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A report by the International Group of Experts

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SUMMARY

- In the present report, an international group of experts emphasize aspects related to the elaboration, implementation and the control of implementation of the youth policy in Spain as identified during two field visits and research at the end of 1998 and beginning of 1999.
- The following objectives were to be achieved: identification of youth resources in Spain and the manner they are used; an analysis of the youth legislation promoted by the Spanish Government, and the way they fit to: the present context of the political, economic and social life in Spain and to the present context of revising the youth policy in the Europe.
- The reports also includes the team doubts on the possibility of operationalisation of the youth concept as it was defined in the National Report: the population aged between 14 and 30 years old. This is, in our opinion, a justification crisis definition that normalizes facts that are social problems under the cover of considering the youth as a permanent state: the lack of housing, the lack of equal access to education, the lack of equal access to jobs, the incapacity to gain autonomy by age 25. These situations cannot be explained from the perspective of the post modern theory.
- The members of the international team of experts proposes a typology for the approach of the youth policy that is being built in four dimensions: the access to jobs, the access to education, the access to good housing conditions to ensure the independence, and the access to material resources to ensure the autonomy.
- In the issue of family and housing, in Spain, the family is an important resource for supporting the youth and two thirds of the youth are pleased with their living conditions. However the lack of own house keeps the youth in an anomic state because they are not ensured with the mobility possibility.
- In the education issue, the Spain has remarkably progressed, namely through the LRU, LODE and LOGSE reforms. Dysfunctions can also be found: the weak attractiveness of the undergraduate technical education for youth, the weak organization of the occupational training, the weak adequacy of the education to the market requests, the weak interest for learning foreign languages, the negative impact that the provinces autonomy has on the equal access of the youth to education.

- The structuring of the free time allows the Spanish youth to be a significant development resource for Spain. Basic elements in this structuring are "**movida**", "**pena**", "**paseo**", "**siesta**" and "**fiesta**". They are typical Spanish subcultures that support the youth networking, their involvement in the community issues and the finding of a self identity. The only critical fact observed is the weak participation of youth in the NGOs.
- It was observed that it is more difficult to keep the normal relations between boys and girls (sexual contacts, marriage and having children) .
- It was also observed that the trend of political orientation towards right wing ideology has increased. This fact can be a resource for solving problems such as "Enschufe" (nepotism) and self employment.
- With regard to the health state of the youth we have obtained few data from the National report to be able to analyze if the youth is or not an important biological resource for Spain. A relatively hard problem is that of drugs consumption: the number of youth that use drugs has significantly increased in the last years. The drugs consumption is also the main way of AIDS contamination of the Spanish youth.
- The Spanish public administration generates a youth policy appealing to an elaborated and relatively complicated system of setting the partners in a network. It was observed that there is a weak link between national, regional and local agents from the network. The civil society is also less utilized.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives

The elaboration of the Report on Youth Policies in Spain, by the international group of experts is based on the experience of two previous similar undertakings: reports on Youth Policies in Finland and respectively in the Netherlands. Therefore, the group has taken the opportunity to structure its investigation by taking advantage of the know how on successes and obstacles that previous groups encountered.

The group could thus set its objectives following achievement of the following items:

- 1) description of the resources regarding the youth population, description of the context in which this population is developing and the manner in which is being used;
- 2) identifying the way in which laws that fit the social context are elaborated for developing the youth resources;
- 3) identifying the way in which laws to fit the European context are being developed.

The group has analyzed the manner in which the Spain's Youth Policy is shaped by taking into account the local, regional, national and supranational spaces.

The main document used for our analysis was the National Report for Spain. The International Group of Experts has seen this report as a view point articulated through the cooperation of two teams of researchers: the ones from the University of Complutense in Madrid, that have "de facto" performed the report and those from The National Institute of

Youth (INJUVE), key actors in formulating Spain's Youth Policy at the national level. The second ones have provided the main part of the database for development of our report.

The undertaking of the International Group of Experts has taken into account a number of principles that were regarded as rules for the elaboration of the final document. Firstly, the need to have a "Spanish" view, a specific "Spanish" context, while speaking about the Spain's Youth Policy.

By paradox, this aspect is not implicitly found in the action of revising the Spanish Youth Policy. In the opinion of the International Group of Experts, the "color of the national specifics" was hardly found in the previous analysis of the youth policies (Finnish and Dutch). For achieving this objective, the group has decided to introduce as many references as possible to the frames in which the life of the youth population of Spain is happening, the frames that significantly influence the opportunities of articulating a coherent youth policy. These frames are geophysical, biological, historical or spiritual and they can indicate what is to be considered stable in the "Spanish sole".

Secondly, the group has used the resources of the international team of experts through considering the experience and wise of each member of the team. It is considered that even this undertaking was not implicitly involved in the team work but meant a specific effort. The main rule for the discussions within the team was that the debate should not obligatory reflect the consensus of the group but to show the different views arranged in a coherent structure.

In order to achieve these objectives, unfortunately we faced an obstacle that was hardly passed making compromises: the access to a final version of the Spanish National Report. The report has arrived just little time before the second visit in Spain paid by the international team, one month before the deadline for the Final Report, firstly in Spanish and afterwards in English. However, the National Report was never fully completed - the tables including frequencies and percentages referred to the above report were never recorded. The team should therefore perform additional tasks in order to find relevant data within other sources, all in Spanish.

1.2. Theories and Methods

The main information sources for the international group of experts were: the Spanish National Report, the INJUVE Research Reports, the written materials provided during the two field visits by the National Youth Council of Spain (CJE), the regional and local Youth Directorates. The group has also used recent international comparative analyses. These

information sources were used for both the primary and secondary data analyses, taking into account the objectives of the experts group.

The fieldwork visits were the source of the case studies that are covered by the present report. As for judging the objectivity of the expert's group vision, we have used in our work the concept of objectivity presented in the Subjectivity Theory by Guy Jumarie: to be objective means to correctly quantify your own subjectivity. In this context, as previously shown, the members of the expert group are observers that look to a "common sublayer space" (the Spanish Youth) from the angle of the "model individual spaces" (experience, culture, biography, intelligence, a.o.). Even this undertaking may appear as an abstract approach with few practical consequences, we will see that it does allow us to approach information whose validity, in classical terms seems to be doubtful. It is about presenting those frames that cover the specificity of the youth issues. Some of the information used are coming from tourists, from the informal discussions with youth on the street, or it does mean intuition that does not have a valid information support from the point of view of the classical sociological analysis approach.

The present report is a combination of information from the high culture (sociological surveys and theories, economic analyses) with information from the common culture (informal discussions, youth subcultures, tourist subcultures).

The team used also a typological analysis with property spaces in order to characterize the Spanish Youth related issues (presented in the following chapter). The "Weberian Theory" on "Law That Does Not Fit Society" was also used in order to identify to what extent the positioning of the Spanish Laws consists an opportunity for solving the Youth problems.

The members of the international expert team agree with the Dutch vision regarding the youth policy, as a system that involves four components: diagnosis/ monitoring youth problems, the offer of opportunities to solve these problems, prevention and curation of the youth cases in temporary difficulties. This theory was successfully used by the international experts group that worked to revise the Netherlands's Youth Policy.

2. YOUTH CONCEPT IN THE SPANISH NATIONAL REPORT

For the authors of the Spanish National Report the youth is a phase in the human existence that extends between the age of 14 and 30. The report states that "in this new sociological and symbolic reality, youth transforms its condition to change its "vital territory" from a "place of transit" to a permanent condition. To be young today embraces all those between the ages 14 and 30, although this latter frontier is extending in some aspects, especially as far as full emancipation of young people is concerned" (an independent home can be obtained between 32 and 34 years - n.a.). The authors speak also about "adjustment to the fact that youth is a long stage in a lifetime". In the thought of the authors this phenomenon leads to creation in Spain of two big distinctive groups, relatively homogenous: the young people and the matures, that in future could become conflicting. They also consider that this trend could be integrated in the post-modernist wave that characterizes today the youth of the Western Europe. From the point of view of the international team of experts this view is relatively strained. A dilatation of the domain of definition of the Youth concept is therefore made, in order to cover between its boundaries those problems generated at great extent, by unsolving of the youth needs at the economic, social and political levels. As the Spanish National Report states: "the age when young people leave home is the highest in the European Union: the average age for women is 29 and for men is 32. Since 1976, the age for starting work has been pushed back six years and marriage three. Obtaining a house in 1996 has been pushed back two years compared with 1994".

Defining the youth in this context, it seems to be a crisis definition cause it implicitly accepts the fact that abnormality is natural in the framework of many social problems.

The international experts group admits that post-modernism is a "slice of life" for the western youth, that must be considered. It also recognizes the "Eriksonian" thinking that regards, to an important extent, the youth as a biological state, where certain behavioral features are genetically commanded by the age 25: the impulse of fidelity featured by a hunger for models and the impulse of social and geographical mobility. If these drives are not fulfilled, young people become anomic (they cannot guide their life after firm principles).

The Spanish model for defining the youth sustains the idea that in Spain, the anomie is a natural state of the youth. The authors admit and do not admit this aspect. They say that the general instability is in reality, a condition of young Spanish's life but meanwhile they do believe that solving of the problem could be made theoretically through "redefining of young people's identity". In this case we face a "Mertonian" dilemma: *if you try to integrate yourself in a reality that is not worth to integrate, then, even though you will succeed, you will be an unintegrated.*

The problems of the anomie (named by the authors as "identity crisis") could be solved by providing behavioral models and mobility opportunities for the young. As we could see in another chapter of the present report, the Spanish youth refers exactly to this kind of problems when addressing the main sources of dissatisfaction in their life.

The attempts of the youth to naturally solve the problems that induce themselves an anomic state (limited resources such as housing, jobs and places in universities), helps them to diminish the stress. This fact is not generated by legislative undertakings but by the existence of Spanish frames deeply rooted in their daily life:

- solidarity of the community people and the attraction of the youth in the community life
- the importance of the family life and the close link between the young and their parents
- the high valuation of "free time"
- the high valuation of "friendship"

The international expert team does therefore considers from many points of view that the post modernist mentality does not belong to the mentality of the Spanish youth, less attracted by the post modern type of individualism.

The report considers that is more profitable to define the Spanish Youth concept in such a way that its operationalization to include also solving of the problems. This fact is as much necessary as in the youth matter, Spain is an important resource for the European Union: the highest percentage of youth aged between 15 and 29 in the EU.

To establish the domain of this concept, namely in a country that faces a temporary economic crisis, it is an issue that needs suggesting of solutions and not one needs suggesting of theoretical instruments to justify a "de facto" state. Moreover, this approach is thus more convenient in this context where the "de facto" state in Spain is changing daily. In the National Report the difficulty of this approach was correctly specified as follows: " the transition to democracy just at the moment of economic crisis".

3. PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH YOUTH

3.1 A typology

Using the information of the Spanish National Report the international experts team considers that the main problems faced today by the Spanish youth (age 15 to 29) are: housing, employment, education and material independence. These are problems because do directly influence the process of obtaining the statute of "autonomous person". If these dimensions are operationalised through a space of properties the following typology can result:

		GOOD MATERIAL INDEPENDENCE					
		YES		NO			
GOOD HOUSING	NO	1	2	3	4	YES	GOOD EDUCATION
	YES	5	6	7	8		
	NO	9	10	11	12	NO	
	YES	13	14	15	16		
		YES	NO	YES	NO		
		GOOD EMPLOYMENT					

The scheme includes successful young people or youth in difficulty but the significance of this typology varies according to the age category to which we refer: 15-19, 20 -24, 25 -30 or 30 - 34 for the possibility of obtaining an independent home. Generally, above mentioned are critical aspects of Spanish youth:

- 84% of the youth aged 15 to 29 are based on financial resources of their families (totally or partially)
- 77% of total youth live in parents house (only 19% have their home)
- 55% of the total youth are studying
- 42% of the total youth are employed, out of which only 36% can live from their salary
- 15% of total youth are studying and working in the same time
- in order for a Spanish young to live autonomously, there are necessary 31,500 pesetas/ week (1995); for the employed youth an average of 23,000 pesetas are ensured

3.2 Family and Housing

It is worth that the housing subject to be treated along to the family subject because in Spain, the family is, for the moment, the main support in the development of the youth. Good housing is a synonymous to a good family life in parents house. In the point of view of the international team of experts, the family is important for the general development of Spain. This fact happens in the framework of a critical European crisis in keeping the family as an important pillar of the society (e.g. it is notable the case of Germany).

3.2.1 Family and Housing Frames - The Spanish Context

In the Spanish tradition the family is the backbone of the society. Usually the relatives live in the same town or even in the same building. In Spain we can speak about extended families (relatives from many generations) and less by nuclear families (father, mother and their children). The children can always be taken care, the elderly are rarely left in asylums, but are often placed in respected positions in the family gatherings. The habit of the youth

to live together with their parents is an old one. In Spain it is said: "Vive de tus padres hasta que puedas vivir de tus hijos". The relatives relationships do influence the business life - there are many family businesses in Spain - as well as the destiny of the youth: the "nepotism" is a current practice in Spain ("enschufe"). The family for the Spanish is namely a site for affectivity protection. That is why, the woman is the key person at home. On the other hand, she was disadvantaged - and still is - in the social life. It is not to forget that before the end of Franco the women were not allowed work practicing outside the house. Today, the young women do consider that are disadvantaged at home compared with their brothers: they are much more controlled by their parents.

The Spanish tradition is that the women to be obedient wives and mothers and modesty is the top of the femininity. Till Franco's end, women were disallowed the abortion, contraception, divorce and adultery. Only after adoption of the 1968 Constitution these facts did become normality. In 1993, Maria Pilar Marmol, Secretary General of the Federation of Progressive Women said: "In theory we have equal rights. In reality it's not 100%... . Men hold two out of every three jobs, women's wages were 30% lower that men's and women had to work harder than their male counterparts to get ahead."

In the mid 1990's, Cristina Alberdi Alonso (Spain's Minister of Social Affairs) helped set in motion "a second feminist movement":

- greater job opportunities for women in middle management and above
- an end to the typical portrayal of women as housewives in advertising
- abolition of the term "Seniorita" to describe an unmarried women - all women should be called "Seniora" so that their marital status will be as private as it is for men

The parent's relationship with their children it is a tolerant one in the Spanish families. The young are treated as adults and enter in friendship relationships with mature persons. They are not considered as children that must compulsory follow their parents decisions. There are normal communication relationships between parents and their children: any discontent it is noticed and the family openly discuss about its solving. Generally, when a young is asked about their parents, she/he says: "they are nice".

3.2.2 Family and Housing - Actual Problems

70 % of the Spanish youth state that are satisfied of the way of their housing. An "Eriksonian" prospective leads us to the fact that if it is not possible to get a house by age 25, the need of social mobility (genetically conditioned) cannot be satisfied . Therefore, the fact that Spanish youth indicate that their main material dissatisfaction is the impossibility to get a house, it is not surprising. An additional difficulty for solving this problem is the fact that in Spanish mentality, to possess a house means to own it and not to hire it. Thus, all policies that have proposed renting houses for youth, were not successful in Spain.

Fortunately, the situation of youth staying long time together with their parents in the house, did not conduct to family conflicts, despite the image about youth is different whenever perceived by themselves or by their parents:

- the youth consider themselves happy, loyal and socially committed
- the parents consider that young are immature, selfish and dependent

From the point of view of the authors of the present report, the youth do not generate conflicts because they underestimate their generation compared with the generation of their parents. They are passive, while their parents behaved as revolutionaries and producers of positive change when being young. The above reaction it is not considered as stable by the experts group. The National Report data result that youth do not chose models of social role from the family but from mass media: actors, singers, bull fighters, football players.

The role models are usually stars and so from this point of view our group agrees with the authors of the National Report that see a certain "Peter Pan-ism" in the youth behavior - an extension of the teenagers mentality.

The point of view of the international expert group, is that the youth anomie is generated by the excessive prolongation of the time to get a house. This situation is deteriorating in the context of the Spanish economic crisis:

- the men can leave the house at age 32 and the women at 29
- 40% of the families including youth have a difficult material situation

- 42% of the youth would like to leave for an independent home
- in 1984, 64% of the youth over 25 were economically independent; in 1996, 32% of the youth over 25 are economically independent
- the total area of a house lived by youth with their parents has diminished from 90m² to 65m²
- the Government cannot afford but only 1% of GDP for house building (compared with 4% of Denmark, The Netherlands, and the UK)

The issue of youth decision to establish their own home is not a simple one in Spain and we do not think that is only related to the housing market. In the framework of the visit of the international expert team in Granada, an interesting sociological study performed by the town Mayorality was presented. Thus in Granada, 56.7% of the 15 to 29 aged youth live together with their parents. 40% of the youth aged 25 to 29 are willing to live with their parents. The main problem of the youth in Granada is the employment. In order to have an independent home is an autonomy indicator only in case other related conditions are being fulfilled: a stable social position and a satisfactory material situation. If not all these conditions are fulfilled, the youth indeed prefer the "Peter Pan" - ism.

In Spain, interesting political and administrative solutions were proposed in order to solve the problem of housing for youth. Many of them are yet projects:

- community support: Madrid community (city of Madrid and other 8 towns in this region) can support 26 % of the price for youth houses
- plans for renting houses for youth: no legal decisions were made on this subject
- plans for ensuring private housing for youth under 30, considering their income, based on reinforced loan subsidy
- plans for rehabilitation of historic centers of towns for renting houses to youth

The team keeps the idea that these projects must be correlated with other policies of ensuring real autonomy for youth in such a way that the individual house should not be a problem.

While the Spanish economy will develop the transfer will be achieved between the impossibility of the individual to obtain the autonomy as a personal failure to the

impossibility of the individual to obtain the autonomy as a failure of the welfare state that agrees to pay this mistake.

The issue of building new young families is closely linked to the issue of individual obtaining of the autonomy. This aspect is relatively less developed in the Spanish National Report. As in other western countries, the youth is less willing to establish a family, and when they decide to form it, this happens towards the age 30.

There are also few willing to have children. The number of births has drastically decreased in Spain. In comparison with other countries, the marriage generally represents in Spain, the end of possibility to continue the studies for both partners. For women, the marriage generally means the transit to "sus labores" (house work). Only 2% of young males show their willingness to help their wives at this kind of works. One of three married women can afford to become employed. A vulnerable group is consisted of 26% of youth that wait for a child to be born outside the marriage.

The issue of mixing the cultural habits of belonging group (the Spanish population) and the standards imposed by the reference group (the European Union) does complicate the solving of problems in the daily life.

In Spain, the decision of having a child is determined by the opportunity to have a job (74.9% compared to 65% in Europe) and by perceiving of possibility to ensure the child a quality education (57.5% compared to 44.7% average in Europe).

The fact that in Spain the youth considers the family as a supreme value, it is a resource of the Spanish society. However, changes of youth mentalities are needed in order for this resource to be adequately used.

3.3 Employment

In the 27 years from the Franco's end, Spain has succeeded to make significant progress in the economic reform. It entered EU and NATO starting 1986 and has massively attracted

economic investments. In a very short time Spain transformed from a closed country with many illiterates and unqualified workforce in a very dynamic country. Starting the first pages of the Spanish National Report it is stipulated that "In economy Spain is 11th in the Human Development Index (HDI) drawn up by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) amongst 175 countries. The HDI is based on three magnitudes: life expectancy, level of education (literacy and schooling) and the standard of living (measured according to the real GDP per capita, i.e. according to what is known as a purchasing power parity). According to this study, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per inhabitant in Spain is 14.24 US\$ (occupying the 16th place in Europe and 25th in the world). In terms of GDP, Spain comes 30th in world ranking".

The Spanish economy has some characteristics that directly influence the access of the youth on the labor market.

3.3.1 Employment Background - the Spanish Context

In the opinion of the international group of experts the present form of economic activity in Spain - that is closely linked the processes of personnel mobility (employment - unemployment) - is bordered by three frames: geophysical, historical and spiritual.

There are four relief units in Spain that achieve that natural diversity so necessary for tourism:

- the plateau in the peninsula - Meseta Central
- the mountain area - Pyrenees mountains in the North
- 3,144km of coastline that borders three seas: Bay of Biscay in the North Atlantic Ocean in the West and South West, and the Mediterranean Sea in South and South East
- islands: Balearic, Canary, and the islands on the Marrocco coast

Spain is located at only 12 miles of the African continent that is split by the Strait of Gibraltar. Spain is on the way of maritime routes that link Europe with the Central and

South Americas. In relation to the this positioning the Hercule's myth is still frequently circulating both in the high culture and the common culture. So in his 10th adventure, he has arrived, after passing Africa, to the end of the Earth. Eurysthenes has made him to split the African and European continents through a narrow strait. Therefore the Gibraltar Strait was created and its stones do symbolize its two columns built in the honor of Hercules. This victory of Hercules was framed in the spiritual matrix of the Spaniard that is being seen as:

- "individualismo": disregard the social positioning of the other, the ordinary Spanish considers himself unique and important and does not have any inferiority complex. He owns a strong state of self reliance.
- the man who's new and unforeseen perspectives are opened and that is destined to the knowledge adventure
- the strong men that produces events

Spain is "the country from the end of the Earth" so that the world begins with it. Thus in the common culture language, the Spanish consider that there are few Europeans, and the rumor is circulating like in Portugal, that Africa starts at Pyrenees. The Hercules myth has been transmitted in the official heraldic: the two columns of the hero are included in the coat of arms of some public institutions. The international team of experts has observed this symbol both in Madrid Community and Andalusia Provence. In Granada, the signing of the two columns that have Hercules joining their basement are even dressed by the policemen.

The spiritual matrix of the Spaniard is also rooted in the glorious history of Spain - the empire that flourished following the conquers overseas. Cadiz, Toledo, the Roman Aqueduct in Segovia or the Moorish Citadel from Alhambra are nodal points of the global civilization. The Spaniard of today does sympathize the populations from Central and South Americas and from Asia with whom they built over centuries its nation's history.

The aristocracy continues to drive the fashion. Even today a certain disdain on the manual works can be found, and this mentality comes from the 15th century. Those practicing manual labor are considered unsuccessful individuals. Namely the young "pijos" (youth coming from rich families) have the first access to highest positions. The "Enshufe"

(nepotism) functions in Spain as the main elevator for the integration of Spanish youth in the active social life. The stable social position obtained after years of loyalty and discipline is that counting in Spain. The promotion is not made usually in the traditional enterprises following competence but taking into account recommendations, fidelity and honesty. Therefore the Spaniards are not mobile persons but they are fixed by the positions that were hardly obtained in companies and institutions. This fact is being strengthened by the unions that excessively protect their members: it is very difficult in Spain to fire someone in order to be replaced by a more competent. The traditional Spanish companies are organized in pyramids: the workers must not have initiative but must execute, the middle management personnel prepare decision proposals and those from the top management take the decision. However, in the last decades was observed that the promotion does count on the employee competence in the North of Spain. The access to posts is being mostly based on the "enshufe" (nepotism) system.

The entering of Spain in the EU in 1986 has brought many positive changes in the national economy: instituting welfare reform, privatization, deregulation, deficit reduction. The Western investors place much money in Spain and thus the economy started to grow. The Budget Act of 1991 ensured the same status for the foreign firms with the Spanish ones in the following domains: TV and Radio broadcasting, air transportation, gambling. The four Decree Laws of 1996 by the center-right Government of Jose Maria Aznar have encouraged the economic growth. The double taxation was canceled for foreign companies, key economic sectors were liberalized (land, energy, telecommunications), the price control for some fuels was stopped, the restrictions on constructions were canceled, and development of new workplaces was encouraged. There were created high tech enterprises created in Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia, where a modern management style can be found: management by objectives, networking organization. Here, top managers are trained at the same level as in other Western countries.

The main critics of westerners to the Spanish working system are: "enshufe", weak evaluation of competence, rigid labor legislation (that gives too much power to CCO (left wing) and UGT (socialist) unions that include 15% of the active population), the outdated organization system of the Spanish companies - there are many small and medium sized

enterprises of family type and the mentality is that if the things are running well you must not change them.

Another problem is the "black market": after Italy and Greece, Spain has the biggest underground economy from the EU (1/5 of Spain's production of goods and services) . The main reasons of this situation are the high taxes, unemployment (23% of the active population) and restrictive labor laws which severely restrict the firing of employees. In the view of certain analysts the underground economy has contributed to the economic boom of 1980s by keeping extra cash in consumers pockets and by allowing entrepreneurs to expand their business. Other analysts consider that the black market does continue to be functional because does not lead to chaos and political instability. The black economy has softened the impact of job cuts resulting from the Government's implementation of market - oriented economic policies.

3.3.2 Youth Employment - the Actual Situation

3.3.2.1 General Situation

Throughout the Southern European region the rate of unemployment among women and young people is considerably higher than in the rest of Europe (see the Council of Europe's report: "European Youth Trends 1998").

The youth consists the majority population of the unemployed, both in absolute and percentage figures. But, as resulting from the Spanish National Report, "young people can be seen to enjoy less protection than elders obviously due to the influence of contributions. The unemployed over 45 years of age have 93% of coverage against 25.1% of the under 25s. This situation gradually changes as time passes: in the 25 to 34 age group, 54.7% of people benefit of this type of aid". If in 1968, 61% of the youth was working and 22% were studying, in 1996 the proportions modified: 42% work and 55% study. This situation, in the opinion of the National Report authors, reflects the mentality of the youngsters that who exits the process of education has recorded a social failure.

One of two young people that are employed are succeeding this due to "enshufe" system. Meanwhile, one of two young people that are eliminated from the labor market, perform this against their will.

There is the trend that youth reproduce the jobs of their fathers or the their social class. The youth coming from the medium and high social classes have more chances to find stable posts/ jobs. The safest posts for youth are those of entrepreneur, trader, public administration worker, or middle management.

Only one third of the youth has ever signed a work contract and among these only one third sign contracts for an unlimited time. In ten years time, the number of contract signatories has decreased by 50%.

The youth is aware that the competence is not the key to success: two of ten say that training is important to make a career.

Compared with 1977, in the year 1996, the number of youth afraid to loose their jobs has doubled.

A half of the employed youth perform jobs that do not need qualification.

Only 15% of the youth can afford to study and work at the same time.

The girls are disadvantaged in obtaining a workplace: 38.3% of them are unemployed compared with 25.6% at boys. They receive an average of 72% of the boys salary. Among the married girls only one of three can afford to work and the rest practicing "sus labores".

From the young persons that work only one third can live exclusively out of their work. The others appeal the family resources.

Although the situation of employment is a problematic today, only 10% of the youth wanted self - employment in 1996 (compared with 15% in 1988, and 16% in 1992).

The whole picture indicates the fact that youth employment is a difficult issue that must be solved by the Spain's Youth Policy through its specific instruments. What was used so far? And with what success?

3.3.2.2 Youth Policy in the Field of Unemployment

As presented by the authors of the National Report, the philosophy of the politicians is not to favor the access of the youth on the labor market but "to reduce the cost of used labor and increase the level of training".

There were promoted laws focusing on establishing contracts with the young - Indefinite Contract for Young People under 30 (R.D.L. 9/97), Training Contract (R.D.L. 8/97) dedicated to young people between 16 and 21 years old (through Workshop Schools and Craft Houses for those at the first working experience) and Practical Training Contract for young people with high level of training.

Starting 1997 when these contracts were applied, only 1.7% were made for indefinite periods, the rest remaining temporary. Thus, the problem of youth employment was not solved in the sense of raising their autonomy through an offer for a stable situation, but another oxygen bubble was thereof provided.

Another solution attempted by the Government was the legalization of temporary work firms (ETT) in 1994. Performing of contracts with workers that are temporarily provided to other enterprises. In this case is also emphasized the temporary character of youth employment and so keeping them in an anomic state.

In this context, the international group of experts does consider that a series of observations by the Youth Council of Spain (CJE) referring to the employment policy, are interesting:

- through the Spanish education system the youth is not prepared to face the working environment;

- there is a discrepancy between the request of the labor market and the offer of the educational system (therefore the group thinks that many young people are rapidly eliminated from the above market);
- one of two young unemployed under age 21 abandoned their school (so we believe that Workshop Schools and Craft Houses that attempt the continuation of youth education for ensuring social insertion, there are not sufficient institutions in this process);
- one of three unemployed are jobless since long term and so they cannot insert easily (For this category we believe that no one of the contracts provided by the Spanish legislation is appropriate. These youth need specialized insertion enterprises.);
- the ETT enterprises reduce the possibility of the youth to collectively protect itself;
- the shift from the labor offices of INEM to the private placement agencies is in the disadvantage of the youth because of payment of the services;
- there must be a shift to performing of more contracts for indefinite period of time;
- special self employment policies should be formulated for the youth; the funds allocated at present are not satisfactory managed;
- the institution of the social salary right for all youth that at completing studies do not have an income to secure their lives;
- a more correct representation (compared to the percentage of the youth in enterprises) of the under 30s in the labor unions committees;
- creation of replacement contracts in case of resigning workers; representatives of CJE state the following: "a workplace is not the exclusive patrimony of the worker that fills it but of all the workers";

From the international expert team's point of view, two essential facts was emphasized in the CJE report:

- A youth insertion policy must be developed to corroborate closely the education system and the labor market; this collaboration must be adapted to the needs and desires of the youth that are too little involved in defining the social roles so far. From our stand point this fact is possible. In the above dialogue, we would add as an important partner, the families of the young, a true national resource of today's Spain. The families already too over what the state cannot solve in the problem of

youth employment: ensuring their subsistence for a long period of time until the allocation of a stable social role.

- For the moment Spain needs an general employment policy. The team has expressed at the beginning of the subchapter the concern on the relatively punctual character of the philosophy of the employment policy as it was revealed by the National Report. This policy must be an inter-sectorial one and should propose the performance of the real autonomy for the youth. The youth must be seen as a resource and not as a problem (we agree in this matter with the international experts team that revised the Netherlands Youth Policy). Situations of the type found in Castile and Leon, where 60% of the youth declared that are prepared to accept jobs under their qualification, do make the whole Spanish system to loose.

For the moment, at least in the area of youth employment policy, Spain faces the dramatic situation presented in the National Report: it has the most valuable youth generation (as a resource) from Spain's history but it is positioned in the highest social risk. The international group of experts has realized, for instance, that in Andalucia there are 800 work places available for students and 50,000 candidates. Also, for communal servants there are 100 workplaces for 30,000 candidates.

We cannot end this chapter without reviewing an interesting typology that refers to the approach or distance of the youth to the social success.

The **Early Success Type** can be found in case of timely marriage and employment. The **Worker's Mode Type** reflects early orientation to the manual labor.

The Destructured Trajectories Type means scholar failure, chronic unemployment, aggressivity and marginalism.

The Trajectory Imprecariousness faces instability in insertion and late success.

The Successive Approach Mode Type means high education but late departure from parents home.

The interesting aspect in the above typology is the fact that the Workers Mode it is proposed at the beginning from the prospective of a prejudgment. To be a worker it is not (in the thinking of those proposing this model) a free choice but one imposed by the existence difficulties. The worker is a failed that is pleased with less from the beginning. The only explanation we find regarding this opinion is that of the contempt for the manual labor in Spain.

3.4 Education

3.4.1 Education at European Standards

As it is well mentioned in the Spanish National report, the issue of education is the nodal point of the democratic development of the country. The education does serve the democracy and the democracy serves the willingness of the people to become educated, unsatisfied in other historic periods of Spain. In 20 years time Spain jumped from a country with a majority illiterate population and an unqualified workforce to a country in which only 1.7% of the population is now illiterate. The effort of the Spanish Government for the development of education is being reflected in the variations on the budgets for this sector: 3.71% of GDP in 1985, and 4.61% of GDP in 1995.

There is also important to mention that although Spain is a "Nation of Autonomies", in which many times the provinces fight to get more autonomy, it has been agreed that the education sector to be managed through a state policy and less through regional ones.

Spain attempted and succeeded to a great extent to align to the EU standards in the matter of education. This process encounters also difficulties as understood from an interesting comparative study of 1998:

- one of five schools students repeat the year of study in the secondary cycle
- compared with other European countries in the EU the taxes for attending the University are bigger; meanwhile the variety of courses decreases;

- at the level of university undergraduate studies (of three years) 50% of the students go towards humanist studies and only 15% towards science and engineering; this situation alerts the Spanish authorities on the high rate of abandonment
- the scholar abandonment is relatively high (11%)
- there is the trend to ensure students with access to the desired courses only in their native provinces; if they go to universities in other provinces there is the possibility to not ensure their access to the desired courses

This study also reveals that the productive private sector was profitably involved in the youth education. The Ministry of Education and Culture pays subsidies to the companies involved in the education of youth under age 20: for a period up to 3 years, with education made over 25 to 50% of the total working program.

In the big multinational companies, high level trainings are being organized for young managers.

The main part of the education is being performed in state institutions: 73% of the youth had their primary studies in public centers, 18% in private religious centers and 8% in private laical centers. Only 4% of the students follow the courses at private universities.

The main transformation of the education system was the shift to a laical one. During Franco's governance the church had a total control of the youth education. The private catholic schools, few in number, are being considered of good quality but are inaccessible for the youth that comes from families with low income.

Among the youth that follow the courses of secondary school only 10% are oriented towards occupational training (FP). This fact, we will see, has negative consequences on the future development of the Spanish economy. It is sufficient here to refer to the dual educational system of Germany: two thirds of the youth are formed from the beginning to become at least highly qualified workers at the end of the secondary cycle of education.

3.4.2 Educational Policies

In the opinion of the international group of experts, the main measures taken in the educational policy of Spain carry the brand of the EU's reference group. However, in case of discussing the University Reform Act (LRU,1983), the authors of the National Report emphasize that this reform was made "to adapt the higher education system to the requirements rising from the EU directives". The same can be stated about the other important reforms: The Basic Act Regulating the Right to Education (LODE, 1985) and The Basic Act on the General Education System (LOGSE, 1990).

Through these reforms, important steps were made for the development of the educational system:

- extending the compulsory secondary education to age 16
- establishment of the State School Council as a consultative body of the Government to comprise representatives of the teachers, parents, students, unions, patrons, and key political and cultural Spanish personalities
- realization of the Teacher's Training Centers (CEP) and of the National Institute of Quality and Appraisal of the Education System
- allocation of certain education systems for less favored youth namely in the SP system and also for the youth with special abilities: artist teaching, language teaching, conservation and restoration of cultural properties, Flamenco schools
- dedication of special education systems for rural youth

The school has closely collaborated with the families of the young with regard to extra-budgetary funding of the educational system: in 10 years the financial contribution of the parents has doubled.

The civil society has proved to be also very active: in 1998, the Foundation ENQUENTRO promoted the programme named "Joint Declaration in Favor of Education" with 19 signatory entities (unions, employer organizations, student and teacher organizations, pedagogical renewal movements, education cooperatives) and prestigious personalities in the sector. This movement aims to militate for allocation of 6% of the GDP for education and for revising the

status of the teachers. This was considered "a first step in favor of National Education Agreement".

There are also unavoidable difficulties related to putting in practice the new educational philosophy:

- it has been arrived at the generalization phase of the education of ESO type (till age 15) but the regions do implement the concept in different ways: ones apply it 100% and others only 30%
- among the students that complete ESO, 75% follow to the Baccaureate and 25% towards occupational training (FP).
- The LOGSE law aims at keeping students in school by age 16; the compulsory schooling it becomes thus compulsory for 10 years. During this time the student has the right to repeat the learning year only two times. In the year between the 7th and the 8th classes this doubling is not authorized even if the student does not take into account the studies. The same happens for the cycle between the 9th and 10th classes. By comparison with the former system the new system has not significantly developed. The high school lasts for 6 years and the preparation year for the access in the university trends to be eliminated. Consequence: in "Selectividad" the admission exam to the university becomes very difficult, the marks are lower because the students do not have the habit to work. The students cannot therefore select the studies on their will but they must follow the "Selectividad" results.
- There are autonomous regions with authority in education matters - Andalucia, the Canary Isles, Catalonia, the Valencia Community, Galicia, Navarre and Basque Country - and regions that belong to the area named MEC Territory (Ministry of Education and Culture). Funds management by MEC is being made in these difficult conditions, like the attempt to realize a certain standardization of the courses. In 1998, for instance, a dispute was generated between the Governments of Madrid Regions and the Catalonia Region with reference to the attempt by the first to change the content of the History Manuals. Catalanian Regional Governments Education Department did consider this try as a centralist vision on the Spanish history and its philosophy.

The Youth Council of Spain (CJE) adds to these problems, others of qualitative nature. The general motto of the requests is "the education is a right and not a favor". Some of these observations are questionable for the members of the international group of experts, but they reflect the thinking of 71 NGOs from the national level in Spain and therefore they must be taken into account:

- CJE states that the Spanish Educational system has allocated itself wrong functions because:
 - it promotes individualism and competition
 - it promotes the idea of acceptance of status quo in which manual work is clearly distinct of the intellectual one
 - it promotes social inequalities

Related to the last aspect, it is true that the fact that occupation of the places in university is in close link with the level of income of the originating families: the number of the youth in the university belonging to families with low income is half of the youth number coming from high income families. This aspect is accentuated by high school taxes, the low value of scholarship grants, and the fact that students must support the entire costs in order to get Ph.D. or Masters degrees (3 years).

- In the pre-scholar education, a public network of caring of children cannot be found in place but only a costly, private one.
- In the State School Councils the real participation of the representatives of the students and parents is weak.
- In Occupational Training dysfunctions can be found:
 - it is a negative selection of the students (those from poor families, those that cannot attend university);
 - teachers are less trained both professionally and pedagogically;

CJE appreciates the new organization of FP in which the function of Training Tutor has appeared.

- University students are less consulted with regard to courses content.
- The change of teaching plans are being made without the change of the course contents and pedagogical methods of teaching.

- LOCSE and LRU reforms have different rhythms of developments and are not correlated
- The students concentrate in some faculties such as humanistic ones, as result of non correlation between university demand and offer, and because of the financial impossibilities of faculties to develop.
- Students abandon massively the universities because lack of information on the problems they will encounter in the system.
- The university research is weakly developed.
- The students have little access in the third university cycle and to Masters. This is a problem namely for the capable students but with limited material possibilities.
- In Spain, the universities are weakly financed: 0.72% of GDP in 1995 as compared with the average 1.5% of GDP in the EU.

In relation to this aspect, CJE proposes the allocation of 1.2% of the GDP through attracting foreign funding.

- In the opinion of CJE, in future, the university education system must develop in such a way that:
 - to allow to low income youth to attend university shifting from the economic selection criteria to the one based on skills
 - to eliminate the penalties of economic nature for repetition of the studying year
 - to extend the system of scholarship grants in money and services (i.e. credits for consumption in bookshops and stores)
 - to create in universities an office for relationships with the enterprises aimed at students placement
 - to ensure special services for disadvantaged youth and for those facing temporary difficulty (marginalised, poor, etc.)
 - in the opinion of the international group of experts, CJE proposes a shift of the educational philosophy from the abstract level of democratic principles (needed but insufficient in the process) to that of substantiation of the undertaking through considering the fact that in reality the individuals are not equal for the law. This way of thinking is salutary, in our opinion.

3.4.3 Foreign Languages

A last aspect to be approached at the education chapter is that one specific for Spain, of weak interest manifested by Spaniards to learn foreign languages. On the other hand the other four regional languages considered to have an equal status, are more and more spoken: Castellano, official language, Euskera, in the Basque Country, Catalan in Catalonia, Balearic

Isles and Valencia and Gallego in Galicia. More than mere dialects these languages remain the forefront of an ongoing domestic debate over autonomy and separatism. Many times the strength of these languages is determined by the economic power of the regions. For instance, Castellano becomes more and more the best communication language in the business language.

The Spanish youth are less willing to learn other international circulation languages even today have the opportunity to do it. In Spain, only 39.9% of the youth shown their interest to do this, by comparison with the EU average of 53.7%. Also, 38.7% of the youth do not know any other language but the mother tongue, compared to 28.7% of the EU youth.

This behavior can be explained through the ethnocentrist attitude of the youth and through a close past in which the possibility of geographic mobility was limited (by the end of Franco). The youth are mainly interested by the family and the community and thus in order to fulfill this interest they do not need to be literate in foreign languages.

This dysfunction is strengthened by the fact that all foreign films shown on the TV or at the cinema are voice doubled. The young Spaniards are also not fans of Internet communication.

The Spanish governors are aware that there is a discrepancy between their attempts to align the sectoral national policies to the policies sustained by the EU and the Council and Europe and the fact that youth do continue to not communicate effectively with the Europeans. By now, no coherent policy in this sense was formulated.

3.5 The Free Time

The international group of experts adopts the classical definition of the "free time" as a structuring of the time in four dimensions: the time for development of personality, time for rest, time for entertainment and the networking time.

In Spain, a cult for free time can be found and on the other hand, a specific structuring with local accents regarding resting and networking time.

3.5.1 The Spanish Background

The Spanish dedicate much time for free time. They are not workaholics. In a daily budget there are some free time chapters dedicated to some compulsory activities:

- **"Siesta"**: there is the habit of breaking the work in the middle of the day between 1.30 p.m. and 4.00 p.m. for the lunch meal and sometimes for a nap. The Spanish go home or at the restaurant where they get a **"tapas"** meal (little snacks in a wide variety). In the summer "siesta" takes longer cause if the introduction of **"horario de verano"** with work between 8.30 a.m. and 2.30 or 3.00 p.m. In this moment the **"siesta"** habit is conserved namely in the South of the country where in one hand the traditionalism and conservatism are stronger and on the other hand the climate during the summer is warmer. In the North of the country the people started to renounce to "siesta" cause is more developed economically, more cosmopolitan and oriented towards the European fashion.
- **"Paseo"**: even in the big cities the tradition of strolling for meeting known people
- **"Ocio"**: the Spanish are great amateurs of conversation. However, they never approach subjects related to their family life, religious beliefs and their jobs. Intimate topics are never broached with acquaintances or co-workers. They are reserved for discussion behind closed doors with family and very closed friends. Generally people speak about sports, travels, food, culture and history (with the exception related to the Spanish Civil War and the neutrality of Spain during the Second World War). Never can be found a critical discussion about bull fighting, high taxes, unemployment and religion.

In addition to these activities other two types of activities as well articulated subcultures can be met at the youth, as fulfilling their need to associate:

- "**Pena**": it is the group of friends that meets daily for entertainment. The meetings take place in pubs, discos, cafés or parks.
- "**Movida**": it is the habit of the youth to massively meet on the streets during the night, in order to entertain. This subculture has a certain ideology. "Movida" is the symbolic occupation of the town by the youth through occupying the streets. It is well known that in all youth subcultures the street represents the site where the adult role is being played, it is the communication channel that links the youth with the adult age, and the public space where the masculinity and femininity is being visualized. On Spanish streets, we can find "paseo" and also on the streets those most courageous fight the bull. Through "movida" the role of adult is thus exercised, the idea that the youth are the future leaders of the town and the fact that the youth are a force and not a social problem is visualized through its number and passion.

Outside these chapter on the free time, we can also find in Spain "**the fiesta**": over all country territory more than 15,000 fiestas are celebrated yearly.

At the EU level, Spain is placed in the first line regarding the number of days for the public holidays per year (14 days). Most of fiestas are made for celebrating a certain patron Saint of the community. During fiestas, there are processions, bull fights, soccer matches, fireworks, amusements, dancing, parading in brightly colored regional costumes. With regard to fireworks, the Spain is the European country that likes the most this kind of entertainment. The spectacle is magnificent and many times accidents happen. These are not taken into account but every year are more fireworks.

The international team of experts has identified that the fire cult is important for Spanish because it is considered that the fire burns the bad. This belief is part of the spiritual matrix of the common Spanish and is a strengthener of his tolerance. An important fiesta is that organized in the occasion of celebrating San Fermin: every year the running of the bulls is performed in the town of Pamplona. This running is named "**enciero**" and consists in the early morning run of six bulls through narrow cobblestone streets to the bullring. Bullfights

are important in Spain, and their tradition does resist even this is a reason of other European's criticism.

For Miguel de Munamuno, "**La Corrida** is the Spanish tragic sense of life". In 1996, 200 qualified "matadors" have entered 16,500 times in bullrings and killed 37,000 bulls. Manolete, El Chino, Cristina Sanchez, or Jesulin de Ubrique are legendary names in Spain. Kenneth Tynan, a respected theater critic of Britain was speaking about Corrida as "is a rite in which heroism and beauty, the great absentees of Western Europe may be seen happily and inextricably embraced".

3.5.2 The Free Time of the Youth - Actual Situation

Two thirds of the youth considers as satisfactory to have 23 hours free time per week. The group of unpleased has decreased in two decades from a half of the youth to a quarter of the youth.

Mist of the free time is allocated for meeting friends. Watching TV and practicing sports follow. Practicing sports has become more important namely due to urbanization and strengthening provinces autonomy. The feeling of community pride mixed with the competition spirit and generated a dynamic Spanish sport sector.

The international group of experts, does consider that two problems of the free time of the youth can be dynamised through specific legislation: the youth associations and youth cultures/ subcultures.

3.5.2.1 The Youth Associativity in Spain

The youth having an associative experience are a majority (52%). However, among these, 47% involved sports associations.

From the National Report we find out the portrait of the active young in youth associations: up to age 20%, man, with a center-left political orientation, catholic, and with a middle to high material situation in their family.

Most of the associations to which the youth approach are the sport ones. Last years however, the number of associations called "the new youth movements" have grown: human rights, environment, feminist, pacifist, civic, charitable. In these movements the girls are most active.

In this situation, the authors of the National Report see the following political orientation of the Government in the issue of associativity: "the task involving the government from which greater level of information on the possibilities of cooperating are claimed - should therefore be oriented in two directions: identification of voluntary work as a form of democratic participation with its own altruistic logic alien to mercantilisation and turning young people's availability to participate into the reality".

The members of the international group of experts consider that such a discussion must be more flexible. First of all as also resulting from the report on the Netherlands, to dedicate time for participating to the activities of an NGO is a luxury that can only be afforded by youth from middle and high level families. In this sense, their mercantilism cannot be of material nature. At most we could discuss about an individualism, an egoism to what you like to do and cannot do somewhere else. This fact is not to be condemned, it contributes to finding a self identity.

It is not to forget that ethimologically in the civil society is organized for defending privileges of classes with good material state that were afraid of a too intrusive state. Perhaps, by paradox, this mercantilism must be developed for youth in difficulty that should search in the NGO the place where an identity is offered and a job as well. In this moment, in the countries with tradition in youth associativity (namely the Northern countries) a shift from youth movements based on enthusiasm and volunteering is being done to movements of professionals that hire highly qualified personnel. Their mercantilism grows in the benefit of the society.

The request of National Report authors that for a more frequent involvement of associated youth to solving the reality issues is also questionable.

We agree with the opinions of the other two groups of international experts referring to the NGOs (Finland and the Netherlands): the main function of the NGO is the development of the non formal education that should develop solidarity, activism in humanitarian issues, responsibility, empathy and sympathy for other problems. These qualities cannot always develop through deepening the reality - namely in Spain where the youth see the future with incertitude. The NGOs must be stimulated in such a development: they are the place where the youth rediscover themselves and must become a touching reality that is liked. It must not be forgotten that the Swiss Youth requested the state to not mix at all with their free time. Their report to the Swiss reality is an individual undertaking and is not imposed by social projects of the state.

In conclusion, the international group of experts believes that the Spanish legislation on associativity would be convenient to support the attracting of the disadvantaged youth in associations together with the other youth already present there, and to develop the opportunity for non formal education for youth namely because in Spain this is totally missing.

An area of associativity that is less referred into the National Report is that on the youth in the rural communities. We find out that is almost non existing, in the framework of aged and masculinised population here.

CJE made proposals for the development of this type of associativity. These refer namely at including Associativity Workshops in an extended network of workshops aimed to the rural youth: information, animation, environment, education for peace, socio-professional orientation, informatics. CJE also considers that there are necessary exchanges between youth in the rural areas. The members of the international group of experts do not consider that the last solution would be the best. France faces the same problems of Spain with regard to the rural youth: the stabilization of youth in their residential areas consists a case because the agriculture sector is important for its economy. The solution that brought outputs was in this case the one of interchanges between the rural youth and the youth in cities. The main

dissatisfaction of the young farmers is that in their free time they do not have the same entertaining and personality development opportunities as the youth in the cities.

We believe that it is beneficial for Spain the fact that the environmental NGOs have grown in number. One of the main country's problems of today is the desertification of its central area because of forest destruction and malfunctioning of the irrigation system. Spain made a step back in this domain as compared to the ages when the moors were building their excellent network of irrigation channels. It is expected that the new generation of environmentally friendly youth to ensure the public participation in mitigating desertification.

3.5.5.2 Youth Cultures/ Subcultures in Spain

The subject of youth culture raises subtle issues of continuity, conservation, affiliation or splitting, reporting to current schools or isolated cases. There are certainly young people that undertake art and their problem is the opportunity to continue this occupation and to exhibit their art.

The issue in discussion is not a cultural one but one of culture policy.

One of promoters of this policy is the INJUVE institution, that used to belong to the Ministry of Culture in the years 1985 to 1989. INJUVE still promotes today interesting cultural programmes: supports financially shows, contests, plastic and photo art exhibitions, production of video films, music creators, the theatre tours, the individual and university research in the fields of art and culture.

In the National Report it is being mentioned that INJUVE supports the "promotion of new creators and new cultural practices".

The education of the youth in the high culture is being performed at high level in universities. During the international team's visit at the University of Complutense in Madrid a contact with its courses was made. Two of them were outlined: Landscape Modeling and Management, and the Management of the Cultural Patrimony. The first one prepares youth to take care of the National Parks, urban parks, as well as to look after

historical, private and public gardens. The course modules include: culture, environmental conditions, landscape analysis, environmental impacts, natural patrimony, form and nature, landscape management. Here we can find a clear orientation towards esthetisation of the daily life - post modernist wave - done with instruments of high culture: this is a splendid undertaking for this unique, historical, cultural and tourist Spain . The students at Masters following this course can directly participate to the rehabilitation plan for the garden of the Palace del Infante Don Luis de Borbon in Madrid.

The course on the management of the cultural patrimony organized by the Belle Arte department includes also a political module that involves two interesting courses: the Culture of Free Time Preoccupations, Activities for the Free Time and the Cultural Tourism. Therefore this is a course that is proposing an infusion of high culture values in youth's free time in the circumstances in which, usually, the youth subcultures appeal to the values of the common culture.

In the Spanish National report it is stated that at the local level there are cultural programmes in place. The cultural initiatives of communities level are proposed through the departments: from the 17th regions of Spain, 10 include departments in the framework of Youth Directorate or in the Youth Institutes, that include in their title the word "culture". For instance in Madrid, the team visited the General Directorate of Youth with its Council of Education and Culture.

At the local level there are Regional Information Centers. They include also youth documentation that is dedicated to culture.

The communities have their own programmes for international youth exchanges and many of them are having a cultural character.

In Madrid community we found out the cultural manifestations of the youth here. There is a centre of youth art and a network of youth art. They are directly supported by the Council of Education and Culture.

The Centre of Young Art is a space specially reserved for young artists, writers, poets, painters, sculptors, photographers.

The Youth Art Network promotes young artists offering them the opportunity to exhibit their works free of charge in various locations of the community. The available locations are: the Center of Young Art, cultural centers, exhibition rooms, museums, pubs, the Madrid Athenaeum and cafés (Café del Siglo, Café el Despertar, Café Otono, Café Libertad, Café el Violin, Cafeteria Belmar, Café del Prado, Underwood Café).

Cultural programmes can be found also. For instance the Young Image and Young Act. The Young Image is a support programme for young creators of videography. They could present their projects in 1998 over the whole year at the Young Art Centre. The Young Act is organized for the youth activities in open space and nature for the entire yeartime.

There are also repetition halls for music groups, dancers groups or theatre teams that are made available free and exclusively for youth. There are nine such places in Madrid.

In Madrid community the youngsters aged between 14 and 25 can have a Youth Card that offers them a series of services, including cultural.

The new music is very well developed at Alcoi where the Composition and Creation School lead by Javier Darias is to be found. The youth is educated to play the new music but to also play the old music - there are many baroque music orchestras in Spain.

How the media sees the juvenile themes? Among these themes the culture, education and communication as a whole, represented 21% in the Observator daily newspaper of 1996 and between 5 and 13% in other daily magazines.

The information on youth are found more in the written media than in the TV programmes and their frequency is higher in the field of publicity (including TV).

In the analysis of written press, the paper "Image of the Youth in Mass Media" says that by difference with adults the young are perceived as persons that focus on personality development. For the adults the main issue is the public image.

On the TV, the youth presence in the publicity spots is higher than the one of adults.

However, as an overview the press raises the issue of the compliance to norms and control of the youth (50%). On the TV the young people are associated to the ideas of beauty, love, spectacle, fashion and amusement.

In the visit of Granada we could sketch the portrait of a young art consumer. For the young of Granada (a relatively small city but including 50,000 students) immediately after the cinema we can find the interest of reading and concerts. The theatre, exhibitions and photography is of great interest as well.

The culture of the Spanish youth does exist in a country of heavy cultural traditions that still offer today the opportunities of master pieces created by Cervantes, Federico Garcia Lorca, Unamuno, Salvador Dali, Pablo Picasso, Velasquez, Goya, Gaudi.

Among the active youth subcultures we already mentioned "**Pena and Movidia**". It is worth mentioning a certain specific type of rock music for Spain: **Rock Conraices** (root-rock) - it combines the rock with the flamenco rhythm.

In the opinion of the international group of experts the cultural policy is well developed in Spain and serves the interests of the young consumers of culture and those of making culture. We had the feeling that the great heroes of Spanish history and culture are mixed with the daily life of the youth.

3.6 The Spanish Youth Relationships with the Others

3.6.1 *The relationships between boys and girls*

From the Spanish National Report we read that like in the other European countries, the marriage and the sexual act are events which the youth are producing after a long lasting decision. The majority of the youth age between 15 and 29 are not married: 90% of the boys and 80% of the girls. The independent life of the unmarried couples, in Spain, is rarely acceptable in comparison with other European countries. These couples decreased in numbers: 19% in 1998 and 15 % in 1995. There interesting that this reduction was produced namely to the 15 to 29 years old youth. The authors of the National Report write that finding a stable partner is a problem: in 1998 one of two young people had a partner, in 1996, two youngs of five had a partner.

In the opinion of the international group of experts the problem is caused not only by economic reasons, as on the report, but by other causes as well:

- it is rarely acceptable in the Spanish family that the sun or the daughter to live together with their partner in the family house
- the crisis of housing available to youth
- the general social mentality unfavorable to these kind of relations

The youth believe they can solve this problem if they could find an independent home at an acceptable age: 23years at boys and 22years at girls.

In this framework, the option to have a normal sexual life is delayed: in 1992, 35% of the youth aged 15 to 29 never had a sexual relationship, in 1996 the percentage increased to 44%. The main reasons identified is the fear of unwanted pregnancy and AIDS contamination. However, there is a group of less favored youth 26% that have or expect children outside their marriages.

Generally the social, institutional or family controls mark the relationships between boys and girls. The members of the international group support this statement through presenting the

young's portrait that delays decision to have a constant sexual contact: girl raised in a medium or high income family that strictly controls her free time, catholic practitioner, university student.

The international group of experts considers as interesting, the correlation between the degree of happiness of the youth and the parental control (presented in the National Report): the youth are happier while the parental control is stronger even if this aspect affects their sexual relationships. The youth that do not feel a strong parental control consider themselves unhappy. We believe that this aspect reflects a relatively high level of anomie at the youth: any agent that introduces clear norms is working as a good agent, antianomic, in the context in which everything is an incertitude (the job, the employment, the house, social position, the income level, the future political belonging). Without discussion that the families of the youth are perceived as these good agents and the youth naturally find temporary solutions to the stressing problems.

3.6.1 The Relationships between the Youth and Their Parents

We have already mentioned an interesting aspect between the youth and their parents: the relationship between the parents control and the happiness of the youth. There are also other characteristics of these relationships.

The authors of the National Report consider that the youth have a better image about the generation of their parents (the nasty youth of the 1968) than about their own generation, as an effect, first of all, of the financial independence of the youth from their families. As resulted from the discussion with part of the report authors at the University of Complutense, this fact is being immediately produced. The authors structure the types of youth generations in revolutionary/ revolted generations and passive youth generations, that periodically substitute each other. Now we face a process of a passive generation. The idea is thus suggested that this peace between generations is on one hand a reaction to the youth frustrations - they cannot afford to revolt as long as they use their family resources - as well as a cyclic historic process.

From the angle of the international team of experts the peace between generations results out of some cultural traditions that support the above state:

- The cult of the family relationships in which every individual has its honorable place.
- The open communication and rapid problem approach systems for finding solutions.
- A certain attitude of mutual tolerance resulted from the relationships based on affection. The tone of these relationships is being given by the women in the families.

The Spanish youth simply feel good in this type of families. This fact is sustained by the data presented in the National Report. The model family for the youth is the classical nuclear family, in which the man plays an instrumental role (purchases goods, money and status for the family) and the woman plays an expressive role (purchases affection needed for the family cohesion). The youth thus wishes to replicate the traditional family relationships.

Meanwhile, in Germany, this type of family dissolves in other forms, some yet sufficiently structured. In Denmark, it has been passed from the nuclear families to the interest for concubine relationships and lately to partnership relationships between women and men.

For Europe, the Spanish type of family evolution is to be considered as a development resource.

Another interesting aspect revealed by the National Report is the difference between the self image of the youth and the image the parents have on the youth. The youth sees themselves happy, loyal, socially committed and the parents see them immature, selfish and dependent. It is to be observed that the youth state that two features characterize them as indicators of the lack of anomie: the loyalty and social commitment. It means that the only major source of anomie is related to the impossibility to realize the need of social and geographical mobility. From this standpoint, the youth present the following sources of dissatisfaction: the lack of a house, weak possibilities to travel and the lack of a motorcycle. In other words, there are indicated only frustrations related to the lack of cultural vehicles to allow the youth

to become mobile and exit from the anomie. The youth do consider that they could purchase these cultural vehicles if they would have money and if they could find a workplace.

The authors of the international group of experts do consider that commenting these aspects is not purely theoretical but it can illuminate other aspects from the Spanish reality that can create social problems if they become chronic. The lack of youth mobility possibilities because of economic reasons can initiate - and we will see that it does induce - the feelings of excessive localism, ethno centrism, prejudices or racism.

3.6.2 *The Youth and the Autonomous Regions. The Youth and the Europe.*

3.6.2.1 The Autonomous Regions - The Historic Frame

After the end of Franco, Spain was split in 17 Autonomous Provinces with their own presidents, parliaments and flags. Starting with this organization, beside the positive aspects related to the regional development autonomy, certain phenomena happened that can have negative consequences on long term. The ethnic nationalism has become a reality. Most of the Spanish identify themselves with their region first of all and only after that with Spain as a Kingdom. Today this process is deepening more. The community identification is being made at the town or village levels and thus the regions break in small feuds of community interests (The New Middle Age). The process is complex and one of the results of Spain's feudalisation is the unequal economic development of the regions.

Generally, the regional governments encourage the ethnic pride through the promotion of their regional language, their regional arts, the regional traditions and some unique features of the population in the region.

The international team of experts does not bring about the significance of the existence of these regional differences in Spain. On the contrary, according to the sustainable development theory, the greatest chances for development are owned by the countries that preserve and speculated as much as possible the regional diversity. The only problem raised in this report is if this diversity is used for the development of the Spanish youth policies and

it does not consist in an obstacle in their development. More concretely we believe that the Spanish youth policy can be a puzzle of local and regional policies only in the case they articulate a coherent image about the youth within the national boundaries.

3.6.2.2 The Youth and the Autonomous Regions . The Youth and Europe - The Present State

In the National Report we are provided with certain data about the level of youth involvement in the community: "**in localism versus cosmopolitanism** young Spaniards do not go for **espanolismo**, i.e. nationalism of Spain, the nation, nor for **autonomy**, i.e. identification with their autonomous community, nor for broader identities such as Europe or the World". **The village and the town** are the references chosen... in Spain there are four **localists** for every **cosmopolitanist** (localism coincides with the poorest autonomous communities)".

From the National Report we find out that most of the localists are those with low incomes, weak education and early ages. In the opinion of the National Report authors, the localism of the Spanish youth is manifested also through the only 16% of them that would be prepared at present to work or to permanently live in a EU country. The resistance to Europeanisation is also demonstrated by the high interest of the Spanish youth for aspects such as: "day to day items as meal times and the role of copious meal at home, prepared by the mother, the second, the low level of relationship with the information technology, the third, social non participation and the force, the rejection of any form of puritanism."

The ethnocentrism and racism issues are treated as the attitude of the Spanish youth with regard to the presence of the emigrants in Spain. It is observed that although there are not many emigrants in Spain the youth are relatively racist. Three quarters of the youth do consider also that the Spanish society is racist.

In the opinion international group of experts to discuss the racism problems needs a more complex undertaking.

The sad experience of the civil war in Yugoslavia has shown that there is necessary a new approach for taking on board the racism issues: racism can be also find among the members of one nation's community. There was no account taken in this matter in Yugoslavia, even ten years before the start of the civil war it was measured the social distance between ethnic groups in different areas (Bogardus scale). When a high prejudice appears, there is sufficient a flame for firing the war. Unfortunately, in Yugoslavia that flame was generated.

Discussing the report with its authors at the University of Complutense, we asked of such a study was done for the youth in different regions of Spain. It was told us that such a study is not available and moreover, because of the autonomy of the regions this cannot be performed. It is true that according to the INJUVE database on the youth very few information refers to regional communities (there are mostly global data available).

From our stand point, the tolerance/ intolerance and racism/ non-racism issues are not sufficiently known at the moment. This fact was explained to us through mentioning the democratic principles of respecting the autonomy or the equality between the ethnic groups. This last aspect was approached by the international team of experts in the case of Granada. It was told us that there are no special programmes for integrating the gypsies in the community (Granada has a significant population of Gypsies) because any difference is made between the problems of the Spanish and the problems of the other ethnic groups.

In our opinion, between strict application of the democratic principles and knowing of the facts that stand at the foundation of democracy there is no contradiction. By contrary, this complete knowing is as necessary as there are indicators about installation of certain prejudices in Spain:

- More than 1/4 of the youth are in favor of a bigger autonomy of the regions they live.
- There are in favor of this thing namely those from the Basque country, Galicia and Catalonia.
- For these youngs the use of violence seems normal for defending the autonomy of the region.
- The Spanish youth make clear differentiation among themselves following the regional tongue they speak and after the history of the provinces they live.

- Only the youth from Castilla la Mancha, and Madrid are identifying themselves with Spain.
- The most cosmopolitan youth of Spain are those of Madrid community. The least cosmopolitan youth is that of Andalucia and Galicia.

Although in practice the questions of the nature "Do you intent to illegally emigrate in another country?" or "Do you intend to permanently emigrate in other country?" were not clear enough for the defining the real emigration process, however they reveal interesting data. In Spain, the youth aged between 25 and 29, with university studies and living with parents want to emigrate most. The most wanted countries are France, Italy, United Kingdom and Germany. Only one of five youngsters that would intend to emigrate would emigrate permanently. The other four would only temporarily emigrate to complete their studies, to learn well a foreign language or for a complete vacation season.

The international team of experts did not find this data in a format structured per provinces.

In general, compared with the situation in other European countries, the interest of the Spanish youth to change temporarily or permanently their residence in other country is reduced. The Spanish are attached to their land and are not mobile as long as they foresee a hope of development of their villages or towns. In some provinces of Spain, a massive returning trend can be found at the emigrated Spanish when the things changed in good: in the 80s, in Andalucia, approximately 1 million Spanish have returned. The unemployment issue of the youth in Andalucia is due to the wave of emigrants that returned home.

3.6.3 The Political and Religious options of the Youth

3.6.3.1 The political options

Compared with 1982, in 1996 the political options of the youth shifted from a left wing orientation to a right wing orientation. Those most right wing oriented come from the families with medium-high and high incomes, they have graduated the primary education in private centers (religious or laical), they are closely controlled by their families with regard

to studies, friends, and the free time, and read periodically the political newspapers. They are mostly catholic practitioners but also catholic non-practitioners. They do not have unemployed in their families.

Those of left wing orientation, are a youth category that wish more independence: they are less controlled by their families regarding friends, studies and free time, they desire an independent home, are relatively not believers and combine the studying with the work. They have unemployed and resigned in their families.

The international team of experts does consider that the report between the family control and the political placement of the youth is an interesting fact. To remember that those less controlled by their parents are those most unhappy. This category does focus on the left wing political orientation that implies a "correct" resetting of things in favor of as many persons as possible. In other words, when there are not suggested values and orientations through the family control, the youth expect this orientation from the state.

3.6.3.2 The Religious Options

More than 50% of the Spanish youth are catholic non practitioners (they believe in God and catholic religion but they do not go often to the church). The number of non-believers and those indifferent is higher than that of non practicing Catholics. Only 2% of the youth are practicing other religions than the Catholicism. Although this trend of internalization of religion in the private space, its removal from the public space, is considered belong to the post modern behavior of the European youth, in the case of Spanish youth it encounters specific accents.

Up to the year 1967 the religion flooded the Spanish people's life. The Inquisition was put in place in 1480 and in a way or another has dictated the rules of social cohabitation until the Law on Religious Freedom appeared (1967). Until recently, the women had no right to wear trousers, to abort, to use contraceptives or to practice adultery. It was also not recommended to work outside their homes. The youth were forbidden to manifest their love fillings on the streets. The divorce was also forbidden. The education in schools was completely controlled

by the church. "The escape" of the youth towards forms of religious behavior less restrictive, proves once more that any fact imposed by force is accepted but it is not internalized. Whenever it can be escaped from an imposed state, the natural habit is to abandon it or to recall it in another form.

At the same time, it seems that the Catholic Church has changed fortunately its manifestation form. It is common to consider that for the private catholic schools to sustain a good quality education system, but inaccessible for many because of the high taxes. The families with medium-high or high incomes cultivate regular practicing of Catholicism. In conformity with these trends, we believe that the catholic church will play an important role on the education of youth even in this moment there is not sufficiently used as a resource. This undertaking is supported by the families that always used to set the trend in Spain: the rich families.

3.7 Youth, Health and Risks

3.7.1 The Risk Concept Promoted in the Spanish National Report

In the Spanish National Report it is stated that youth facing risk are in the danger of being affected in their physical or psychic state because some behaviors related to their own will: to make love without protection, to drink alcohol, to smoke and to use drugs.

The task of the government - say the authors of the report - is to diminish these risks. A **risk society** must solve individually the risk issues. Such concepts - risk, risk society - are operationalised easily: it is sufficient for the authorities to impose in front of the will of youth to generate bad for themselves, in order to solve the problem. It is simply by forbidding to perform a certain undertaking, that thing is less probable to occur.

This is why in Spain - we read from the CJE report - the public denunciation, the civil patrol, the public phone are in use for alert the police that someone uses drugs.

The mass media focused to create a negative image about the youth at risk and the local administrations have as a main objective the reduction of the risk the youth are exposed to.

These undertakings, as we will see, are not associated with individualized solutions, are not sufficiently connected with the social assistance work as well as with curation.

3.7.2 *The Drugs Consumption*

The authors of the National Report provide an example of non individualization of the problems and their globalization: presentation of a theory of drugs consumption in Spain, that links the individual drugs consumption to the approaching of a group identity. This fact is closely related to "internal break up of the middle urban classes" and was run as a process as follows:

- The use of cannabis is related to the development of the middle classes and the beginning of the society of mass consumption in the years of 60s.
- The use of heroin is related to the destructuring of the labor class from the 70s to the middle of 80s.
- The cocaine consumption is linked with the rapid and speculative social success of the middle and high urban classes in the second part of 80s.
- The use of the chemical drugs is linked to the new breakdown process involving the heterocritical middle and middle lower classes with the transformation of the said social patterns".

Although a National Drug Plan Commission was established in 1995 and a National Drug Addict Information System (SEIT) - formed of Home Drug Survey (working on national sample), and School Survey (that works with the secondary education students) - the authors of the report say that in the period 1994 - 1996 the proportion of the amongst 14 - 18 years old students using cannabis, hallucinatory drugs and psycho stimulants such as cocaine, amphetamines and extasis increased".

If we take into account these indicators it means that the National Programme is not effective. In the Netherlands there is a functioning programme and this fact can be demonstrated through the fact that the number of youth consuming the hard drugs has stabilized and that of soft drugs consumers has decreased (the Dutch National Report). The Spain has also legalized the consumption of soft drugs but this fact did not diminish their consumption or that of hard drugs. What happens, a part of the explanation is provided by the youth themselves in the CJE report:

- we face the homogenization of the situations in which the youth does use drugs and not their individualization
- there is a great number of negative messages that stigmatizes the youth consuming drugs, named marginalised, delinquents or dangerous.
- It is wrongly related the habit of drug consumption to the lack of prospective to obtain a workplace.
- Only the administrative and legal institutions work in this issue. Other organizations are not yet attracted in this work: civic, social services, etc.
- The philosophy of approaching this phenomenon is of repressive type.
- The curation is being done in centers which use repressive methods and not the dialogue method.
- Not sufficient work for personalized information is being done.

In the opinion of CJE, the youth dependent on drugs might be included in the health care cases and not in delinquency cases. CJE makes also the proposal - questionable - that the youth that consume drugs at work not to be penalized through fines or firing but to be treated as youth in difficulty that need a supplementary protection. The same issue is raised when talking about excessive use of alcohol by the youth. Of course, some of the CJE proposals are questionable, but others focus on real problems that must be taken into account.

The authors of the National Report say that the methods of prevention and curation do function well. This indication remains only at the level of statement because positive examples are not indicated: in general, the number of drug consumers grows. Another issue would be the lack of intersectorial approach for this phenomenon. It is being exaggerated the role of the Control Services from the local authorities and that of the juridical institutions, fact

that indicates a strictly repressive vision. This fact is as undesired as the international organizations have established that the drugs entering Europe come through Spain from the South America. The control of this market is not effectively done. In this context, a National Drug Plan that refers to the juvenile drugs consumption must be well structured in future.

3.7.3 The Consumption of Alcohol and Cigarettes

As in other European countries, the girls trend to have the same alcohol and cigarettes consumption as the boys.

The fact is, that the consumption of "white drinks" by the youth of Spain is growing (like in the Northern Europe) leaving the specific Mediterranean habit to consume especially wine.

The initiation, for both the alcohol and cigarettes consumption is done early (age 12 - 13).

Important models for these habits are the fathers that go in pubs and restaurants, late in the night, followed by their children.

In the National Report there is no mention on special political measures for the reduction of the alcohol and cigarette consumption. It is true that at the European level, this fight is in most cases without any chance of success: The consumption of alcohol and cigarettes is practiced frequently in combination and the producers of alcohol and cigarettes are very powerful, and very unlikely to renounce to the youth as their target group. The traditional methods of awarning on the danger of consumption of these two products - educational campaigns, information and advertising campaigns - did not have the expected results. The EU advertising in the publicity videoclips for the cigarettes consumption have smaller and smaller letters these days.

3.7.4 Spread of AIDS

The international team of experts has got relatively little data on the spread of AIDS at the youth population in Spain. This phenomenon is not to be neglected here: Between 1981 and

1995 there were recorded 36,310 AIDS cases among which 14,405 at the population aged between 15 and 29. At the younger population the AIDS risk generation is that of 25 to 29 years old, followed by that of age 20 - 24 and that of 15 - 19 years old.

The main way of disease transmission in Spain was that of drugs consumption and that namely at the young population (9,342 cases out of 14,405). The contamination appears less through sexual route in case of the youth (1,235 cases).

Once more we find out the importance of the concerted treatment of some problems and the attacking of their principal causes - for instance, active measures for mitigating drugs consumption through the use of syringes in order to reduce the probability of AIDS contamination.

Important educational problems occur also with regard to diminishing the risk of AIDS contamination through sexual contact. Only 10% of those refrain of making sex do consider that AIDS would be a threat. It is interesting that those most scared by the possibility of AIDS contamination are the 15 - 17 years old youth and those of age 18 to 20 (the group with least AIDS cases in Spain).

Among the youth having a partner and think to protect it, few are preoccupied by the danger of AIDS contamination and the need to use condoms especially for this: 12% of the boys and 4% of the girls. Generally the youth not having a stable partner are proposing themselves to use condoms more that those having a stable partner. Between 1992 and 1996 the total number of those using this method grew from 77% to 82%. The habit to use this method is generated by the level of studies. 71% have an education under the EGB level, 85% have secondary studies, 89% have university studies.

Although in most cases these data are not specified in the National Report but in other documents provided by INJUVE we do consider that their mentioning is important to frame the groups at risk of AIDS contamination in Spain:

- those using syringes for drugs consumption
- those with less education
- those with stable partners but have also random sexual contacts

- those aged between 25 and 29

The international group of experts identifies the positive fact of the high interest of the youth aged 15 - 20 for avoiding the AIDS contamination.

This is the group with least AIDS cases. However, we do not have sufficient data to be able to explain this phenomenon.

Finally we state that we would expect more data to be found on the health state of the youth population in Spain: biological potential indicators, the chronic diseases table. The physical potential indicators. We do not have in this moment, lacking this data, a complete picture on the Spanish youth as a resource for the development of their country.

We can only suppose that the health resources of the Spanish youth are relatively good because:

- a certain high refinement on the gastronomic habits can be found in Spain (that can transform in an enemy for health if excessed)
- there is a great interest of the youth for the models in sport and for practicing sports
- the living standards are decent ones

It is not to be neglected that from the psychological stand point, some problems to appear. In our opinion there are indicators that reflect a relatively increased anomie degree of the youth. These indicators are due to uncertainty related to obtaining a workplace, a house and generally to the possibility to have an autonomous life.

From the interesting sociological study provided by the Granada local authorities, we found out that the Granadian youth are interested by the health at second instance after the interest on their family and the love and work. They indicate as priorities for the health conservation, ways relatively unexpected: the regular teeth brushing (88.3%) is more important than not to smoke (65.6%), not to drink alcohol (57%), or to consume other drugs (80.9%).

In the study referred we were provided the following information regarding the youth indications on their health abnormalities: the exhaustion (21.4%), headaches (20.4%), the sleeplessness (19.2%), lack of appetite (13.9%) and anxiety (20.4%). In the opinion of a medical doctor from Granada, the characteristic that generates this picture is the sleeplessness. This fact is due to the fact that many of the responders to the survey questions are students. There are also indicated the Spanish general practice of irregular sleeping hours, prolonged parties, and copious meals.

Of course, such a study cannot be generalized. However it is certain there are significant correlations between the daily youth behaviors - dictated by habits and historical frames and their health state.

A conservation and development policy for the youth health cannot take into account the educational aspect for the remodeling of some of these habits.

4. YOUTH POLICY IN SPAIN'S PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

At the moment, there is a system elaborated and complicated for initiation and implementation of youth policies in Spain. The main actors are: the central administration, the regional/ province administration, the local administrations and the Youth Council of Spain (CJE).

At the central level the key positions are occupied the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, INJUVE, and the Interministerial Committee for Childhood and Youth that performs the main document of the youth policy - integral youth plan.

By support of the INJUVE, the Integral Youth Plan is being disseminated or implemented at the provinces and local levels. There are also engaged in its preparation the autonomous communities, town councils, youth councils and youth associations.

The authors of the National Report have presented us "in extenso" the political activity at the central level cause of the fact that "it should be pointed out that this report pays special

attention to the shaping of the "general state administration's youth policies in its approach". Drawing up youth policies in the Autonomous and Local Administrations is addressed in its most general lines from this standpoint". The international team of experts has faced the situation not to be able to verify this statement.

During the visit paid by the group at the Mayoralty of Granada, it was observed that national youth programmes were present but not known at the local level.

In Granada, the Gypsies are treated not as a disadvantaged ethnic group but as one equal to the Spanish even though a special national programme is promoted through INJUVE with regard to the insertion of the Gypsies in their communities. Related to this Granadian option we had the opportunity to see the Gypsies from Alhambra living in the caves of the neighboring hill and firing their fires. Nor the regional youth programmes are well known at the local level. Even though in Seville a number of programmes of European Integration were presented to us, as well as it was told that the youth from Andalusia region want to travel firstly in Europe than in another region of Spain, in Granada, these programmes were not known by the responsables for the local youth policy.

It is known that the youth policies at the autonomous region level are relatively independent of those promoted at the central level. In this context, we do not believe that in reality they are much influenced by the central policy as stated in the National Report. What seems to us worrying is the fact that in the name of respecting the local autonomy there is the possibility that certain comparative studies on youth cannot be undertaken. We wrote in a previous chapter about one of those studies (the measuring of the social distance between the youth living in the 17th Spain's provinces. It is believed that in the matter of diagnosing the youth problems there should be a better possibility to find and circulate information.

Related to the above aspect, it can be stated that the co-ordinating function of INJUVE is a political one and the Director of INJUVE is at the same time Secretary of State in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

The international team of experts has observed that by difference with the situations in Holland and Finland, in Spain the problem of involving the research is not raised when

elaborating the youth policies. In Spain, everything is focused around INJUVE. Even the Spanish national report even performed by an independent University it is using almost exclusively the INJUVE data. The youth policy in Spain is being formulated following statistics and surveys.

The authors of the National Report extensively presented to us the last document on the youth policy of Spain (the Youth Plan - 1994-1997). It is an impressive document with regard to the multitude of the issues approached (35). The main majority of them are opportunity offers. Few of the themes are oriented towards youth in difficulty. There is a contrary situation of the one presented by the Dutch Report, where the youth policy was exclusively focused on the disadvantaged youth (15%).

In our opinion, this issue occurs along to the definition of youth concept in Spain: the youth in difficulty are included automatically in the normal youth category. The Youth Plan (1994 - 1997) was realized by the Interministerial Committee for childhood and youth that automatically prepares through periodical meetings the new plan on the youth policy. We do not know the frequency of the Committee meetings but we do know that the CJE representatives were not invited to discussions for the last two years. The CJE representatives were not invited to discussions nor in the youth commission of the Spanish Parliament where they also have a seat.

These facts lead the members of the international group of experts to the conclusion that not all the principles and democratic rules presented in the National Report cannot be always respected, surely because of objective and contextual reasons.

Generally it is considered that the Spanish Government does a great effort for aligning the Spanish youth policy to the requests of the EU and for solving the problems of the Spanish youth. The normalization of functioning of this policy will be achieved gradually. The recent history of Spain has demonstrated to us that in the youth matters, spectacular developments were realized and each youth generation has extracted the positive side of the things, even the situations were not always the easiest ones:

- during Franco an active youth generation was created because of the NGO dynamism; they knew how to rapidly approach the democracy issues after the end of Franco
- in the first years of democracy a centralized youth policy was realized that even failed has experimented the new democracy principles in the youth matters
- starting 1983 the local administrations have emancipated in such a way that transmitted bottom up ideas with regard to youth policy
- starting 1985, the idea of Integrated Youth Plan and the participation of all involved sectors were launched on the formulation of the youth policy.

5. SUBSTANTIVE RATIONALIZATION v.s. FORMAL - RATIONAL REASONING

The Spanish legislation on youth has many texts that belong to the formal-rational reasoning:

- the authorities are obliged to promote a place for young people in the society;
- the youth have the right to expression;
- the youth has the right to be educated;

Today, an important debate in juridical science, namely for the countries realizing social reforms is the shift from formal - regional reasoning to substantive rationalization. It is needed for the law to fit society to take into account economic, sociological, psychological or ethical criteria when referring to a population that will be the subject of the law.

In practice, there is a shift from the idea that all are equal for the law to a thinking that individualizes solutions.

Substantive rationalization in law supposes much social work, social reform, preventive intervention and curation. The social, psychological, economic, and law application consequences are emphasized.

In the opinion of the international group of experts the biggest deficiency of the present Spanish legislation is the neglecting of substantive rationalization and the abundance of laws

in which focus on formal-rational reasoning, in the name of democratic principles. Because of this, many of youth social problems cannot be solved:

- one of two youth are engaged through the "Enshufe" system;
- the majority of working youth cannot live on their income;
- in faculties, the number of youth coming from poor families is a half than those from rich families;
- the school abandonment in ESO scholar cycle is being produced namely because of economic reasons;
- at the best work posts offered by the labor market have access especially the youth from families with medium-high, and high income;

Without doubt, while the Spanish society develops economically, these aspects will diminish. Till that time, there are youth in difficulty to whom the Spanish legislation rarely refers specially.

There are, of course, attempts to use of substantive rationalization in the youth policy that we would like to present. They are projects or reflections that would, in future, transform in laws that fit society.

Few examples of such projects are:

- **First meeting of reflection on Youth Policies - CJE, 1996**

Referred to the application of the Article 48 in the Constitution of Spain which indicates the obligation of the authorities to promote a place for young people in society, the NGO representatives from Spain observed:

- Non coordination between different administrations. In this context "Youth Plans are more a sum of different measures as taken by the administrations departments than an authentic framework of strategic action in youth matters"
- The competence of the local administrations must be raised on the basis of the application of subsidiary and solidarity principles.
- The weak consultation of the NGOs for performing of youth plans. A law is necessary to regulate what are the rules of co-management with regard to resources and policies that affect the youth.

- The unequal involvement of the administrations on the application of youth plans.

- **Green Paper (162/249), June 1998 - the Congress of Deputies**

Employment:

- The Occupational Training is a weak educational system. The needs of labor market are not taken into account and thus the qualification that students get is weak. It is proposed an actualization of qualifications and certifications namely through National Occupational Qualifications Institute.
- Training for the new employment sources is necessary: services of a social nature, new information technologies;
- It must be appealed to the new employment sources in the business sector. Application of new technologies in the fields of community services, the environment and the communication industry, the audio visual sector.
- The promotion of youth associativity: "several investigations have detected how young associated people find work more easily and in a shorter time scale".
- The creation of insertion enterprises for the youth in long term unemployment.
- The control of correct allocation of working contracts for youth through work inspectors and work controllers namely at the companies that use the various types of temporary and training contracts".

Housing:

- activating a strategy, based on rehabilitating properties in historic town centers where most of the empty properties are located (in Spain only 17% of the constructions sector budget is allocated for this activity as compared with the 33% the European average).
- Insufficiency of the subsidized housing supply - its type and size have to fit young people's demands. For this it is proposed to involve the Saving Banks (Cajas de Ahorro) in housing projects for young people (they have the development of social works amongst their statutory functions).
- Development of specific policies directed towards temporary lodgings earmarked to workers and students who have to move for their activity. There are proposed youth hostel networks and development of the project Young Housing Exchange that is already applied in some communities.

All these appear to be interesting starting points for the design of laws that will be based on substantive rationalization.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The international team of experts has elaborated the following conclusions and recommendations:

- a) In general, it is profitable that laws based on the substantive-rationalization thinking should be promoted.
- b) It is recommended that a youth concept to allow the individualization of youth policies to be promoted. Such a concept must individualize problems and not to globalize.
- c) The Spanish family is a resource insufficiently used in this moment. It therefore must be more engaged in the dialogues designing the youth policies.
- d) Laws or educational projects must be promoted to support the formation of independent families of young people:
 - The education of the young generation in the sense that it must accept the idea that at the moment, having a house must not mean necessarily to be its owner. You can establish a family in a rented house also.
 - Limiting the age that young people can afford to purchase a house till the European level of 25 to 27 years old (not 30 - 32 as in present).
 - The education of young generation for accepting the fact that the women in families cannot dedicate exclusively to the "sus labores" works.
 - Ensuring a special protection to the Spanish youth that have or accept children born outside the marriage (1/4 of the youth).
 - Softening, through specific laws of realizing of nonformal types of links, not legalized through marriage for those couples that did not decide to marry.

- e) With regard to the employment issue we propose:
- Offering of some opportunities for the youth to mainly get work contracts for indefinite periods.
 - Modification of the labor unions provisions that make very difficult the possibility of hiring or firing people in companies. Setting up a dialogue with the youth to be offered with more employment opportunities.
 - Elaboration of some educational projects that limit the negative effects of some mentalities and habits: practicing of nepotism, fear of self employment, the discontent on the manual work, the work promotion based on the criteria of obedience and loyalty and not in those of competence, difficulty of team work, low valorization of personal initiatives and creativity.
 - Realization of special laws for the insertion of the youth in difficulty, namely of those with early abandonment of the school or being in long term unemployment.
- f) With regard to the problem of education we do consider that the following actions would be needed:
- Adaptation of the educational reform to the needs of the Spanish state after the adaptation was made to the European standards.
 - Raising of the attractivity on the Occupational Training for the youth. At present, those following this form of education are the product of negative selection: scholar abandonment or the impossibility to follow the university courses. Once the image on the Occupational Training has been modified the image will be modified about the manual work considered a form of social failure.
 - The diminishing of the regional differences on the implementation of the regional reforms.
 - Attracting and use to a greater extent of the students and parents in the State School Councils and in the educational reforms in general.
 - Elaboration of an intensive program to learn foreign languages in schools: modification of the youth mentalities to better accept that this fact is useful for them.

- g) With regard to the policies dedicated to the structuring of the free time of youth we do propose:
- the stimulation of youth to participate in the NGOs for the implementation of non formal education projects. It would be good to find ways to attract the youth coming from poor families and from the rural environment into these associations.
- h) We do recommend the promotion of intensive studies for measuring the social distances between the youth in the 17 Spanish provinces.
- i) The use as a resource of the youth trend to adopt right wing political ideologies for the mitigation of some mentalities such as the nepotism and fear of self-employment.
- j) Reorientation of the National Programme on Drugs from the repressive philosophy to a substantive philosophy to individualize the prevention and curation.
- k) With regard to the youth policy in Spain's public administration we do recommend:
- The creation of an effective support network for the factors that concur to the elaboration of this policy. The Finish model of networking is very interesting from this standpoint.
 - The engagement to a greater extent of the civil society and specialized organizations in the elaboration of the Youth Plans.

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