Policy/Institutional Factors of Youth Exclusion/Inclusion in the South East Mediterranean

Concept Paper for Macro-level Analysis (WP2)

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Abstract

According to the project Power2Youth, the macro level is "the level of state policies and institutional structures". The Work Package (WP) 2 aims at studying the effects of public policies on youth in four interrelated public action domains: employment, family, migration and spatial planning. In the light of discourses that orient policies and concrete schemes implemented in these four domains of public action, research at the macro-level will try to understand the processes and dynamics of youth exclusion/inclusion shedding light on how various forms of marginalization and domination (gender, social, urban/rural, ethnic, based on citizenship, etc.) intersect to generate inequalities among youth themselves. From a methodological point of view, various quantitative and qualitative sources will be used as resources for data, but also as objects of study to understand the various narratives on youth.

Keywords: Youth | Public policies | South Mediterranean | East Mediterranean

1. INTRODUCTION: THE COMPLEXITY OF A MACRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC POLICIES DIRECTED AT "YOUTH" AND THE NEED FOR A CRITICAL RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

According to the Power2Youth overall concept paper, "the macro level is the level of state policies and institutional structures […]. It can be described as the structure of the overarching system leading to youth exclusion/inclusion" and/or creating the opportunities for the actions of individuals (Paciello and Pioppi 2014:12). This leads us to take into consideration different aspects of the question, in support of our critical constructivist approach.

We propose to share the hypothesis that state policies are never youth neutral, as they are not gender neutral, or socioeconomically neutral, be they intentional such as policies explicitly targeted to categories of young people such as "unemployed graduates" (Emperador 2009, Tourné 2004) or "young entrepreneurs" (Cassarino 2000), or non-explicitly intentional (e.g., policies aiming at enhancing political participation) (Allal 2011). But we also have to consider the various forms of public action and state policies in contexts where the accent is often put on the "weakness" of the Arab state or, more precisely, on neo-authoritarian adjustments that undermine the welfare state *vis-à-vis* balances of power, and that contribute to fragmented and polycentric policies (Catusse et al. 2009, Guazzone and Pioppi 2009, Signoles 2006, Ayubi 1995).

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Policy/Institutional Factors of Youth Exclusion/Inclusion

Complexities of public action are far from connected *only* to the top-down workings of agents or stakeholders and government institutions. It is necessary to look at the plurality of actors and resources mobilized at the macro level, and to question the political participation of individuals or groups (constituencies) in the elaboration and implementation of these policies. This comes out clearly, for example, in the case of educational policies (Kohstall 2012, Wardany 2012) which show a tendency to become more internationalized and privatized. While public education systems are going through deep crises (Herrera and Torres 2006), private education is costly – and political instability in a number of countries has generated "lost years", leading to erratic schooling paths that become ever longer (and thus extending the duration of "youth") and interconnect in various ways with employment and labour market policies.

Similar observations can be made concerning cultural policies (Stephan-Hachem et al. 2010, Bonnefoy and Catusse 2013, Deeb and Harb 2013). Paradoxically, the efforts deployed by Arabic public authorities, albeit considered authoritarian, have remained modest in the course of the past decade, regarding mentoring youth through sports, culture and leisure activities. How are we to analyse the role of mosques, churches, religious brotherhoods, of clubs and associations that organize activities for many "young Arabs", both during their free time and for their entertainment, and in a perspective of mobilization, socialization, or even control or discipline? These schemes produce social integration or "inclusion", but also forms of "exclusion".

Military mentoring also offers contradictory logics for young men. Classically presented as a moment of socialization, integration and rite of passage towards adulthood, military conscription is far from constituting a state monopoly in the countries studied in this project; it may originate from various local, national or international public and political authorities.

Four hypotheses will thus guide our research work, and justify the need for a critical approach:
1. Firstly, public action is very complex, involving a large diversity of actors and scales of action as well as various forms of intervention (e.g., distribution policies, discharge policies, security policies, etc.).
2. Secondly, public action faces various sets of constraints, pressures and restrictions at local, national and international levels: constraints on resources, political alliances and constituencies, international injunctions, weakness of data and information bases, etc.
3. Thirdly, political stakes in the Mediterranean region are very widely publicized, dominated by the media, and generate an intense communication field. Stakeholders are in fierce competition for audience, visibility, recognition and legitimacy. No discourse (including statistics) is neutral in this regard.
4. Fourthly, far from being separate, economic and political rationales and logics are closely interconnected. Adopting a critical standpoint thus means developing a reading of "politics of policies", of processes of politicization of economic stakes – and particularly employment – as well as de-politicization of apparently proper political issues – such as elections, which are closely interwoven with patron–client types of relationships, themselves marked by economic stakes.

In analysing the effects of "public policies" on youth at the macro level, WP2 contributions will thus be requested to observe how complex stakes interrelate, and how economic and political exclusion / inclusion / participation / empowerment articulate (both in concrete terms and in discourse). They will need to put emphasis on specific logics of public action in each of the countries concerned, taking into consideration, as far as possible, the plurality of "public" actors and their scale and scope of action; as well as the way public voice is constructed, expressed and challenged among them. They will also need to be cautious towards the actual strength and effectiveness of public action, by distinguishing political marketing from displays, discourses and concrete existing schemes of public action. Particular attention should be paid to statistical tools mobilized to serve public action (Desrosières 2009).

Accordingly, instead of collecting data again, and (re)constituting databases that, to a large extent, are relatively open, we propose as a value added a critical reading of the sources available: not only in order to compare the indicators but also to compare the various narratives of youth exclusion. In this regard, sources will not only be used as resources for data, but as material in themselves, and objects of study. Attention ought to be paid to the producers of data (which organization, which standpoint, which type of data, etc.) that manage to contribute to the "mainstream" narrative or discourse; but also to muted, silenced or hidden sources and discourses, that do not make it into the open, and may tell a different story; as well as to processes of competition to reach recognition and legitimacy in the public spheres (see detailed item on methodology in the guidelines for country reports outline below).

2. DEFINITIONS

In line with the critical methodological perspective adopted, WP2 coordinators have chosen not to impose specific definitions of such concepts as "exclusion", "inclusion", "youth", "participation", etc. With a view of homogenization, initial working definitions will be borrowed from the general Power2Youth concept paper. From this starting point, we aim at uncovering the ways such concepts or categories are defined in each country, the ways they differ from each other from country to country, policy to policy, and even time to time (for instance, before and after the 2011 uprisings, or other political events). Above all, we aim to discuss from a critical perspective how particular policies generate and construct explicit or implicit definitions, and examine how public debate proceeds from these definitions.

Our hypothesis is that national governments produce "concepts", or rather communication tools to foster public debate and generate legitimacy to their action and policies. For instance, in Tunisia the proxy for exclusion has been "*zones d'ombre*", from a geographical and territorial perspective. Has this concept been modified after the 2011 uprisings?

The production of concepts, their uses, and the way they affect research will be discussed in the methodological part of the report, and during the workshop to be held in Beirut in February/March 2015.

3. WP2 RESEARCH SCHEME: A FOCUS ON FOUR DOMAINS OF PUBLIC ACTION

Within this general methodological framework, we propose to address four research questions in four public action domains: employment, family, migration and spatial planning.

The research will bear on these four domains of "youth policies" that intersect concerns relative to employment and concerns relative to political participation. We are purposely choosing domains that have been highlighted by recent political developments in some of the countries under study, but hardly mentioned as public issues in some others. The first two domains explicitly target "youth" or even actually produce and institute the category; whereas the latter two interfere in a more subtle way in youth policies. None is "youth neutral", and research will aim at uncovering how these domains affect, and are affected by, "youth", debates fostered around them, discourse constructed on their problems, etc.

"Youth" Employment Policies

These will include schemes aiming at boosting investment (e.g., young entrepreneur loan programmes, micro-credit schemes, etc.) or programmes targeting specific "youth" categories (e.g., young graduates, young citizens, young migrants, young unemployed women, etc.). They are connected with public education and vocational training policies, with migration and territorial planning policies, and rest upon underlying assumptions concerning the family, gender and class order.

Such elements as the development of free zones aimed at employing lower classes young women, for example, are important. Or the delineation of a category of "discouraged unemployed young women", who end up staying at home after marriage for lack of job opportunities or due to social norms and hindrances. The same goes for questions such as who is (culturally, economically, administratively) expected to be employed in terms of age, class and sex groups. Who is freed from productive employment? What is considered legitimate employment for which social categories (public service, self-employment, formal/informal work, paid/unpaid domestic care or reproductive work, paid/unpaid family labour)? Under what conditions is employment deemed emancipatory or alienating? How do honour norms influence legitimate employment for women of various ages? What patterns in school-to-work transition can be identified, again analysed according to gender, class, ethnicity, etc.? Are there schemes to "formalize informal activities", to offer social protection schemes to uncovered workers?

Family Policies

Family policies not only contribute to generate categories for public action (children, young people, active persons, retired workers, housewives, dependent persons, etc.), but also contribute to articulating intergenerational issues (in terms of social protection, pension schemes, gender policies, etc.). In this regard, family policies will be understood either in explicit formal terms (e.g., legislating inheritance, marriage, legal recognition of filiation and divorce, maintenance obligation, support to families with young children, or provisioning for care work etc.) or in a wider and more implicit sense (e.g., conditionality included in other public policies, incentives for family wage models incorporated in other policies or schemes etc.), depending on the situation in each country. Their implicit or explicit familialist character

will be addressed in terms of their assumptions towards and their effect on various categories of "youth" (Leitner 2003).

Cultural factors and norms embedded in institutions and regulations will be considered as well, such as legitimate dependencies (e.g., daughters on their parents or wives towards their spouse), as far as they also connect with assumptions regarding employment, empowerment, inclusion, etc. Elements such as the obligation to pay a dowry upon marriage also contribute to drawing dividing lines between sexes, classes, religious groups, etc., and articulate with desires to migrate. How do sexual and reproductive health policies and norms intersect with family diversification and young people's work choices? How is work/life balance thought of in public policies? Who is expected to care for the elderly (institutions, domestic workers, family members)? And how does this affect young women's employment choices?

Migratory Policies

Migratory policies may include schemes tackling national out-migration, as well as foreign immigration. At times and in some places they institute the migratory experience as a "problem" (leading to security policies, struggle against brain drain, etc.) whereas in other contexts they present it as a public windfall (leading to schemes attempting to capture or channel remittances, policies easing importation of cheap foreign labour force, etc.). Although they are seldom gender-specific, they often rest upon strong underlying gender assumptions, and have marked gender effects and implications.

In countries where labour migration and refugee flows are overwhelming – both out and immigration – migratory policies need to be examined as generating a determinant climate and institutional framework for youth: who wants or considers he or she is forced to migrate, and in which conditions? How does migration affect labour market competition, organize hierarchies, or free mothers and daughters (in the case of domestic employment)? How does it affect imaginaries of belonging and engagement, dynamics of political mobilization and participation?

Spatial Planning Policies

Both urban and rural spatial or territory planning policies are concerned. They include housing, transportation, as well as investment in specific infrastructures and Internet facilities, parks, sports equipment and cultural policies. These policies may contain and produce significant territorial inequalities, as well as social, ethnic and gender effects: how are public spaces constructed and experienced as gendered or class segregated (e.g., implicit inappropriateness of the presence of women, popular class members or racialized persons in some places, physical insecurity in busses, uses of parks, etc.)? These policies are also clearly interconnected with those discussed above, particularly migration and employment policies.

It is left to the national research teams to select specific schemes within each of these four domains, justifying their choice and mapping the scheme within the wider framework of the policy domain. Comparison and discussion will be constructed across the national teams based on their choices, their justification and implications. For instance, in Morocco, employment policies have targeted "young unemployed graduates", but the fact that demands are put forward by political organizations has resulted in loose definitions of what is called "a youth",

"a graduate", "an unemployed worker" or even "employment". In contrast, in Lebanon, "young graduate's unemployment" does not appear as a public issue, whereas employment concerns focus on a national-foreign divide that nevertheless conceals problems affecting youth in particular. Relatedly, various schemes will address migration within a specific context: in Lebanon, public policies tend to consider migration as a windfall, whereas in North Africa it tends to be presented as a brain drain, the expression of social distress.

4. WP2 RESEARCH SCHEME: FOUR GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the light of discourses (including statistics) and schemes implemented in these four domains of public action, we will try to understand how "youth exclusion" – and "youth inclusion" – are politically defined, and what political, social and economic consequences this may have. Our research will be guided by four main sets of questions, which will be addressed in the perspective of highlighting factors and processes of exclusion, inclusion, empowerment, controlling, muffling, etc. of youth:

"Youth" as a Concrete Category

By "concrete category" we mean an administrative or legal definition that characterizes a group (by age, but also according to sub-features, such as employment status, educational performance, income level, etc.) in order to target it in specific schemes. Is "youth" a category for public action, schemes and programmes in the SEM countries? What are the *concrete* categories generated and used in the existing schemes – including discourses and statistics – to point to "youth" or "youthfulness"? Which characteristics are mobilized to this end: age, celibacy, unemployment, schooling? Are implicit assumptions perceivable (e.g., gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, problem, etc.)?

Proposed objective: 1) analyse various cleavages and dividing lines hiding behind the so-called "youth" category (e.g., different age groups, socio-economic groups, gender, nationalities, etc.); and 2) examine how "youth" becomes instituted by schemes and programmes and whether it represents a concrete category for public action and macro-level research in the SEM countries, on the basis of the following main hypotheses:
- After independence, in most countries, the developmental states have engaged in active population, education and housing policies, but these have lagged behind, since public policies have embraced other priorities.
- Apparently "youth neutral" policies may reproduce and/or amplify previous inequalities.
- Social policy has failed to produce social integration and emancipation.
- Cultural and leisure policies have not succeeded in framing and institutionalizing "youth".
- Transition towards adulthood today is largely left to private and market factors, which tend to reproduce social, economic, gender and ethnic inequalities.

>> How could meso/micro research contribute to feeding the analysis of "youth" as a category for public action?

"Youth" as a Problem Generation

"Arab youth" has emerged in the media largely due to the "revolutions" several countries have undergone in recent years. Public consciousness has developed around their problems, and at the same time they have become a public problem, in terms of security, challenging governance, demanding transparency and democracy, inclusion and participation.

Proposed objective: illustrate how youth emerges as a public problem, a problem generation, in various social, economic and political fields, on the basis of the following hypotheses and questions:
*   The youth bulge and demographic perspectives: too many, too needy?
*   What is behind the emerging figure of the "frustrated and angry 35-year-old man or woman unemployed, unmarried graduate"?
*   Does it make a difference in terms of public problem, that "youth" be a man or a woman? Have men and women, different class or sub-group members expressed different versions of the "youth problem"?
*   A tautological or contradictory dimension to current definitions of "youth": is a married employed 20-year-old father/mother still "a youth" for public action and for research?
*   The Arab revolutions have been interpreted as alarm indicators for both "the problem of youth" and "youth as a problem"; how do these two perspective articulate, match or diverge? How do public discourses articulate with the voicing of the youth and their organizations?
*   Where in fact is the problem, and whose problem is it? Which media, stakeholders and institutions are disseminating the image of "youth as a problem", and what do the youth themselves have to say about it?
*   What are the various components, arguments and evidence of "youth" being a problem today in the country in question? How is this problem analysed (e.g., as structural, with youth being a victim of a changing economic or political landscape, or behavioural, with "youth" not acting as expected, etc.)? How is exclusion itself analysed and interpreted?

For this question, possible hypotheses could include:
*   Youth has been constructed (by whom?) as a sort of scapegoat for structural problems, such as lack of democracy and public space for pluralist expression of dissatisfaction.
*   The problems of youth are in fact problems of everybody that ought to be analysed in terms of intergenerational relations, competition for resources and power, rigidity of economic and political patterns, etc.; and examined in relational terms.
*   There exists a gap between the public construction of "youth as a problem", on one hand, and the way various sub-groups of young people articulate their demands and needs. And a major stake resides in who words the needs of whom (Fraser 1989).

>> How could meso/micro research contribute to feeding the analysis of "youth" as a problem generation?

Intersectionality of Factors of Inclusion and Exclusion: Does "Youth" Exist as Such?

The two questions posed above will feed analysis in terms of intersectionality. Intersectionality is the study of intersections between forms or systems of domination, exclusion, marginalization, hierarchization or subalternization. The term was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) in a feminist perspective and has since been operationalized to study how experiences of domination, marginalization or subalternization, initially considered independently, interact and reinforce each other. The theory suggests that – and seeks to examine how – various biological, social and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, ability, sexual orientation, caste and other axes of identity interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to injustice, social inequality, hierarchies, etc. The theory of intersectionality also suggests that discrete forms and expressions of oppression are shaped by one another.

In the perspective of the Power2Youth project, intersectionality will be mobilized as a methodological tool to study how various forms of marginalization, domination, exclusion, hierarchization or subalternization intersect to generate patterns of social integration for various groups of youth. The added value of our research will not be to reproduce existing discourses on young Arab people's exclusion, their lack of resources and their domination in neo-patriarchal societies; but rather to analyse what is hiding, or silenced, behind these apparently consensual views, and which intersectionality is at stake. We aim to examine how Arab youth "exclusion" – and "inclusion" – are made of several intersecting inequalities and dominations (gender, social, urban/rural, ethnic, based on citizenship, etc.) that need to be brought to light. A parallel question would be: to what extent, and in what ways, is the global category of "youth" a euphemism for "intersectional groups", and the issue of youth exclusion/inclusion a cover term for the result of intersectional social relationships?

Mobilizing intersectionality will also serve the purpose of shedding light on the ways the "youth" category is constructed, and at times euphemized, by policy makers: for example, as mentioned above, when public policy or discourse mentions or highlights "youth as a problem" or the "problems of youth", it is not a whole demographic age-range (however bounded) that is in fact pointed to, but implicitly the unemployed youth living in marginal areas. Youth unemployment, for instance, only concerns some specific parts of "youth" that intersect with gender, class belonging, particular locations, etc. As what and as whom are youth excluded, included, marginalized, etc.? Which intersectional groups seem particularly concerned? Which physical spaces, territories, are invested by youth, and which categories of youth? How is access (to places, public services, rights, information, positions, resources, etc.) affected by intersectionality of characteristics and belonging?

Intersectionality is an important paradigm for sociology and cultural studies, but difficulties arise due to the many complexities involved in making "multidimensional conceptualizations" that explain the way in which socially constructed categories of differentiation interact to create a social hierarchy. These will be discussed in the methodological parts of the research reports, and during the WP2 workshops.

Policy/Institutional Factors of Youth Exclusion/Inclusion

Proposed objective: examine in what ways the category "youth" needs to be deconstructed, and especially crossed and intersected with other indicators and types of social relations, experiences, representations and categories, in order to enlighten research on youth exclusion, marginalization, hierarchization and subalternization on the basis of the following hypotheses:

- Trajectories towards adulthood are very diverse, as are individual choices and subjectivities: being young is not a problem for everybody.
- Being young intersects with many other types of relationships, inequalities and cleavages: being young may not be a problem as such.
- Exclusion/inclusion affects various types of "youth" differently, especially according to social class, sex, residency (urban versus rural), etc.
- Research methodology at the macro level needs to critically interrogate categories, data and political discourses and look for relevant indicators (e.g., celibacy or divorce).
- A look into historical construction and transformations of youth-targeted public action and institutional framing of youth age groups is necessary.

>> How could meso/micro research contribute to focus "youth" according to intersectional perspectives?

The "2011 Turn" and the Impact of the "Arab Revolutions"

The simple fact that the European Union has advertised a research fund on youth in the Mediterranean is significant of the impact of the "Arab revolutions" on raising awareness about instability fostered by this "problem generation". It thus seems important to examine whether public authorities have heeded these uprisings – whether taking place in the countries concerned, or in nearby lands, thereby feeding a sense of potential danger for social instability. Part of our research will have to interrogate the "Arab revolution effect", or the absence thereof: have 2011 and the start of the 'Arab revolutions' represented a turning point in discourses and experiences, and in reshaping youth policies? Have specific "inclusion policies" emerged since 2011, either regarding labour markets or political participation?

Proposed objective: examine to what extent, why and how protests and uprisings have (or have not) modified the ways "youth" is represented in public discourse, and affected policies on the macro level, on the basis of the following hypotheses:

- The upsurge of the Arab revolutions has demonstrated the weakness of international organizations' development programmes: Arab "civil society", supported and enhanced for some twenty years, has been little engaged in the uprisings, and it has become clear that local development schemes, support programmes for young Arabs and anti-migration policies have remained largely inefficient.
- 2011 does not mark a significant turn as far as analysis, discourse and representations of youth are concerned. At the most, it has allowed youth to voice some of their problems, but in a fragmented way exposed to competition, and has contributed to raising awareness regarding the acuteness of the problems, but not to revising the former diagnoses.
- The "2011 turn" has shown that discourses as well as public action schemes targeting "Arab youth" in the four domains delineated in this work package need to heed intergenerational issues (among other things, from a demographic perspective: what affects youth also concerns the "old"); as well as intersectional questions (socio-economic cleavages,

territorial divides, regime authoritarianism, etc.).

>> How could meso/micro research contribute to providing evidence for a "2011 effect", or the absence thereof?

5. METHODOLOGY, SOURCES AND RESOURCES

WP2 methodology ought to be in line with the chosen scientific approach, namely a critical constructivist approach.

Sources and Resources

From a source/resource perspective, the contribution of the various research teams to this work package will be based on several types of sources:

1) **Quantitative sources**: data sets produced at national and international levels, possibly contradicting each other, expressive or rather elusive on youth as a category. They will be used both as such, for the statistics and data they provide, and as a type of "discourse" that contributes to constructing "youth" as a category for public action, representations, etc. Possible quantitative data to be collected could include (although not limited to): "youth unemployment rate", "youth unemployment ratio", "self-employed youth", "young employees with a temporary contract", "youth in the public sector", "youth emigration", "inactive youth" (e.g., young women), "gender gaps", "youth membership in trade unions", "membership in youth organisations", "youth participation in last elections", "number of young people elected to parliament", "young people's access to new technology", "youth enrolment in associations and civil society organizations", and so on.

2) **Qualitative documentary sources**: various kinds of public documents may be gathered, first or second hand, such as: policy frameworks, research or evaluation reports on specific institutions, financial budgets, constitutions and legislative laws. Existing studies and data will be used as sources in themselves, as types of discourses, as well as they will be reviewed through a youth-aware perspective to develop a general framework about public action on youth.

3) **Interviews** may be conducted, as complementary material, with relevant stakeholders and key informants such as ministries, state agencies, government officials, young people, businessmen etc. Each country team will be left to decide how many interviews are possible and relevant, and what kind of observation is needed.

4) **Public documents, resources and other qualitative material** (e.g., TV shows dealing with youth, specific words, attitudes, information/propaganda campaigns, etc.) indicating in what terms, under what auspices, "youth" exists, appears in the public space, emerges as a problem, is marginalized, etc.

Methodological Discussion

From a critical perspective, methodology will be discussed and analysed as such in the WP2 seminars and the final report. One of the challenges of this research is that it attempts to make sense of, but also to circumvent and find alternatives to, widely disseminated information sources and analyse them as part of a discourse. As mentioned above, instead of collecting data again, and (re)constituting data bases that, to a large extent, are relatively open, we

propose as a value added a critical reading of the sources available: not only in order to compare the indicators but also to compare the various narratives of youth exclusion.

In this regard, sources will not only be used as resources for data, but as material in themselves, and objects of study. Attention ought to be paid to the producers of data (which organization, which standpoint, which type of data, etc.) that manage to contribute to the "mainstream" narrative or discourse; but also to muted, silenced or hidden sources and discourses, that do not make it into the open, and may tell a different story; as well as to processes of competition to reach recognition and legitimacy in the public spheres (see item on methodology below). Particular attention may also be paid to dissonances, disagreements, gaps, themselves related to the institution, organization, agent, etc. expressing themselves on the issue: on what point, category, do they agree, disagree? What seems to be the circulating routes of information, opinions, and influences? What role do international organisation seem to play in terms of producing representation, figures and evidence? How is history taken into consideration, how does the passing of time seem to influence positions, data production and inferred causalities?

Participants are invited to keep track of their methodological problems and constraints, inventions and innovations, and to discuss them (both in their report and during the workshops) under at least the following angles:
- The availability of quantitative and qualitative sources, their quality and their degree of explicitness or euphemization in targeting or concerning youth. This may be taken as data regarding the construction of youth as an issue, a problem or a value.
- The need to look for parallel and indirect sources – and what these might be – as well as what added value they bring to research (e.g., pointing to contradictions, conflicts, competitions, marginalization processes, etc.).
- The added value of qualitative research: what came out of interviews, of looking at parallel material, which gaps, contradictions, dissatisfactions, etc. were brought to light by means of crossing both methodological perspectives.
- The way concepts or categories for action are defined in various national contexts, how they may differ in various policies, and whether they have changed when specific events occurred (e.g., uprisings) or upon a change of political regime, pressure from international bodies, etc.
- The way intersectionality may be operated in research: sources, resources, gaps, etc. What were the difficulties met in operationalizing intersectionality in research work (i.e., finding data, bridging facts, experiences and narratives to light, and organizing them into a multidimensional system)?
- The state of competition and communication struggles for public voice regarding naming the problems of youth and proposing solutions between various local, national and international stakeholders, in a framework of acute stakes for legitimacy.

A critical analysis of the categories used and the figures thus produced will then be developed, initially on a country basis and then on a comparative basis. In this perspective, the documents and quantitative data collected will be apprehended as producers of representations orienting public policies, in several suggested perspectives:
- In each country, what categories of persons are counted, identified or classified as "excluded" or "marginalized" youth regarding the labour market? What does the term "exclusion" mean in each context, or which similar terms are used?

- What is the density of available data, how is their production contextualized, which issues do they highlight, which do they bypass, euphemize, etc.?
- Who is called "youth" in these documents, sources and data? Do they adopt a demographical perspective, a sociological one, express a security concern, etc.?
- What implicit and explicit definition of "youth" is used in the various sources (demographic, sociological and political, regarding family policy, social protection, territory planning, migration, etc.)? Are these definitions consistent? How is the category constructed *a priori* and *a posteriori*, as a result of the studies themselves? In terms of exclusion, which sub-categories are implicitly or explicitly targeted or constructed?
- What criteria are being mobilized to establish "exclusion", "marginalization" or satisfactory "inclusion" (or something approaching it): access to employment? Nature and status of employment (temporary, self-employment, unprotected, etc.)? Social immobility, labour conditions, labour movements, social movements outside employment, workers' isolation or inclusion in unions? Poverty, consumption? What are the norms that are taken for granted in terms of inclusion?
- What emerges in terms of specificity of youth "exclusion" in relation to other social categories? Of young women/men compared to adult women/men?
- What can be said about the relevance, adequacy and public policy guidance provided by these quantitative data in terms of youth exclusion from the labour market?
- What do the quantitative and qualitative studies show in terms of construction of "youth exclusion" as a public problem? Are they consistent; what various positions may be read from them? What analysis may be built on their differences, in terms of construction of "youth exclusion" as a scientific (sociological, economic, political) issue? Can these differences be linked to the source itself (e.g., government, NGOs, academic research, etc.), to the methods used (e.g., constraints of statistics production versus constraints of quantitative research, academic methods according to the discipline, etc.) or to political matters?

6. GUIDELINES FOR THE OUTLINE OF COUNTRY REPORTS

In order for country reports to foster comparison and debate, it is suggested that they be organized according to the following outline, which will be discussed during the February/March Beirut WP2 workshop, and modified/adapted accordingly.

Basic Information (Introduction)

- Is there a ministry of youth? A National Youth Council? Which are the structures officially in charge of the youth, if any?
- Are there youth-specific programmes? When were they launched?
- What are the elements contributing to constructing "youth" as a public policy domain, a problem, an issue? In which aspects have the "Arab springs" played a role in this regard?
- Youth and the public space, the media, etc.

Corpus of Data and Indicators on Youth Available in the Various Countries

- Quantitative data selected for the report (e.g., labour force surveys, household surveys, DHS, etc.)

- Qualitative data deemed necessary and mobilized in the study (e.g., secondary literature, opinion surveys on youth, etc.)

Methodology and Methodological Discussion

As explained above (section 5), the methodological chapter of the report will articulate around three sections:

1. Presentation of sources and resources.
2. Analysis of the available corpus and methods used, according to the following guidelines, highlighting their methodological problems and constraints, inventions and innovations:

    - The availability of quantitative and qualitative sources, their quality and their degree of explicitness or euphemization in targeting or concerning youth. This may be taken as data regarding the construction of youth as an issue, a problem or a value;
    - The need to look for parallel and indirect sources, what these are and what added value they bring to research (e.g., pointing to contradictions, conflicts, competition, marginalization processes, etc.);
    - The added value of qualitative research: what came out of interviews and looking at parallel material; which gaps, contradictions, dissatisfactions, and so on were brought to light by means of crossing the methodological perspectives?
    - The way concepts or categories for action are defined in various national contexts, how they may differ in various policies, and whether they have changed when specific events have occurred (e.g., uprisings) or upon a change of political regime, pressure from international bodies, etc.
    - The way intersectionality may be operated in research: sources, resources, gaps, etc. What were the difficulties met in operationalizing intersectionality in research work (i.e., finding data, bringing facts, experiences and narratives to light, and organizing them into a multidimensional system)?
    - The state of competition and communication struggles for public voice regarding naming the problems of youth and proposing solutions between various local, national and international stakeholders, in a framework of acute stakes for legitimacy.

3. A critical discussion, apprehending the documents and quantitative data collected as producers of representations orienting public policies, in several suggested perspectives:

    - A critical analysis: how is "youth" constructed as a category? Who is called "youth" in these documents, sources and data? Do they adopt a demographic perspective, a sociological one, express a security concern, etc.? What are the institutions, organizations and collective actors able to access voice regarding youth? What seems to be the state of competition between them?
    - In each country, how is youth exclusion (marginalization, dissatisfaction, etc.) defined and constructed as a problem in institutional/policy discourses? What does the term "exclusion" mean in each context, or which similar terms are used? How is this problem analysed (e.g., is it structural, with youth being a victim of a changing economic or political landscape, or behavioural, with "youth" not acting as expected, etc.)? How is exclusion itself analysed and interpreted? What categories of persons are counted, identified and classified as "excluded" or "marginalized" youth regarding the labour market?
    - What is the density of available data, how is their production contextualized, which issues do they highlight, which do they bypass, euphemize, etc.?

- What implicit and explicit definition of "youth" is used in the various sources (demographic, sociological and political, regarding family policy, social protection, territory planning, migration, etc.)? Are these definitions consistent? How is the category constructed *a priori* and *a posteriori*, as a result of the studies themselves? In terms of exclusion, which sub-categories are implicitly or explicitly targeted or constructed?
- What criteria are being mobilized to establish "exclusion", "marginalization" or satisfactory "inclusion" (or something approaching it): access to employment? Nature and status of employment (temporary, self-employment, unprotected, etc.)? Social immobility, labour conditions, labour movements, social movements outside employment, workers' isolation or inclusion in unions? Poverty, consumption? What are the norms that are taken for granted in terms of inclusion?
- What emerges in terms of specificity of youth "exclusion" in relation to other social categories? Of young women/men compared to adult women/men?
- What could be said about the relevance, adequacy and public policy guidance provided by these quantitative data in terms of youth exclusion from the labour market?
- What do the quantitative and qualitative studies show in terms of construction of "youth exclusion" as a public problem? Are they consistent; what various positions may be read from them? What analysis may be built on their differences, in terms of construction of "youth exclusion" as a scientific (sociological, economic, political) issue? Can these differences be linked to the source itself (e.g., government, NGOs, academic research, etc.), to the methods used (e.g., constraints of statistics production versus constraints of quantitative research, academic methods according to the discipline, etc.) or to political matters?

Policy Analysis in the Four Selected Domains, as per the Four Research Questions

Beyond the research report proper, an analytical matrix may be produced as a synthesis. It will be discussed during the Beirut workshop, with a view toward constructing a comparative analysis.

Conclusions

- Concerning the ways youth are mentioned in public action and policy, including an intersectional view.
- Concerning the factors favouring or constraining youth participation and empowerment, in the selected domains.
- Concerning institutions (in the wider sense of the word, i.e., including norms, regulations, organizations, etc.) regarding youth: youth friendly, youth adverse? Again, including an intersectional view.
- Regarding conflict, contradictions (between generations, sources of authority, cultural worlds, etc.) regarding youth policies, between policies, pressure for change, etc.
- Regarding subjectivities and representations, and their weight in contributing to youth inclusion, marginalization, empowerment, inequalities, etc.
- Regarding youth agency for change, and their capacity to access politics, public spaces, etc.
- Regarding the role of international organizations, or bilateral/multilateral relations.
- Suggestions for complementary research orientations at meso and micro levels.

7. GUIDELINES FOR DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES OF THE ONLINE DATABASE

This will be discussed in coordination with the project coordinators. A standard format on how to compile the database (both for indicators and policies) will be prepared by IAI in collaboration with the leader of WP2 and sent to each partner. IAI will then be responsible to insert the information contained in the standard format into the database.

The first sub-section of the online database (Indicators of youth exclusion) was conceived to collect a matrix of quantitative indicators of youth participation in the labour market and civic/political life for the six SEM country case studies by year (2000 onwards). The collection of quantitative indicators should be considered as a common starting point for the research, which will adopt a critical analytical approach to these data in the final reports.

The second sub-section (Public policies and institutions) will describe a selected list of state policies examined from a youth perspective according to a standard format.

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POWER2YOUTH is a research project aimed at offering a critical understanding of youth in the South East Mediterranean (SEM) region through a comprehensive interdisciplinary, multi-level and gender sensitive approach. By combining the economic, political and socio-cultural spheres and a macro (policy/institutional), meso (organizational) and micro (individual) level analysis, POWER2YOUTH explores the root causes and complex dynamics of the processes of youth exclusion and inclusion in the labour market and civic/political life, while investigating the potentially transformative effect of youth collective and individual agency. The project has a cross-national comparative design with the case studies of Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territories and Turkey. POWER2YOUTH's participants are 12 research and academic institutions based in the EU member states, Norway, Switzerland and South East Mediterranean (SEM) countries. The project is mainly funded under the European Union's 7th Framework Programme.