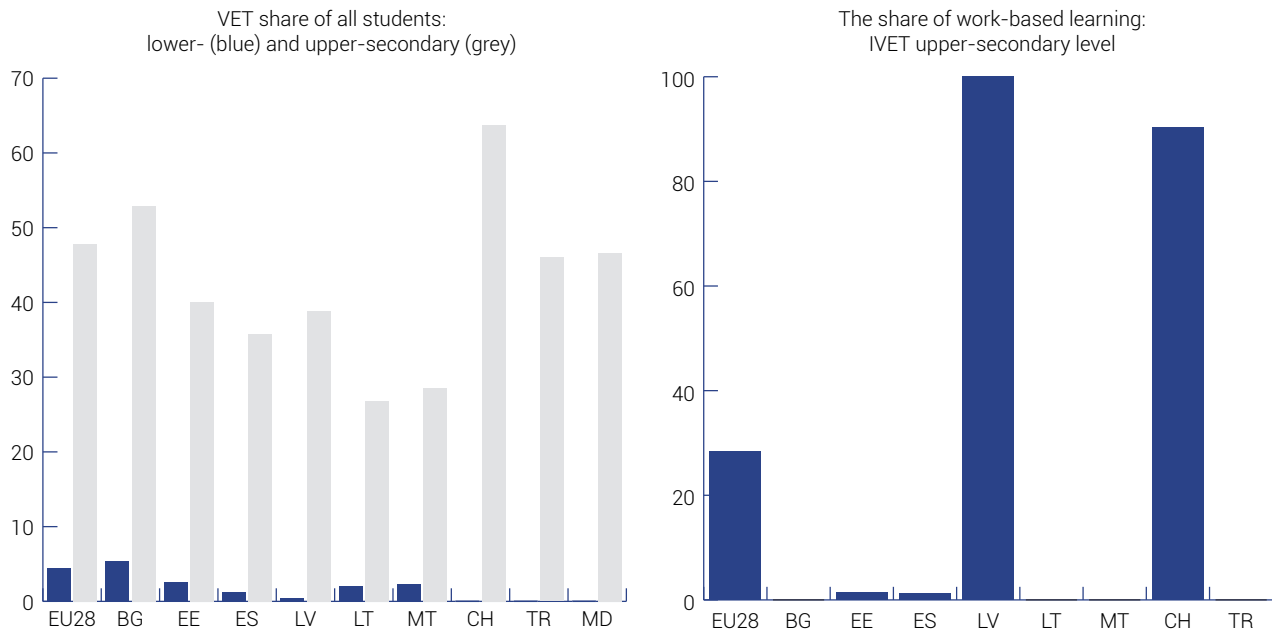


Figure 3: The distribution of students between VET and general education and the share of work-based learning in IVET

Source: Eurostat and Cedefop, data for MD Education and Training Foundation; data for work-based learning in MD is missing

1.2 Early school leaving

High levels of early leavers illustrate greater inequalities in the education system, since it does not provide everyone with a minimal set of skills (Chevalier 2016). Early school leaving (ESL)³ is linked to unemployment, social exclusion, poverty and poor health. There are many reasons why some young people give up education and training prematurely: personal or family problems, learning difficulties, or a fragile socio-economic situation. Figure 4 reveals the diversity of countries regarding ESL. In five countries (Bulgaria, Malta, Spain, Moldova and Turkey) the share of ESL is strongly above EU average.

³ The definition of 'early school leaving' used at the EU level refers to 'those young people who leave education and training with only lower secondary education or less, and who are no longer in education and training'. In statistical terms, European ESL rates are measured as the percentage of 18-24 year olds with only lower secondary education or less and no longer in education or training.

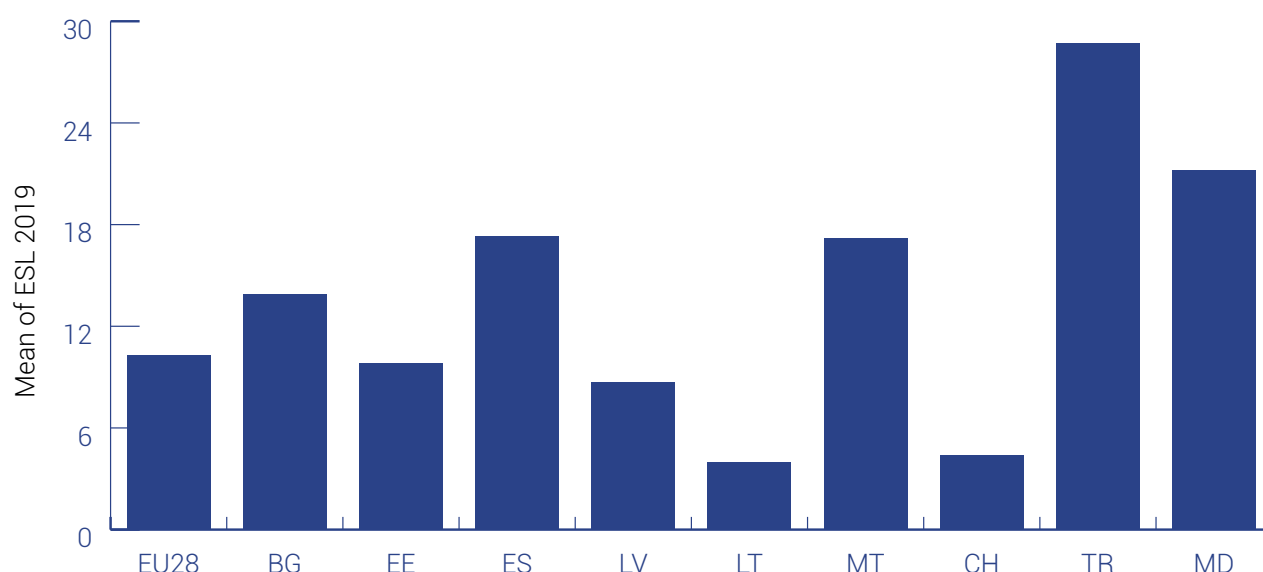


Figure 4: Early leavers from education and training (18-24), 2019

Source: Eurostat; NBS in case of MD

1.3 Educational funding

Scholars of comparative education and skill regimes emphasise that the role of VET relative to higher education and the division of labour between public and private sources in education funding are crucial dimensions of variation across countries' education systems (Busemeyer 2014). VET is one of the key element also in YTR. To what extent VET has survived as a viable alternative and the ensuing division of labour between public and private sources of education funding has strong implications for patterns of socioeconomic inequality. Strong VET opens up pathways to training and employment opportunities for individuals in the lower half of academic skills distribution. Still, lower commodification (i.e. lower share of private provision in educational spending⁴) does not necessarily mean lower stratification in education. In other words, even dominantly publicly provided education might produce unequal educational outcomes, meaning that different social groups have different educational opportunities, either in terms of achievement or access. Thus, in the literature on educational inequality low stratification usually means that different social groups have similar educational opportunities, whereas high stratification means that these opportunities are different. For instance, Nordic countries, but also Ireland, Portugal, Italy, and France have a low share of private provision and relatively low stratification, whereas US, Japan and United Kingdom have much more highly commodified education and relatively similar in stratification to Sweden and France. At the same time, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Switzerland, countries with a relatively low or moderate share of private actors (mostly captured by employers' role in VET), have high educational stratification.

⁴ Busemeyer (2015) has shown that commodification can take different forms. In VET, commodification often refers to the role of employers in the provision of training. In higher education, it might capture the extensiveness of the private sector in the university system or the level of household spending in the form of tuition fees.

Out of nine countries only Spain, Switzerland and Turkey have a relatively high share of private provision in their education systems. Turkey and Malta have relatively high shares of public funding as well, in terms of both total public expenditure and financial aid to students. In terms of VET expenditures, Switzerland and Turkey are the highest spenders.

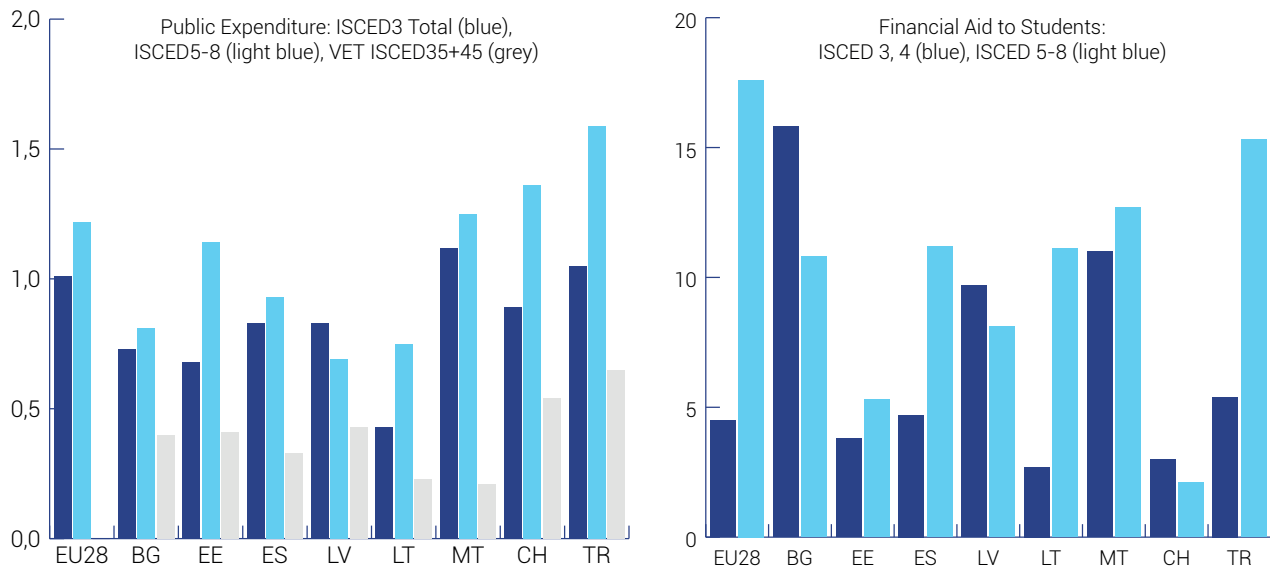


Figure 5: Public educational expenditure (as % of the GDP) and financial aid to students (as % of total educational expenditure)

Source: Eurostat 2017; data was missing in case of MD

2. Labour Market

2.1 Unemployment

In addition to education, the labour market plays a crucial role in youth regimes in structuring the route to adulthood. Youth unemployment indicators, the generosity and design of ALMP and employment protection legislation (EPL) have been considered as characteristics influencing the school-to-work transitions and the labour market fluctuation of youth.

Starting with indicators of unemployment, the unemployment rate is the proportion of youth actively searching for a job as a percentage of all those in the same age group who are either employed or unemployed; students are excluded from this measure. The unemployment ratio includes students as part of the total population against which youth unemployment is calculated. Because they are measured against a wider population, unemployment ratios are lower than unemployment rates.

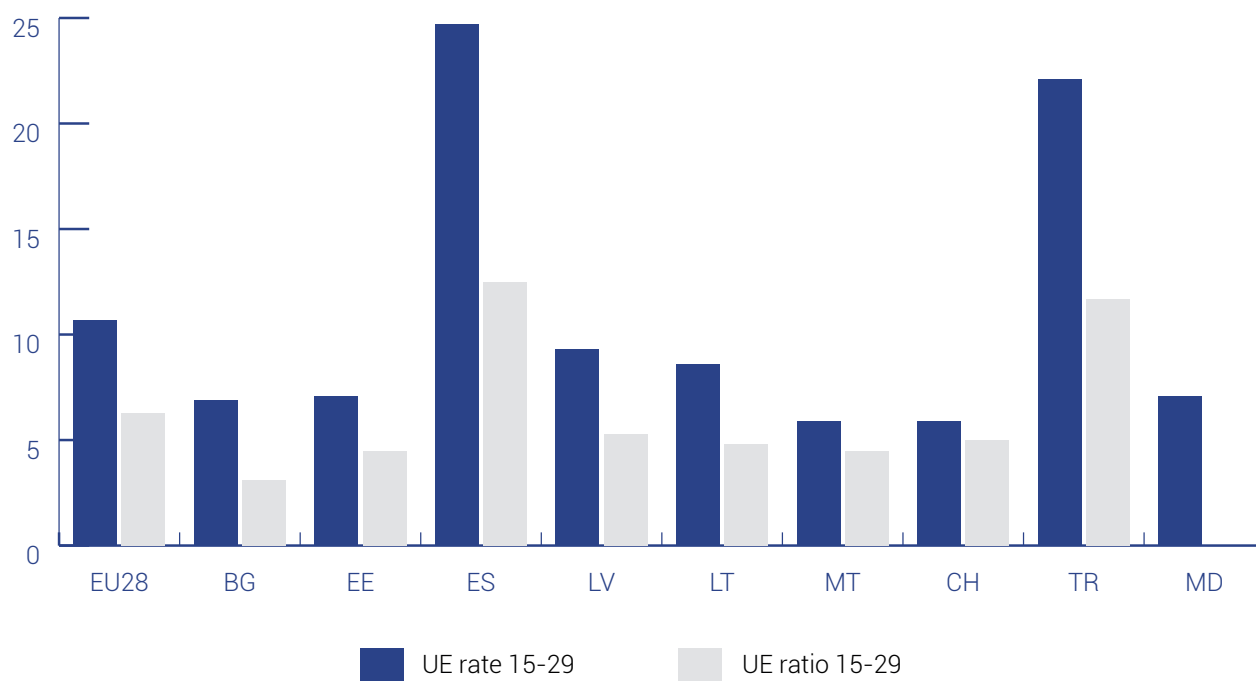


Figure 6: Unemployment rate and unemployment ratio

Source: Eurostat 2019, NBS in case of MD; UE ratio data missing in case of MD

Figure 6 indicates that most of our countries, except Spain and Turkey, are relatively successful in mitigating the problem of youth unemployment as both youth UE shares and ratios are below the EU average.

2.2 Expenditures of labour market policy (LMP)

The role of different types of labour market policies in influencing youth social welfare and school-to-work transitions are manifold, including compensating for job loss or insecurity, investing in new skills and supporting re-employment. Regarding compensation, the prevalent LMP policy instruments to offer financial buffers are unemployment insurance and allowance. There is a huge variation in the generosity of those policies in terms of the replacement rate and duration (Lauri and Unt 2021), with the continental and Northern European countries pursuing the most generous benefits.

Figure 7 reveals that Spain and Switzerland stand out as countries that spend a relatively high share of their GDP on unemployment benefits, both as a percentage of the GDP (left panel) and per inhabitant (right panel).

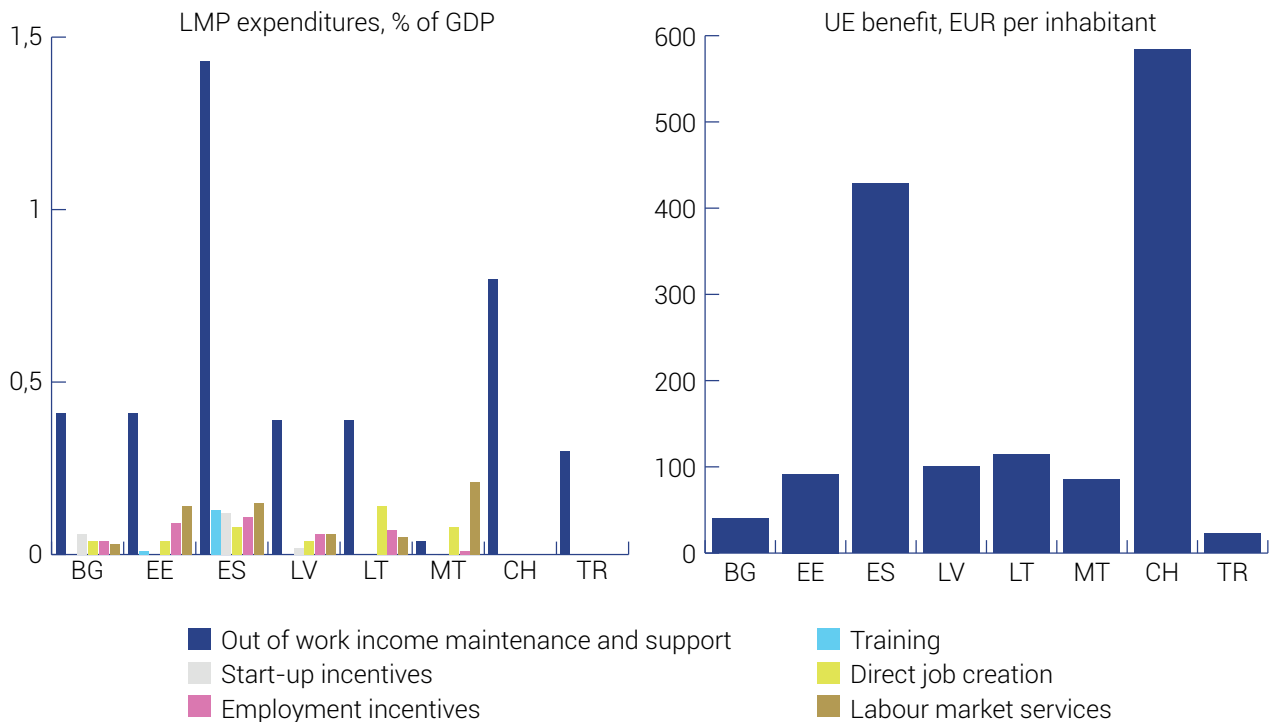


Figure 7: Expenditures in LMP

Source: Eurostat 2018; data was missing in the case of MD and TR; ALMP data also for CH

Regarding ALMP measures, youth regime literature (Chevalier 2016; 2020) distinguishes between inclusive and selective strategies, where inclusive is more training-oriented, selective more re-employment oriented. While in all countries (except Spain) ALMP measures are relatively low, Estonia stands out as more training-oriented, Lithuania more employment incentives oriented. Malta has the highest share of LM services.

2.3 Employment Protection Legislation (EPL)

Employment protection legislation (EPL) index evaluates the regulations concerning the dismissal of workers under regular contracts and the hiring of workers under temporary contracts. They cover both individual and collective dismissals. In analysing youth, EPL is relevant as a large proportion of workers in this age group are employed under temporary rather than permanent contracts (on average, in the EU 42% are under temporary contracts, compared to just 10% among workers aged 25–64⁵). While temporary or fixed-term contracts can be a stepping stone in the transition from education into work, they can also trap young people in insecure jobs, especially during and in the aftermath of recessions and crises, as they tend to offer less security. Thus, the strictness of EPL is one of the determinants of labour market dualisation.

Figure 8 indicated that while Turkey and Latvia have the highest level of strictness of permanent contracts (these jobs are well secured); surprisingly in Estonia, Spain and Turkey

⁵ <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/emcc/comparative-information/young-people-and-temporary-employment-in-europe>

the strictness of EPL is higher in case of temporary contracts. This indication seems to be especially relevant for youth in Spain, where the share of young people working under temporary contracts is very high⁶.

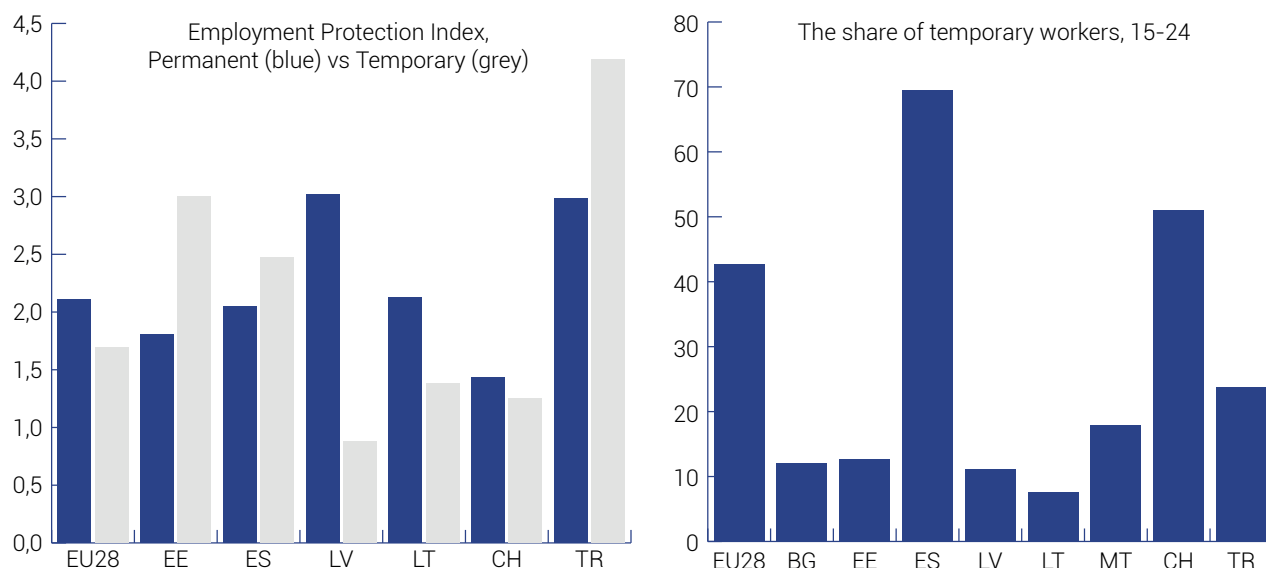


Figure 8: Employment protection legislation and the share of temporary employment

Source: OECD 2019; data was missing in case of BG, MD, and MT

Bulgaria together with the Baltic countries has one of the lowest shares of young people employed under fixed-term contracts in EU28. Still, the transitions from school or from unemployment and temporary employment to permanent employment might be hindered, as the contributions-based social security system makes young entrants in the labour market more vulnerable in case of unemployment or sickness.

3. Social inclusion

Social inclusion statistics (Figure 9 left panel), reveals that all countries (no data for Switzerland and Moldova) are spending less than the EU on average on social protection measured as EUR per inhabitant, with Turkey and Bulgaria being especially low spenders, followed by Baltic countries and Malta. Still, the right panel of Figure 9 shows that Spain is the only country where young people have a higher risk of poverty compared to the total population. Thus, even if Spain is one of the highest spenders, it seems that most of the welfare expenditures go to older cohorts or at least they do not cope well with the problem of poverty among youth. Spain together with Bulgaria and Turkey have the highest youth poverty risk.

⁶ Temporary employment includes wage and salary workers whose job has a pre-determined termination date. National definitions broadly conform to this generic definition, but may vary depending on national circumstances. This indicator is broken down by age group and it is measured as a percentage of dependent employees (i.e. wage and salary workers). OECD

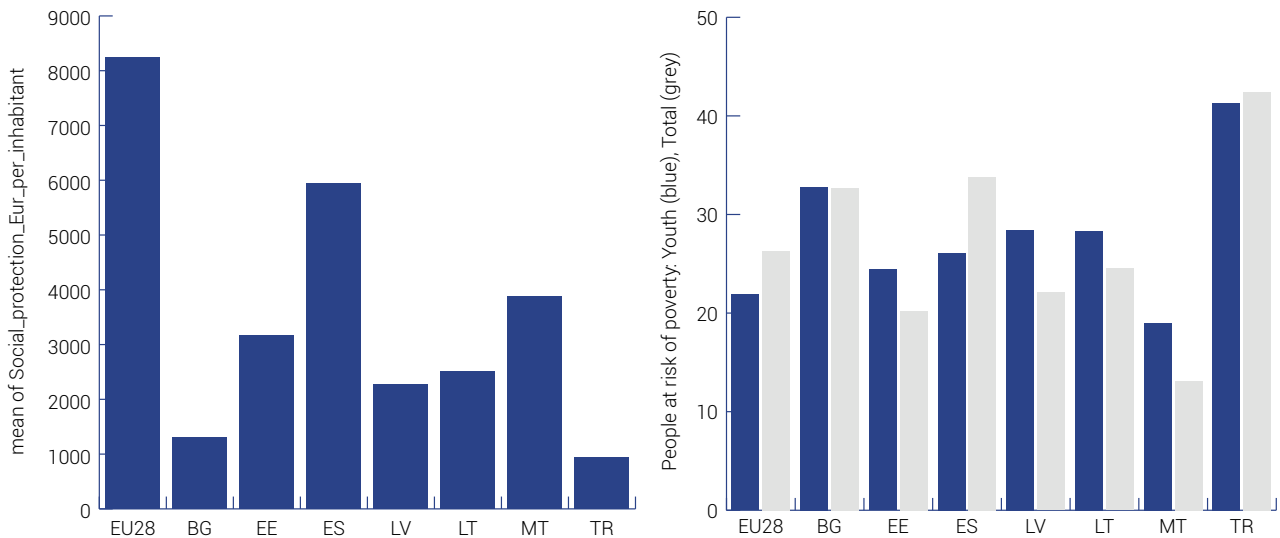


Figure 9: Social protection expenditure and the share of people at risk of poverty, total and youth (age 16-29), 2010 vs 2018

Source: Eurostat; data was missing in case of CH and MD

Gallie and Paugam (2000) have emphasised that in addition to employment regimes (i.e. the mix of labour market policies designed to mitigate the risks related to (un)-employment) family resident models are relevant to youth well-being. Besides policies, the nature of the family might have an effect on how youth experience unemployment (Gallie and Paugam 2000). According to this framework the extended family model – that is, living for a longer period with parents and grandparents – tends to compensate for the negative consequences of unemployment on well-being in both financial and social terms.

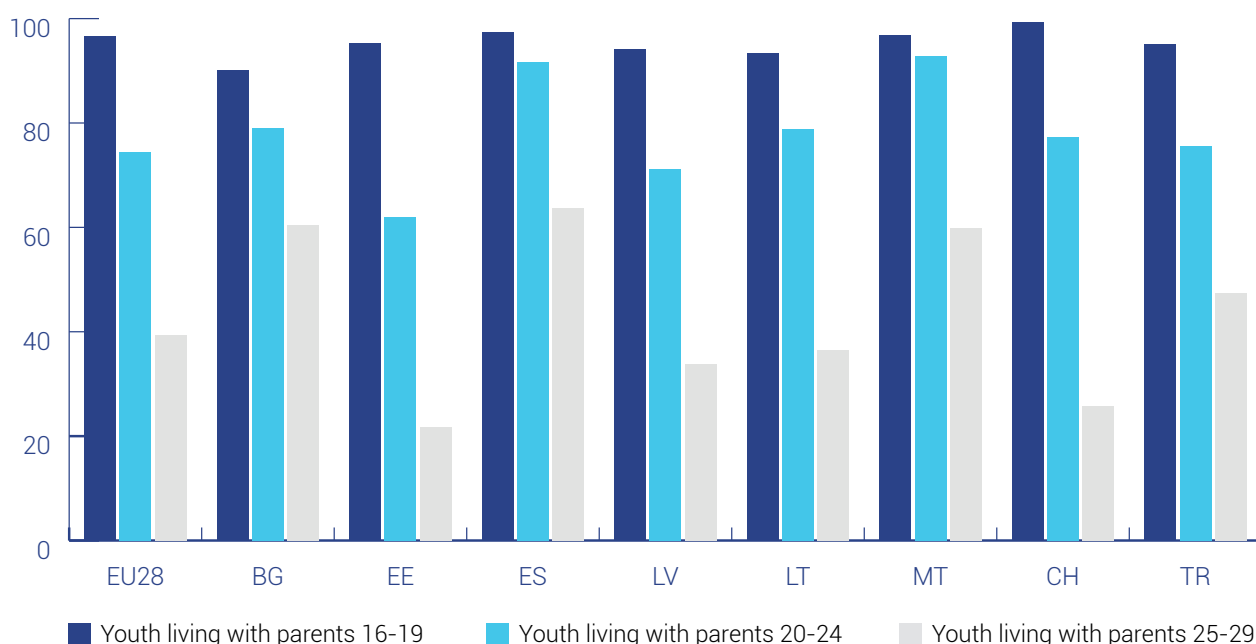


Figure 10: Youth living with parents, %

Source: Eurostat; data was missing in case of MD

Figure 10 indicates that there are remarkable differences in countries' family residential models. In Spain three times more youths (more than 60%) are living with parents compared to Estonia and Switzerland. As indicated above, the tendency to live with parents for longer than 15 years might serve as a buffer in mitigating risks related to the labour market, however, it might at the same time hinder youth independence and agency. Furthermore, the descriptive explorative analysis does not confirm the buffering effect neither, as Spain combines the highest share of extended family residence and highest share of young people at the risk of poverty.

4. Housing

While the literature on YTR hardly covers housing, the scholarly interest towards housing precariousness has increased dramatically in recent years, and thus, it is relevant to be included into the analysis of youth social risks. There have been recent attempts to develop comparable measures (Clair et al. 2019; OECD Data on Affordable Housing) and two broad categories can be distinguished that have direct impact on youth life: the cost and quality of housing. Financial burden is the most common problem experienced, often coexisting with quality issues. Relatively low levels of housing precariousness are found in Northern Europe, while considerably higher levels are found in Southern and Eastern European countries (Clair et al. 2019). Eurostat defines severe housing deprivation as the simultaneous occurrence of overcrowding together with at least one of the following housing deprivation measures: leaking roof, no bath/shower and no indoor toilet, or a dwelling considered too dark.

Figure 11 maps the indicator on housing cost and deprivation. Housing costs can be a substantial financial burden to households and the median of the ratio of housing cost over

income gives an indication of the financial pressure that households face due to housing costs. An alternative measure “housing cost overburden rate”, which measures the proportion of households or population that spend more than 40% of their disposable income on housing cost, could be used. In our countries, the housing cost is highest in Bulgaria, Spain and Switzerland but stays far below the housing overburden rate of 40%. Still, the share of housing deprived persons in the bottom quintile is high in Bulgaria, but also in Latvia and Lithuania, while it is zero or close to zero in Estonia, Malta, Spain and Switzerland.

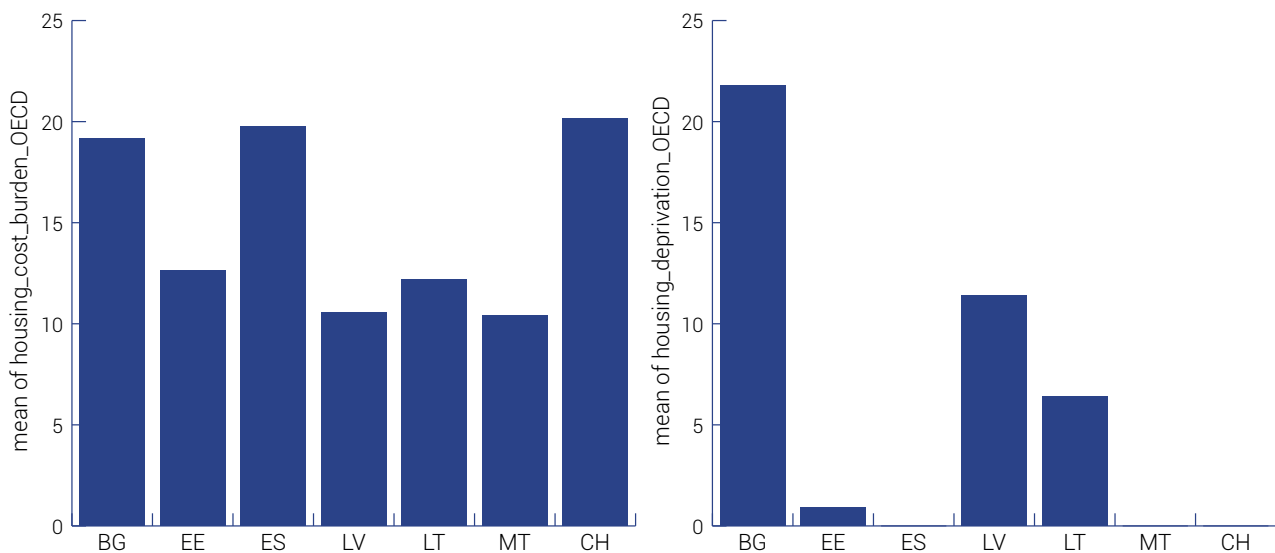


Figure 11: Housing cost (households’ housing cost burden (mortgage and rent cost) as a share of disposable income), 2018 or latest year available, and deprivation (housing deprived population in bottom quintile, 2017 or latest year available)

Source: OECD; data was missing in case of MD and TR

5. Youth participation in society

The MOU⁷ of YOUNG-IN emphasises that the labour market entrance of youth, as well as the consequences of labour market exclusion and insecurity are much more complex, in particular for disadvantaged youth. On the one hand, labour market behaviour is closely related to personal decisions regarding household arrangements. On the other hand, the position in the labour market has an effect on civic attitudes and the activism of young adults (and vice versa). Thus, in order to understand how well young people navigate various life domains and how the path to meaningful life is shaped, the question of youth agency is important to take into account. While there are signs of disassociation with traditional political institutions and young people’s lower willingness of political engagement (Eichhorn and Berg 2020; Syversten et al. 2011), there are also indications of new forms of participation and community service engagement (ibid.). This is a sign of young people’s more complex approaches to engaging

⁷ <https://www.cost.eu/actions/CA17114/#tabs|Name:overview>

with political issues and civic duties that are acted upon not only through traditional means like voting, but a range of options (Quintelier and Hooghe 2011, p. 729).

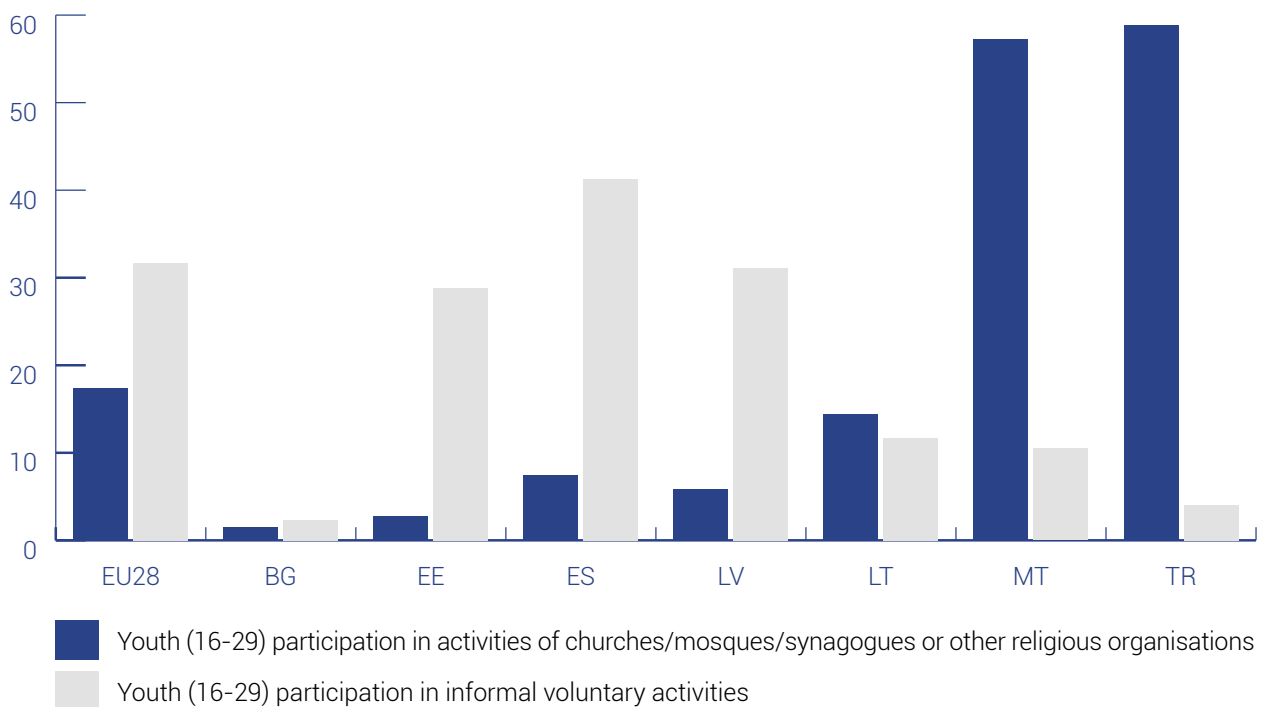


Figure 12: Youth (16-29) participation in activities of churches or other religious organisations and in informal voluntary activities

Source: EU-Silc and TurkStat, Life Satisfaction Survey 2018/2019; in case of TR data shows the level of interest, not participation; data was missing in case of CH and MD

As figure 12 maps Malta and Turkey are countries with a much higher share of youth participating in religious activities compared to the EU average and the other countries included. Participation in religious activities is close to average in Lithuania and relatively low in all the remaining countries. Regarding informal voluntary activities, Spain has the highest share, followed by Latvia and Estonia. Of course, these figures cannot be interpreted as direct signs of the level of youth agency, as these associations are more complex and often context dependent. For instance, the prevalence of voluntary activism might have different meaning in more individualistic vs more familialistic societies. Also, positive effects of individual religiosity on individual life-satisfaction and/or agency may not be intrinsic. Instead, people who place a higher importance on religion are happier when they live in a country where others do as well and where many people in the country attend religious services regularly (Eichhorn 2012).

Conclusion

The aim of this section was to give a comparative overview of youth in nine countries based on key characteristics determined by the literature of YTR in order to contribute to the understanding about the type of challenges young cohorts face in those countries. We

did not have clear expectations regarding those countries' membership in different types of youth citizenship regimes, as these countries have not been covered by this literature so far. Based on the presented explorative-descriptive analysis a relatively diverse picture of youth situation emerges. Regarding the severity of youth disadvantages, Bulgaria, Spain, Moldova and Turkey have the highest share of NEET, unemployment and risk of poverty. Early school leaving is high in the same group of countries plus in Malta, and housing deprivation is severe in Bulgaria, Latvia and Lithuania. Switzerland and Spain are relatively mature welfare states, however, the high level of social spending does not guarantee low social risks for youth per se, as young people in Spain are struggling across many indicators.

In education and training policies, Bulgaria and Switzerland deviate as having relatively higher shares of VET students at the upper-secondary level, and Switzerland, Turkey and Malta spend a relatively high share of public funds on VET. Thus, all countries, except Switzerland have a bias toward general education compared to VET. Regarding Labour Market Policies, Spain and Switzerland stand out with highest compensatory measures and Estonia and Spain with the highest shares devoted to training. Temporary working among youth is prevalent in Switzerland and Spain, and the strictness of EPL does not seem to have a clear association with that trend in any country.

To sum up and reflect about youth situation in the light of youth citizenship models proposed by YTR theory, Switzerland has characteristics of enabling youth citizenship route (Table 1) as VET is valued and well-developed and social inclusion relatively high. In Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania VET and re-training to support school to work transition is still relatively underdeveloped and employers are loosely involved. Furthermore, low social protection challenges independence and autonomy, thus these countries are leaning toward denied citizenship. Unfortunately, comparative data for Moldova are fragmented, but based on those, Moldova seems, together with Bulgaria, Spain, Malta, and Turkey, to fall into the denied citizenship model with a familialised and selective approach in social inclusion and skill and education distribution. However, it is important to emphasise that this group is very diverse, consisting of compensatory (Spain), more service-oriented (Malta) and low social spenders (Bulgaria), indicating the need for the more nuanced conceptualisation of YTR in the context of non-mature or non-ideal-typical countries. This is what we are aiming to do in country reports (Part II) and summary chapter. Thus, next nine chapters give an overview of countries' youth-oriented policy initiatives in recent decades. Separate country chapters are followed by a concluding chapter where an updated YTR model is proposed and concluding remarks made.

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