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The European Discussion on Youth Work 2015-2020

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Research on children, young people and families at the interface of science, politics and practice

The German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V., DJI) is one of the largest social science research institutes in Europe. For more than 50 years it has been researching the living conditions of children, young people and families, advising the federal, state and local authorities in Germany and providing important impulses for professional practice.

Founded in 1963, its supporting organisation is a non-profit association whose members stem from the political and academic spheres, as well as from other associations and institutions dedicated to the support of children, youth and families.

The DJI is financed mainly by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth and the German federal states. It receives additional funding for projects from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the European Commission, foundations and other institutions dedicated to the promotion of research.

At present, nearly 400 employees (including about 250 researchers) work and research at the institute's two locations in Munich and Halle (Saale).



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Executive Summary

The paper "The European Discussion on Youth Work 2015–2020" of the Centre for European Youth Policy at the German Youth Institute provides an overview of the discussions on youth work taking place in documents published and/or financed by the Council of Europe, the European Union and associated organisations. The analysed documents were published between 2015 and June 2020 and contain "youth work" in their titles.

General Overview

Following a lexical search of keywords, the general overview identifies trends in the analysed documents. These trends relate both to the conceptual basics of youth work and to the societal challenges that youth work is responding to. Whereas a keyword like "youth worker" is continuously mentioned in all documents over all years, other keywords follow trends, for example "refugee", which increases from 2018 onwards. Comparing political to professional documents show that political documents focus slightly more on conceptual keywords rather than on keywords associated with societal challenges, whereas professional documents focus slightly more on societal challenges.

In summary, the general overview provides a specific pattern of topics that have been discussed in the European institutional discourse on youth work during the past five years: the relationship between youth work and overriding societal challenges; youth work and its support to young people in their personal development; and the framework conditions for youth work that support the previous two discourses. Following this pattern, the paper is divided in three more content-related chapters: the importance of youth work for society; supporting personal development as an important strategy for youth work; and the conceptual basics of youth work.

The Importance of Youth Work

Why is youth work necessary? The documents assert that youth work contributes to its surroundings, empowering the individual, building bridges to the community and tackling societal challenges. They sketch a picture of challenges – for example financial and economic crises, the increase of migration – within European society that youth work can contribute to tackling. In doing so, youth work contributes to upholding democratic values and human rights, social cohesion, social diversity, freedom of expression and values, as well as dealing with the consequences of emerging social polarisation and social

exclusion. With regard to young people themselves, the need for youth work is emphasised by its role in promoting inclusion, active citizenship and well-being of young people.

The strategy through which youth work contributes to tackling societal challenges is, according to the documents, its ability to empower young people and support their personal development.

Supporting Personal Development as an Important Strategy for Youth Work

One of the main responsibilities of youth work as far as young people are concerned is to confront the various life challenges and emerging threats they encounter. This is done on the individual level by contributing to the knowledge, skills and values of young people.

Besides this focus on encountering challenges and threats, youth work takes a more general approach by providing guidance for young people in the development of their own life projects. According to the analysed documents, on the one hand, youth work has the task to support young people's development in terms of social participation and inclusion (including the promotion of active citizenship and the creation of a positive identity); while on the other hand, it has the task to support individual personal development in terms of skills and personality, contextualised by socialisation processes.

According to the analysed documents, youth work addresses all young people, but at the same time specific groups of young people are considered as being in need of support. In recent years documents have focused on, for example, young refugees as a specific target group for youth work.

Conceptual Basics of Youth Work

The third perspective discussed in the analysed documents is what makes youth work unique in fulfilling its role. In other words, what makes youth work special? The discussions in the analysed documents can be clustered around four topics: The core of youth work; youth work proceedings; professionalisation and the promotion of quality youth work; and youth work qualifications.

Youth work is both a method and a movement, based on the core principles of voluntary participation, youth-centeredness, mutual respect between youth workers and young people, accessibility and openness, flexibility, and the promotion of a rights-based approach, diversity, and inclusion. Youth work is

about creating spaces where young people can meet, where divides can be bridged and where social integration of young people is supported.

In order to do so, the recognition of youth work by other actors and sectors plays an important role. One discussion on *what* should be recognised focuses on the recognition of competencies acquired by young people in youth work activities and by youth workers as part of their education and training. Another discussion focuses on recognition of youth work as a professional field in contrast to other policy fields (e.g. social work, education). The discussion on *how* youth work can be recognised by other actors and sectors gained momentum through the debate on the politicisation of youth work, which has been launched in the past few years. A focus on the core principles of youth work helps youth work to gain visibility in contrast to other actors and sectors.

Discussions in the analysed documents on the core proceedings of youth work focus on innovative methods as well as cooperation between actors and sectors. Youth work has to continuously ask the question of whether its concepts still fit the everyday life of young people, and thus has to review its working methods. Digital and smart youth work are the main methods discussed under the heading of innovative youth work. With regard to cooperation, the analysed documents stipulate that strengthening connections between practice, policy and research within the youth field could be enahanced by the development of a youth work policy. Second, the analysed documents stipulate aneed for cross-sectoral cooperation. Not only can youth work provide other sectors with information about the views and needs of young people, but it can also act as a stakeholder for young people.

The discussion on professionalisation and the promotion of quality youth work has been part of youth work development since its early beginnings. In the analysed documents, it is discussed under the heading of the need for a quality assurance framework, the need for better organised education and training of youth workers as well as the need for ethical and employment standards for youth workers. A knowledge-based approach to youth work is one of the mechanisms called for to develop a reflective practice based on systematic evaluation and research.

Finally, the topic of youth worker education and training gained much attention during the last five years. The documents discuss the need for a (European) youth worker education and training system, which, as is argued, would contribute to the recognition of youth work.

Conclusions

The aim of the 3rd European Youth Work Convention is, after discussing the diversity and common ground of youth work in the previous editions, to focus on the further development and implementation of youth work at the European, national, regional and local level. The conclusions drawn from this analysis are the following:

- There exists a core understanding of European youth work. This understanding is however by and large detached from what is discussed in other contexts (for example, employment or health);
- Youth work's strength is its holistic approach: Young people are perceived as a whole and are not reduced to just one (problematic) aspect;
- Fundamental themes of social inclusion and participation play a major role in the European discourse on youth work;
- Some of the major issues that have been discussed in European discourse in general have been neglected in youth work discourse, as far as the analysed documents are concerned. Examples are gender equality, gender inclusion, mental health and well-being, and environmental issues.

For the 3rd European Youth Work Convention, the analysis presented in "The European Discussion on Youth Work 2015–2020" means that there is a need to think about which topics should be raised at the Convention, with whom youth work should cooperate and how European and national actors can transport the vision of a European Youth Work Agenda into actual implementation of youth work development on all levels – without losing the identity of youth work and the great values youth work offers young people and society.

Introduction

Five years have passed since the last European Youth Work Convention (EYWC) was held in Brussels in 2015. During these years many of the initial discussions that took place there have been deepened in political documents, projects and seminars, expert group reports, handbooks and other formats. The 3rd European Youth Work Convention will be organised by Germany during its Presidency of the Council of the European Union (EU) (July–December 2020) and the German Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (November 2020–May 2021) and will take place in December 2020. In the course of preparations for the next European Youth Work Convention, the question was put forward of what "happened" between the 2nd European Youth Work Convention in 2015 and July 2020, when the German EU Council Presidency started.

This paper reviews European political and professional documents on youth work in order to address this question. It aims to provide a synopsis of the contents of the main political and professional documents on youth work that were published at the European level between 2015 and June 2020. These documents reflect the debates on the European level in so far as they have been written down in the documents. The paper thus shows how the common ground of European youth work has been made visible during recent years. In doing so, this document functions as one of the essential basic documents for setting priorities and providing background knowledge for the development of the European Youth Work Agenda under the German EU Coucnil Presidency and for planning the content of the 3rd European Youth Work Convention¹.

¹ See www.eywc2020.eu

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Methodology

Before discussing the findings, this chapter outlines the methodological approach taken in the selection and analysis of documents.

Document Selection

Due to the huge number of European publications related to youth work over the last decade, the decision was made to narrow down the number of documents in three steps. First, only officially published documents in English were taken into account. Second, it was decided to focus on official documents published by the EU and the Council of Europe as the main European institutions. Furthermore, documents published by the Partnership between the European Commission and the Council of Europe in the field of youth (hereafter "Youth Partnership"), Strategic Partnerships from the Erasmus+ Programme, the Horizon 2020 and the Seventh Framework Programme and the European Youth Forum were considered because these are organisations and programmes working closely with the EU and the Council of Europe. Third, the initial systematic search focused on documents published after 2015, while a hand search was done on documents that were known and published before 2015.

In cooperation with JUGEND für Europa, the National Agency for Erasmus+YOUTH IN ACTION and European Solidarity Corps in Germany, we systematically searched (see fig. 1) for documents on youth work that were published between 2015 and mid-2019, when an initial version of this paper was written (Hofmann-van de Poll et al. 2019). After the search, the list of documents was cleaned of duplicates and non-relevant documents (e.g. calls for proposals, country overviews). The remaining documents were extended by a hand search of documents that were known to the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, JUGEND für Europa and the German Youth Institute, but did not appear in the systematic search (neither before nor after 2015). A group of experts at the Exploratory Meeting for the 3rd European Youth Work Convention, held in May 2019, validated this model.

Following this validation, further documents, mostly concerning the timeframe 2008–2015, were included in the model (see Appendix 1). Now having a roadmap of documents on youth work and youth work-related content at the European level from 2008 to mid-2019, the next step was to narrow down the number of documents to those that were actually to be considered for the synopsis of the European discussion on youth work since the 2nd European

Youth Work Convention. To keep the number of documents manageable, it was decided to only consider documents that were published from 2015 to mid-2019 and that have the term "youth work" in the title. In the end, 31 European documents on youth work were analysed in autumn 2019. Between then and June 2020, ten further documents were included in the selection on the basis of these selection criteria. These documents were published after the first selection mid-2019 but before the start of the German EU Council Presidency in July 2020. The current, final paper is based on 392 European documents on youth work, which are listed in Appendix 2.

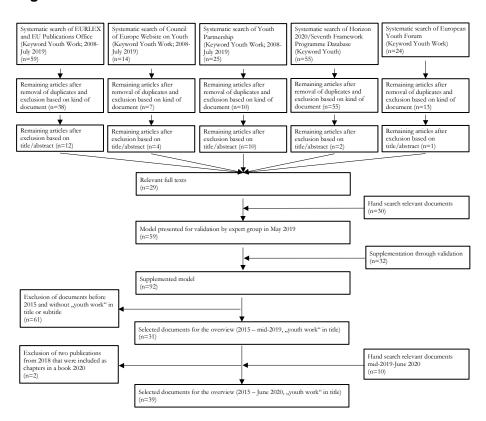


Fig. 1. Overview of document selection

Selecting documents that have been published by structurally-anchored and institutionally-mandated organisations means that we can make reliable statements about the development of European youth policy with regard to youth work, without diminishing the quality and relevance of other documents and processes that have not been taken into account. However, it should also be noted that this paper is thus based on the written outcomes of European

² The mathematical discrepancy is due to the fact that two documents that were published in 2018 and were thus included in the first selection and analysis in mid-2019 were then included as chapters in an edited book on youth workers in Europe (Taru et al. 2020). In the light of this inclusion, they were deleted from 2018 (see fig. 1). In the present text they are cited as Kiilakoski 2020 and as O'Donovan et al. 2020b.

discussions on youth work, rather than on the actual discussions themselves. Keeping in mind that in many European countries similar and different discussions about youth work are being held, the documents analysed here are to be understood as the lowest common denominator in the European debate on youth work (Siurala et al. 2016; Schild et al. 2017). Many other documents, projects, seminars, websites etc., which are not considered here, have played and are playing a role in disseminating and deepening the discussions and points identified here.

Document analysis

In order to answer the question of what "happened", the selected documents were analysed systematically. Based on the titles and abstracts of the texts, a category system covering the most frequently discussed topics was developed. This category system formed the basis for the categorisation of the key information extracted from each document. The categorised data was then clustered according to its content. The clusters were then analysed, identifying the main discussions and topics and determining their inter-relationships. After a general analysis, highlighting similarities and differences between topics and institutions (see chapter 2), a more in-depth analysis followed, focusing on the topics raised in the documents (see chapter 3–5). The findings of these analyses are presented in this paper.

General overview

This chapter presents a general analysis of the selected documents. For this purpose we obtained data by means of a lexical search of relevant keywords, which gave us an indication of when and how often specific topics were mentioned. The keywords were selected by the team based on the categorisation made during the document analysis.

But first, with a glance at Appendix 2 which lists all the documents analysed, and comparing the analysed documents published by the EU with the documents published by the Council of Europe, it becomes apparent that the topic of youth work appears to be dealt with predominantly by the EU (e.g. documents on youth work and transitions; the contribution of youth work to preventing marginalisation and violent radicalisation). If, however, the original chronology is used (see Appendix. 1), this picture changes. The analysis shows that decisive preconditions existed in both the EU and the Council of Europe which provided the impetus for the following publications:

- In the EU, the majority of the Council Conclusions and expert reports were announced in the EU Work Plan for Youth, which was drawn up under the EU Youth Strategy 2010–2018 and 2019–2027.
- The Council of Europe, following a rights-based approach, focuses on the necessary conditions for providing different groups of young people with access to rights. As such, youth work is only of importance in establishing this access, rather than as a stand-alone topic.

A further analysis shows, however, that concrete topics addressed in the Council of Europe Recommendation are being and have been dealt with within the framework of studies by the Youth Partnership (e.g. education of youth workers).

In the following analysis, documents adopted by the Council of the European Union and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe are classed under the heading policy documents. Professional documents are documents published as reports and studies by other bodies such as the European Commission, the Youth Partnership and others.

One of the first questions which arose during the analysis of the documents was that of which topics were discussed over the years. By simply looking at the document titles in the overview (Appendix 2), a number of themes quickly

emerge. Analysing the content of the documents allowed further topics to be identified. After compiling a list of keywords,³ a lexical search showed how often they were mentioned.

Methodologically, the analysis of the lexical search was conducted by treating words as data and extracting positions by scaling the word frequencies. As the selected documents differ in size, disproportionalities were compensated by taking the total number of keywords identified in each specific document as the basis and expressing the relative frequency of mentions. We consider the relative frequency of mentions to be an indicator of the degree of importance attached to a specific topic within the document.

Table 1 (page 17) shows a list of keywords that were mentioned in the analysed documents between 2015 and June 2020.

The keywords are listed according to the relative frequency of their occurrence (in percentages) in the analysed documents over the years. The table also shows the correlation of frequency of occurrence with the year of publication ("Corr w year") and the average total value for the relative frequency of mentioning a key term over all years and documents ("total mean"). The correlation coefficient can take a value between minus one and plus one. A negative value represents a negative correlation between the relative frequency of occurrence of the keyword and the year of publication of the text. This means that over the years, this term appears less and less frequently in the documents. With a positive value, it is the other way around: The higher the deviation from zero, the greater the trend. Values close to zero indicate that no trend can be identified. These correlations are mirrored in the development of the average percentage of keyword mentions in each year. The percentages refer to the share of mentions of a topic in the total number of mentions of all key terms in a text, averaged for one year.4 The keywords are sorted in descending order by the values in the column "Total mean".

³To make tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 more comprehensible, some keywords encompass several search terms. The keyword "Formal, non-formal and informal learning" contains the search terms "formal learning", "non-formal learning" and "informal learning". The keyword "Smart and digital youth work" contains the search terms "smart youth work" and "digital youth work". The keyword "Evidence- and knowledge-based" contains the search terms "evidence-based" and "knowledge-based". Different forms of spelling, i.e. s/z are also considered.

⁴ To explain this methodology, we take the year 2015 and the keyword "inclusion" as an example. In the document "The contribution of youth work" European Commission 2015b, all keywords together are mentioned 498 times. The keyword "inclusion" is mentioned 38 times, or 7.6 percent. This value is also 7.6 percent for the 2 mentions of "inclusion" of a total of 26 mentions of all keywords in the "Council Conclusions on reinforcing youth" Council of the European Union 2015. Together with the 23 out of a total of 699 mentions in "Quality Youth Work" European Commission 2015a, i.e. 3.9 percent, this results in a mean value for the relative frequency of the term "inclusion" in 2015 of 6.2 percent. This example shows how this methodology compensates for the disproportionality resulting from the different lengths of the documents.

Tab. 1. Overview of keywords between 2015 and June 2020 in all documents ⁵

Topic	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total mean	Corr w year
Education	17.3	21.6	16.5	17.5	24.5	26.8	20.5	.34*
Youth worker	7.5	11.3	13.0	12.5	19.1	26.7	15.5	.18
Quality	29.9	6.9	12.6	8.6	7.3	14.5	11.7	12
Refugee	.0	.1	5.7	17.4	8.7	1.1	7.6	.16
Participation	4.0	2.4	6.5	9.1	6.6	8.2	6.9	.16
Formal, non-formal and Informal learning	8.1	10.7	6.7	1.8	3.1	2.1	4.5	48*
Recognition	2.9	10.9	3.3	2.1	2.4	4.6	3.9	39*
Employment	9.3	3.0	4.3	3.4	2.1	1.5	3.5	28
Inclusion	6.2	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.8	2.1	3.3	30
Radicalisation	1.3	.9	4.1	5.4	.4	.7	2.7	.03
Smart and digital youth work	.0	-	4.9	3.2	4.1	.8	2.7	.09
Validation	2.1	14.2	1.3	.1	1.6	1.0	2.5	16
Human rights	.1	1.0	1.3	2.7	3.2	2.6	2.1	.15
Transition	3.7	.7	2.0	1.6	.8	1.0	1.5	02
Gender	.3	.3	.7	3.3	1.9	.7	1.5	.15
Innovative	.4	5.2	1.4	.7	1.6	.8	1.5	10
Active citizenship	1.6	.7	2.8	.8	1.3	.9	1.3	14
Mental health and well- being	1.9	.9	1.1	1.5	1.8	.7	1.3	07
Migration	.1	.3	.6	1.8	2.3	.6	1.2	.16
Cross-sectoral	1.2	3.2	1.7	.5	.8	.4	1.1	54*
Equality	.4	.5	.7	1.1	1.1	.6	.8	21
Entrepreneurial learning	-	-	3.2	-	.0	.1	.7	02
Marginalisation	1.3	.8	1.2	.4	.2	.1	.6	09
Evidence- and knowledge- based	-	1.0	.8	.3	.1	.3	.4	09
Professionalisation	.0	.4	.3	.3	.6	.6	.4	06
Environmental issues	.1	.2	.4	.3	.5	.4	.3	.25
N	3	4	7	10	6	6	;	36

Note: all values in %. "Corr w year": Correlation between relative frequencies of mentions and year, significant correlations (p < .05) are marked with *. "-": no mention of the keyword at all.

Table 1 shows that certain keywords – for example "youth worker", "quality" and "education" – are continuously relevant in European documents on youth work. Other keywords however show a greater level of variance. Such varying occurrences of a keyword over the years indicate whether these topics only occur occasionally – as in the case of the keyword "refugee", which rarely featured in the years 2015 to 2017 but has a relatively high occurrence in 2018 – or signal a relative increase or decrease in its importance in European documents over the years. Whereas the keywords "youth workers" and "participation" have become more important in terms of the frequency of mentions, the topics "education", "inclusion", "formal, non-formal and

⁵ The tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 are based on a lexical search. This means that different meanings of a keyword cannot be differentiated. An example is the keyword education, which is used in the documents both in the context of youth worker education as well as in the context of transitions from education to employment.

informal learning", "recognition", "employment" and "cross-sectoral" have received less attention in the documents over time. This can be (partly) explained by political developments or scientific and public debates. Another reason for the varying occurrence of a keyword could be the interaction between the different institutions which published the documents. However, the fact that there are relatively few cross-references between the various documents speaks against this argument.

As the analysed documents consist both of conclusions and recommendations from the European institutions as well as reports from expert groups and research projects, the keywords were also analysed with regard to the distinction between political and professional documents. This analysis reveals differences between the frequencies of occurrences of keywords between the two document groups. Table 2 (see page 19) shows the relative frequencies of keywords in political documents and professional documents. Table 3 (see page 20) shows the same division over the years in greater detail.

Comparing the two groups of documents in table 2 shows that the relative frequency of mentions, averaged over the entire period, does not differ significantly between the two groups. There are however some exceptions. The keywords "refugee", "smart and digital youth work", "innovative", "active citizenship" and "cross-sectoral" are more important in the political documents than in the professional documents. "Education", "quality", "participation", "radicalisation", "validation" and "human rights" are more important in the professional documents.

It is therefore not clear whether the policy documents refer more to the conceptual basics of youth work and less to the social challenges such as "radicalisation" and "migration", with "refugee" being the main exception. Compared to policy documents, professional documents focus more on conceptual basics such as "education" and "quality" but also on societal challenges such as "radicalisation" and the contribution of youth work to meeting these challenges such as "participation".

Tab. 2. Overview of keywords in professional and political documents in general

		al documents 5 – 2020	Political documents 2015 – 2020		
Topic	Mean	Corr w year	Mean	Corr w year	
Education	21.7	.18	17.4	.38	
Youth worker	15.3	.40*	15.9	.76*	
Quality	12.1	11	10.7	42	
Refugee	6.7	.10	9.8	.07	
Participation	7.4	.22	5.5	.37	
Formal, non-formal and informal learning	4.7	60*	4.3	51	
Recognition	4.1	26	3.2	.14	
Employment	3.8	38	2.6	42	
Inclusion	3.0	.01	3.9	58	
Radicalisation	3.1	01	1.5	72*	
Smart and digital youth work	1.3	.04	6.2	.05	
Validation	2.9	26	1.3	68*	
Human rights	2.5	.31	1.0	.15	
Transition	1.4	27	1.9	11	
Gender	1.6	.10	1.3	.24	
Innovative	.7	.07	3.4	32	
Active citizenship	.9	.18	2.4	45	
Mental health and well-being	1.2	.20	1.5	58	
Migration	1.2	.19	1.1	.09	
Cross-sectoral	.7	48*	2.2	37	
Equality	.8	.16	.8	.04	
Entrepreneurial learning	.9	12	.1	.46	
Marginalisation	.6	15	.8	70*	
Evidence- and knowledge- based	.3	09	.8	28	
Professionalisation	.5	.18	.1	.46	
Environmental issues	.4	.10	.3	.26	
N		26	10		

Note: all values in %. "Corr": Correlation between relative frequencies of mentions and year, significant correlations (p < .05) are marked with * .

Tab. 3: Overview of keywords between 2015 and June 2020 in professional and political documents

Topic	Doc.	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Education	pol.	19.2	14.5	11.4	7.9	23.9	25.0
	prof.	16.3	24.0	20.2	18.6	24.8	27.7
Youth worker	pol.	3.8	14.5	7.1	15.0	22.4	30.0
	prof.	9.3	10.3	17.4	12.2	17.5	25.0
Quality	pol.	34.6	12.7	5.8	4.7	5.1	13.7
	prof.	27.5	5.0	17.8	9.0	8.4	14.9
Refugee	pol.	-	-	12.5	31.5	12.2	2.4
	prof.	.1	.1	.6	15.8	6.9	.5
Participation	pol.	-	-	7.6	9.4	5.4	6.1
	prof.	6.1	3.2	5.6	9.1	7.2	9.2
Formal, non-formal and	pol.	7.7	1.8	7.0	3.9	1.8	2.4
informal learning	prof.	8.4	13.6	6.6	1.6	3.7	1.9
Pagagnition	pol.	3.8	1.8	3.7	-	1.5	5.9
Recognition	prof.	2.4	13.9	3.0	2.4	2.8	4.0
Farala, are and	pol.	3.8	3.6	5.1	.8	-	1.3
Employment	prof.	12.0	2.8	3.8	3.7	3.2	1.6
Inclusion	pol.	7.7	7.3	4.2	2.4	1.6	2.7
Inclusion	prof.	5.5	1.1	1.5	3.6	4.8	1.8
	pol.	3.8	3.6	1.7	_	.5	.9
Radicalisation	prof.	.1	-	5.8	6.0	.3	.6
Smart and digital youth	pol.	_	_	11.3	_	12.2	1.6
work	prof.	.1	_	.1	3.6	.1	.3
work	pol.	3.8	1.8	2.2	_	_	.4
Validation	prof.	1.2	18.3	.7	.2	2.4	1.4
-	pol.		10.0	1.3	3.1	.5	1.1
Human rights	poi. prof.	.1	1.3	1.3	2.7	.5 4.5	3.4
-	-		1.8	3.6	2.4	.5	1.5
Transition	pol. prof.	5.6	.4	.9	1.5	.s 1.0	.8
	pol.	0.0		.5	3.1	3.9	.1
Gender	poi. prof.	.4	.3	.s .8	3.1	3.9 .9	1.1
	-						
Innovative	pol.	- .5	18.2 .8	2.4 .7	.8 .7	3.6 .7	.6 .9
-	prof.						
Active citizenship	pol.	3.8	1.8	4.9	.8	.5	.8
	prof.	.5	.4	1.2	.8	1.7	.9
Mental health and well-	pol.	3.8	1.8	1.4	2.4	.8	.8
being	prof.	1.0	.6	.9	1.4	2.4	.7
Migration	pol.	-	-	.8	7.1	.5	.5
	prof.	.1	.4	.5	1.3	3.3	.7
Cross-sectoral	pol.	-	10.9	2.2	-	1.8	.5
	prof.	1.8	.7	1.3	.5	.3	.3
Equality	pol.	-	-	.9	3.1	.8	.1
	prof.	.7	.7	.5	.9	1.3	.8
Entrepreneurial learning	pol.	-	-	-	-	-	.4
Littlepreneunarieanling	prof.	-	-	5.7	-	.0	-
Manufaction	pol.	3.8	1.8	.5	-	-	.4
Marginalisation	prof.	.1	.5	1.8	.5	.3	-
Evidence- and	pol.	-	1.8	1.3	1.6	-	.1
knowledge-based	prof.	-	.8	.4	.1	.2	.4
	pol.	-	-	-	-	-	.4
Professionalisation	prof.	.1	.6	.5	.4	.9	.7
	pol.	-	_	.4	_	.5	.4
Environmental issues	prof.	.2	.2	.4	.4	.5	.3
N	-	3	4	7	10	6	6
			•	•			

Table 3 clearly shows the differences between political and professional documents over the years. Looking at the keyword "smart and digital youth work", it is interesting to see that although there has been a discussion on innovative styles of youth work (keyword "innovative") in political documents from 2016 onwards, the keywords "smart youth work" and "digital youth work" were only mentioned in 2017 and 2019, when the EU Council Conclusions on respectively smart youth work (Council of the European Union 2017a) and digital youth work (Council of the European Union 2019a) were adopted. And whereas innovative youth work is mentioned continuously albeit marginally in professional documents, these documents hardly mention smart and digital youth work (see tab. 2: mean 1.3 percent for professional documents, compared with 6.2 percent for policy documents.). Although the developments on smart and digital youth work may have been discussed in these documents under other headings, it is still interesting to see that while the role of digitalisation in society continues to gain in prominence across Europe, smart and digital youth work are hardly mentioned in professional documents specifically on youth work, with just one exception (Theben et al. 2018).

In the case of the keywords "cross-sectoral", "recognition" and "validation", the year 2016 is also interesting, as the relative frequencies of citations in political and professional documents differ greatly. "Cross-sectoral" is clearly a political terminus, whereas the terms "validation" and "recognition" seem to be used more in the professional discourse.

In order to ascertain whether these tendencies are specific to the period 2015 – June 2020 or whether they predate this period, a similar breakdown of keywords was done for both Declarations of the European Youth Work Conventions 2010 (European Union 2010) and 2015 (Council of Europe 2015) (see tab. 4 on page 22). The starting point for the overview was the assumption that both Declarations reflect the respective status and challenges of European youth work in 2010 and 2015. Being political documents, the two Declarations show similar tendencies compared with the other political documents: there is a focus on keywords related to the conceptual basics of youth work, rather than keywords related to societal challenges.

Tab. 4. Overview of keywords in the Declarations of the European Youth Work Conventions

Topic	2010		2	015
	%		Rank	%
Youth worker	26.7	1	2	13.9
Recognition	15.0	2	1	16.7
Quality	13.3	3	3	12.5
Cross-sectoral	8.3	4	6	5.6
Education	6.7	5	4	9.7
Formal, non-formal and informal learning	6.7	5	5	6.9
Participation	5.0	6	6	5.6
Validation	5.0	6	8	2.8
Employment	3.3	7	7	4.2
Inclusion	3.3	7	7	4.2
Active citizenship	1.7	8		-
Equality	1.7	8	9	1.4
Human rights	1.7	8	8	2.8
Professionalisation	1.7	8	8	2.8
Evidence- and knowledge-based	-		8	2.8
Migration	-		8	2.8
Innovative	-		9	1.4
Mental health and well-being	-		9	1.4
Radicalisation	-		9	1.4
Transition	-		9	1.4
Entrepreneurial learning	-			-
Environmental issues	-			-
Gender	-			-
Marginalisation	-			-
Refugee	-			-
Smart and digital youth work	-			-

Note: The table shows the relative frequencies of topic mentions in the text of the Declarations by sum of the total number of mentions in the specific Declaration.

Interestingly, the keywords taking the first five ranks in the 2010 Declaration and the 2015 Declaration are almost the same – with the exception of "cross-sectoral" in 2015 – even their frequency of occurrence does not differ much. They all refer to the conceptual basics of youth work. Whereas keywords like "migration" and "radicalisation" are first mentioned in the 2015 Declaration, the keywords "marginalisation" and "refugee" are not mentioned at all. This confirms the tendency which could already be read from tab. 2 and tab. 3 and was also to be seen in the overview of the political documents. Several keywords were not mentioned at all, indicating that they became relevant mainly after the 2nd European Youth Work Convention.

The Declarations of the First (written during the Belgian EU presidency) and the Second (written during the Belgian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe) European Youth Work Convention serve as important points of reference⁶ for both political and professional documents. A similarly important point of reference is the report of the expert group on youth work quality systems (European Commission 2015a), which was often quoted in EU documents for its definition of youth work. In addition, it can be seen that there are relatively few cross-references between documents published by the EU, the Council of Europe and the Youth Partnership. Each of the institutions mainly refer to the above-mentioned Declarations of the European Youth Work Conventions, or the respective EU Council Resolution on youth work from 2010 (Council of the European Union; Representatives of the Governments of the Member States 2010) and the Council of Europe Recommendation on youth work from 2017 (Council of Europe 2017).

In summary, this general analysis offers a basic overview of important keywords from 2015 to 2020 and their interrelations. It also reveals a number of trends regarding the divergence between political and professional documents as well as the topics these documents deal with.

An in-depth content analysis reveals a specific pattern that can be identified across all the documents analysed. This pattern forms the basis of the structure of the content-related analysis which will be presented over the ensuing chapters.

All documents assert that in one way or another youth work contributes to its surroundings. These contributions take place at three levels: that of the individual, the community and society in general (Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020). Whereas the contribution of youth work to the community is mainly dealt with in documents on refugees (European Commission 2019; Council of the European Union 2018a; Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018; Pisani et al. 2018), the individual and societal contributions are addressed in all documents.

The aspect of the relationship between youth work and young people in Europe and the overriding societal theme or challenge they are contributing to is discussed in chapter 3. In dealing with societal themes or challenges, it is the task of youth work to support young people in their personal development. This is the individual level that youth work is contributing to (chapter 4). The question then arises as to which framework conditions for youth work were discussed in the documents with regard to the two previously mentioned aspects (chapter 5).

⁶ The importance is determined by the number of references to these texts found in the analysed documents.

3.

The importance of youth work

All documents, and especially the political ones, clearly show that there are specific overarching aims that provide a foundation for the importance of youth work. These aims refer to the values and ideas of society as a whole. This connection is particularly clear, for example, in the 2017 Council of Europe Recommendation:

"Young people are a key resource in building a social and just Europe. Societies are at high risk of undermining stability and social cohesion if they allow the current difficult circumstances to create a 'lost generation' of disillusioned and disengaged young people. Adequately supporting young people today, including through the provision of quality youth work, is an important investment Europe has to make for its present and for the future. Not doing so represents a loss of opportunity to strengthen contemporary civil society, a threat to social cohesion and weakens the potential for dealing effectively with some of the major challenges of our time such as migration, unemployment, social exclusion and violent extremism" (Council of Europe 2017).

This pattern can also be found in the reasoning of the European Union (Council of the European Union 2017b). Overall, developments such as increased migration and the financial and economic crisis are considered in the context of the ensuing challenges for society. These challenges include the preservation of democratic values and human rights, social cohesion and employment prospects as well as consequences of social exclusion (López and Pasic 2018).

Youth work is seen as being able to bring about a positive change to society by reacting to emerging societal change in preventatively addressing potential problems (Council of the European Union 2016). A specific example is the reaction of the youth work sector to an increasing polarisation of society (López and Pasic 2018) by addressing issues like xenophobia, racism and fake news (European Commission 2019).

All of these societal developments and challenges affect young people's communities and thus everyday societal life in general. Societal challenges are thus determined locally (Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020; Andersen et al. 2017). For example, it is stipulated that with the creation of an enabling environment, youth work supports young refugees to become actors in community development, thus reducing reservations, xenophobia and racism

(Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018). Moreover, all the above-mentioned societal challenges are also discussed and considered from an individual perspective that can also take into account, for instance, inclusion⁷ and wellbeing.

It can be seen from the documents considered that in dealing with these challenges the main focus is on young people's acquisition of life skills to secure and enhance a) the strengthening of active citizenship, b) social and human rights, c) civic responsibility as well as on the recognition and respect of democratic values, promoting cultural diversity, and guaranteeing freedom of expression and belief. Youth work is considered one main actor in supporting young people with this important task and their personal development.

In particular, three main thematic areas could be identified in which the contribution of youth work to young people's personal development in line with an overarching societal goal was named:

First, one goal is to create an inclusive society by preventing exclusion of disadvantaged groups of young people and at the same time enhancing social inclusion by supporting young people to understand wider society (European Commission 2015b). The prevention of social exclusion is mainly approached by fostering both disadvantaged and mainstream young people's inclusion into adult society (Schild et al. 2017), thus supporting young people to become active citizens in society (Panagides et al. 2019). The enhancement of such active citizenship through youth work activities makes a large contribution to the sustainability of European identity (Council of Europe 2017). Second and consequently, youth work is a space for developing European patriotism and European citizens (Schild et al. 2017) by promoting human rights and European values (Basarab and O'Donovan 2020). At the same time however it is warned that youth work is fragile and can be manipulated and instrumentalised for undemocratic and nationalist purposes (Williamson et al. 2019). Third, youth work is assigned the task of mediating between the lifeworlds of young people and society in general (Siurala et al. 2016), building bridges between young people and their communities in particular (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018).

Generally speaking, by fostering young people, youth work contributes to the well-being and prosperity of society (Andersen et al. 2017). The overall aim, stated in the documents, is a society that is oriented towards equality, inclusion and well-being (Williamson et al. 2018). As such, youth work responds to challenges and trends in society that affect young people (Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020).

⁷ Inclusion is used in the analysed texts as a term that goes beyond the inclusion of young people with disabilities.

However, the image of youth work as the sole solution to societal challenges is somewhat too ambitious in regard to challenges like social inclusion and prevention of radicalisation. In the documents considered, youth work is not regarded as the sole actor in dealing with societal issues. It is clearly enunciated that youth work is dependent on cooperation with other sectors. Relevant sectors for such cooperation are, mostly, education, security, health, social partners and employment (Williamson et al. 2018; Andersen et al. 2017; European Commission 2015b). In working with young refugees, the cooperation between youth work and community work, in the sense of a "whole community approach", is an important cornerstone (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018). The issue of (cross-sectoral) cooperation is not only addressed from the restricted perspective of youth work being in need of external support. Rather, the debate goes beyond this and addresses to what extent youth work can also enrich other sectors (see further chapter 5).

In addition to these previously outlined debates within European youth policy, future challenges are also being identified and addressed. Discussions on youth work's contribution to society will need to continue in the future to raise and broaden awareness (European Commission 2015b). At this point, however, a clear warning is formulated. It is important not to fall for the fallacy of linking general results to specific youth work activities (European Commission 2015a). Thematically, it is important to include current and future developments in the development of new tools and approaches for youth work as an appropriate response to the challenges of society (Council of the European Union 2016). The role of digital youth work is especially highlighted in this regard (Council of the European Union 2019a; European Commission 2018).

4.

Supporting personal development as an important strategy for youth work

As already described in the previous chapter, one pattern revealed in the analysed documents indicates that youth work can confront societal challenges by supporting young people's development. Therefore, youth work is important in its contribution to societal development as well as to the personal development of young people. In trying to tackle societal challenges, youth work focuses on encouraging and supporting young people to strengthen their active citizenship in society (Council of Europe 2017). By encouraging civic engagement among young people, youth work contributes to a robust European society as well as social cohesion (Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020).

This chapter will focus on the main discourses identified with regard to young people's personal development. Two main perspectives have been taken into account within the European discussion. The first topic was what makes youth work unique in its contribution to young people's development (see chapter 5) and secondly how youth work manages to support young people's development.

The first issue that came to our attention, connected with the question of what distinguishes youth work in particular, was the question of the target group. It is not extensively discussed in the documents, but is mentioned repeatedly. It is said that youth work addresses all young people but at the same time also specific groups of young people who seem to need special support. In recent years, a focus was laid on young refugees as a specific target group of youth work (European Commission 2019; Council of the European Union 2018a; Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018; Pisani et al. 2018). This indicates that there is an obvious need to address challenges in dealing with specific groups, despite agreement that youth work is aimed at all young people. This can be traced back to the fact that youth work is expected to address many aspects of young people's personal development and faces the challenge of bringing together individual needs with overarching goals. In the documents analysed, a special focus is placed on some of these goals targeted through youth work. These goals vary from very broad ones to quite specific and focused ones.

Thus it is stated that one of the broader goals of youth work is to confront the various life challenges and emerging threats (Council of the European Union 2016) for young people. In this very universal context, great emphasis was placed on counteracting the effects of the financial crisis, young people's transition from education and/or unemployment to employment becoming a relevant issue (European Commission 2015b). Youth work does so by contributing to the knowledge, skills and values of young people, supporting their activism and empowerment. To do so, youth work provides (experimental) learning spaces (Council of the European Union 2019a), information, networks (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018) and bridges between young people and the community (Basarab and O'Donovan 2020; Siurala et al. 2016).

In the documents, goals are not only specified as related to challenges and difficulties. Youth work is also understood from a general creative perspective, for instance with regard to providing guidance for young people in developing their own life projects. Youth work activities aim to support all young people in accessing their (human) rights and participating in the public sphere (European Commission 2019). Participation by young people in general is also one of the main objectives. For achieving lasting success, the view is not exclusively focused on the individual themselves, but rather on the individual as part of a social network and thus subjected to a variety of influences. Thus, youth work aims not only to enhance the potential and development of the young people themselves, but also supplements other influences (parents, teachers, peers, social media) (Siurala et al. 2016).

Nevertheless, how does youth work manage to achieve these goals and what developments are needed to achieve them? These are two of the most prominent questions within the analysed documents.

One of the most universal yet influential aspects raised in the documents is that of how the provision of youth advocacy contributes to young people's lives (European Commission 2019, 2017).

More specifically but still generally spoken, youth work tries to support, on the one hand, young people's development in terms of social participation and inclusion, while on the other hand also supporting individual personal development in terms of skills and personality in the context of socialisation processes.

Development towards social participation and inclusion

The discussion highlights that youth work tries to support active citizenship amongst young people by providing everyday social spaces (Schild et al. 2017). It is considered important for youth work to act as a mediator between young people and the society they live in. This is thought to enable young people to have better access to integration into the society they live in (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018; Schild et al. 2017).

The development of a positive identity and a sense of belonging (Council of the European Union 2018a; Council of Europe 2017; Schild et al. 2017) are seen as important mechanisms that form a basis for preventing the segregation of young people at risk and providing an opportunity to escape the conditions of poor social integration (Schild et al. 2017). This forms an overarching framework and paves the way for civic engagement and political participation by young people (Council of the European Union 2018a), bringing about positive social and political change (Basarab and O'Donovan 2020).

Development of skills

Youth work supporting personality development is considered to be equally important in order to enable young people to acquire the skills described above. This impact of youth work on young people's lives is, among others, studied in a comparative research between five European countries (Ord et al. 2018).

Different aspects of promoting young people's personality development were identified in the documents. Youth work offers various activities and programmes that can be defined under the heading of encouraging socialisation towards a standard biography (Schild et al. 2017) and supporting young people in finding and pursuing constructive pathways in life is one of the major challenges for youth work. One recommended starting point for youth work is professional support in the process of young people becoming independent (Panagides et al. 2019). The overall goal of these efforts should be to create a positive destination in the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Theben et al. 2018; Williamson et al. 2018).

All these developments cannot be encouraged without also considering personal change. This change is brought about by discovering talents that can be built upon and developed into capacities. The 21st century will need personalities who have learned to live with all its challenges and changing conditions (Council of Europe 2017). In more specific terms, this means supporting young people to develop their own (positive) identity, breaking old stereotypes and habits as well as developing individual potentials (European Commission 2015b). That these developments are helpful and necessary in supporting young people is argued at various points in the analysed documents.

The positive effect of youth work on personality development also brings a qualitative change to the lives of young people. One of the fundamental values and principles pursued in youth work is a holistic approach to supporting young people (Council of the European Union 2016). Interestingly, it is pointed out that such a holistic approach is often missing in strategies for developing youth work in a digital era (Council of the European Union 2019a).

Aside from these more abstract formulations, the discussions in the analysed documents also move onto more concrete terrain when addressing the role of youth work in skills development. The development of skills is addressed from various points of view. Skills are understood as a basis for getting a job. But in many of the documents it is also about learning certain skills that enable active citizenship, like constructive self-expression, participation, human rights, social rights issues, and the practice of solidarity (Ohana 2018). Others are regarded as general life skills, like self-esteem, confidence and taking ownership, problem solving behaviour, interpersonal concern, as well as communication and cognitive abilities (Pisani et al. 2018; Council of the European Union 2017a, 2017b; Schild et al. 2017). Skills like confidence, resilience and trust empower young people to take matters in their own hands (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018).

5.

Conceptual basics of youth work

After focusing on the role and significance of youth work in promoting personal development as a response to societal challenges in the previous chapters, the question now arises of what the conceptual basics of youth work are. This chapter analyses the central topics that discuss the notion of youth work in the analysed documents.

These discussions are clustered around the following topics:

- The core of youth work
- Youth work proceedings
- · Professionalisation and the promotion of quality youth work
- Youth work qualifications

The core of youth work

The 2nd European Youth Work Convention provided a "common ground" for youth work. Nevertheless, youth work is a broad term covering a wide variety of actions (Council of Europe 2017) in which both consensus and dissent can be found about its definition. Questions that are still open to discussion concern, among other aspects, the age range, the policy scope of youth work and ideological perspectives (Schild et al. 2017) as well as the relationships between education and citizenship, between individuals and society, and between professionalisation and professionalism (Siurala et al. 2016). Some of these questions have been dealt with in greater detail in the past years and will be presented later in this chapter.

Let us first turn to the picture of what youth work is and what makes it special, in spite of the various levels of both consensus and dissent that have been revealed through the analysis of the documents.

First of all, from a historical point of view, it is stipulated that youth work is both a method and a movement, simultaneously containing structures and organisations (Siurala et al. 2016). Analysing the documents, it is striking that youth work is mostly discussed as a method (for finding solutions) or an offer (to young people). At the same time, youth work is said to be both providing spaces (in the sense of personal development, or a "forum" to meet at) and bridges (in the sense of a bridge between young people and the community, or

in providing a transit zone for young people from one life phase to another) (Williamson et al. 2019).

Second, the fundamental principles of youth work are: voluntary participation, youth-centeredness, mutual respect between youth workers and young people, accessibility and openness, flexibility, and the promotion of a rights-based approach, diversity, and inclusion. The authors of the analysed documents see in these principles one important reason for the attractiveness of youth work (Basarab and O'Donovan 2020; Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020; Europe Goes Local 2019; Council of Europe 2017; European Commission 2017; Schild et al. 2017; European Commission 2015b). The analysed documents define the specific characteristics of youth work as being a field that pays attention to different areas of life, focuses on all young people and, very importantly, takes a positive view on young people, emphasising their talents, skills, abilities and capabilities (European Commission 2015b), while respecting individual differences (Council of the European Union 2018a). Documents on youth work and refugees also highlight autonomy, the confrontation of life realities and needs, the creation of spaces for association and mediation, and participatory approaches to the forgoing list (Council of the European Union 2018a; Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018; Pisani et al. 2018).

Third, youth work is about creating spaces (Council of Europe 2017). The professional documents differentiate between various purposes, including bringing young people together, bridging divides based on gender, socioeconomic status or ethnicity, and providing places for both mainstream and marginalised youth (Williamson et al. 2018). In creating these spaces, youth workers can contribute to the development of young people's social capital through relationship building and formal and informal social networks (Pisani et al. 2018). Such spaces also function as bridges to support social integration of young people (Siurala et al. 2016).

Both political and professional documents stipulate that the lack of a clearly defined framework delineating what youth work actually is and what it can contribute to society is not so much a problem within the youth work sector, but becomes a problem when communicating with other policy areas. The desire within the youth work sector is that its work is recognised by politics and other sectors. Reflections on how such recognition can be achieved is therefore still an issue under discussion.

Recognition of youth work

The discussion on recognition can be summarised as a discussion on what should be recognised and how it should be recognised.

One discussion on what should be recognised originally focused on the competencies of young people acquired in youth work activities, with reports highlighting the validation (Cedefop et al. 2016) and recognition (SALTO Training and Cooperation Resource Centre 2016) of these competencies. However, with the Council of Europe Recommendation on youth work, which addresses training and education for youth workers among other things, the question of the competencies of youth workers and the associated recognition of these competencies increasingly moved into focus from 2017 onwards. Both the Council of Europe and the European Union call for a European competency-based framework for youth workers, arguing that transparency about competencies can be improved by establishing general European youth work qualifications (Council of the European Union 2019b; Council of Europe 2017). The SALTO Training and Cooperation Resource Centre has been developing such a framework with the "European Training Strategy – Competence Model for Youth Workers" (Ord et al. 2018).

A second discussion on what should be recognised focuses on the contribution of youth work to society (European Commission 2015b) and the recognition of youth work in general. This involves posing the question of how youth work and non-formal education can come to be recognised as professional fields in general (O´Donovan et al. 2020b) and how youth work can be legitimised as a profession capable of producing learning outcomes (Schild et al. 2017).

As to how the recognition of youth work can be enhanced, an analysis of the documents suggests providing visibility to the qualitative aspects of youth work and its impact on people's lives and society, rather than the quantitative aspects of youth work (Council of the European Union 2015). It is argued that the core principles of youth work should be the trademark of youth work. Such a focus on core principles, rather than on youth work activities, could enhance recognition of youth policy in general and among other policy fields (European Commission 2015a).

The debate on the recognition of youth work has gained new momentum in the documents published during the last year, in which the politicisation of youth work was discussed (Ignatovitch et al. 2020; cf. Ohana 2020; Williamson et al. 2019). They warn that the position of youth work is by no means secure and may even be marginalised. Youth work is coping with the challenge that on one side there is the risk of being "corrupted" as a tool for wider youth policy agendas and on the other side the risk of being used for the purposes of ideological renewal (Williamson et al. 2019). This challenge is reinforced by the gap between policy priorities and funding arrangements (O´Donovan et al.

2020b), youth work's long-term approach versus the instant results asked for by funders, state actors and the general public (Paddison and Baclija-Knoch 2020), as well as the political nature of youth work, the latter due to the fact that it is increasingly difficult to address sensitive and controversial issues without negative consequences (Ohana 2020).

Youth work proceedings

The question of recognition and a focus on core principles of youth work brings us to the question of how youth work should proceed.

As stipulated above, the participation of young people is a core principle of youth work. Young people are its central stakeholders and as such should be incorporated in the design, development and implementation of youth work. This guiding principle runs through all documents, whether of a political or a professional, and whether of a general or a specific (e.g. digital youth work, youth work in the context of refugees) nature. In addition to participation in general, it is stipulated that a bottom-up approach to discussing topics that concern young people can prevent their marginalisation and exclusion from society (European Commission 2017).

Innovative approaches

Even though it is guided by the principle of participation, a bottom-up approach such as the one suggested above is considered to be an innovative approach to youth work in the documents. Youth work continuously has to ask the question of whether its concepts still fit the everyday life of young people (Siurala et al. 2016). Such innovative approaches concern, for example, the promotion of new or broad concepts in youth work (Andersen et al. 2017), the use of non-formal methodology and informal learning in formal settings for civic education (European Commission 2017) and the use of young people as peers and role-models (European Commission 2019).

One specific innovative approach currently being promoted is outreach to the digital world (Council of the European Union 2019a, 2016). It is argued that youth work that neglects to use technology and social media is outdated and irrelevant to young people (Theben et al. 2018). In turn, policymakers should consider utilising the media and communication channels that are used by young people (Andersen et al. 2017). As such, the use of digital youth work would contribute to the Youth Goals that have been developed by young people in the EU (Council of the European Union 2019a). However, it is also argued that the realisation of the positive potential of digital technologies depends on preconditions and competencies such as access to technology and data literacy. This applies to both young people and youth workers (Council of

the European Union 2019a, 2017a). All analysed documents on smart and digital youth work as well as on the education of youth workers therefore call for a stronger focus on digital competencies in youth work. By enhancing digital youth work, new forms of social exclusion can be avoided, closing the digital divide between young people of lower and higher socioeconomic background. At the same time, the internet and social media provide an opportunity for political participation and engagement which would otherwise be more difficult to access (Theben et al. 2018).

Cooperation

Following innovative approaches, a second major topic in discussions on the future of youth work concerns cooperation within the youth sector and cross-sectoral cooperation.

Being part of the youth sector, the active development of a youth work policy is advocated for. This is defined as a commitment to investment in youth work, not only on the European level but also on other levels, relying on national frameworks and strategies (Council of Europe 2017). At the European level, the existing cooperation between the Council of Europe and the European Union, institutionalised in the Youth Partnership, plays an important role in advocating for such a youth work policy (Council of Europe 2017). Documents from 2019 formulate several expectations and limitations of such a youth work policy: First, it operates within a given social, cultural and political context and cannot be separated from other fields such as social or pedagogical work (Williamson et al. 2019). Second, a youth work policy, whether European, national, regional or local, should be in compliance with youth work principles, bring about cooperation between all stakeholders, be based on knowledge about young people's needs and receive resources appropriate to its aims and objectives. Moreover, clear and measurable qualitative and quantitative indicators would help monitoring youth work policy (Europe Goes Local 2019). Third, a challenge youth work policy is facing is whether it should focus on individualisation, i.e. the wishes of young people, or institutionalisation, i.e. the wishes of state and society (Williamson et al. 2019). This core ambiguity is reflected in the analysed documents, which consider youth work to be important for both society and the individual young person.

Moreover, the importance of dialogue between the three fields in the youth sector (youth work, youth policy and youth research) is stressed both in political documents (Council of the European Union 2017b) as well as in professional documents (Siurala et al. 2016). Although the relationship within this "magic triangle" is described as precarious and unstable, the documents highlight its potential. By sharing practices and insights from youth work with other actors in the youth sector, the danger of actors outside the field instrumentalising youth work by can be countered (Schild et al. 2017). Apart from the general

importance of dialogue between the three fields, the series on the History of Youth Work discussed the simplification inherent in the concept of the "magic triangle". The argument was presented that there is a variety of relationships apart from the relationship between youth work, youth policy and youth research (such as with young people or other policy fields) that is not covered by it (Williamson et al. 2019; Siurala et al. 2016).

This brings us to the topic of cross-sectoral cooperation. Both political and professional documents stipulate the vital role of cross-sectoral cooperation to youth work. The documents distinguish between two functions of youth work in cross-sectoral cooperation. First, it is about information as the youth sector can give insights on the views and needs of young people that other sectors do not have (European Commission 2019). Youth work functions as a stakeholder in cross-sectoral cooperation between different areas like law, education, housing and employment, thus providing complementary support to other services (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018). Second, by practising participation as a guiding principle in its actions, youth work may encourage other sectors to develop mechanisms for youth participation when they develop and implement policies and actions related to young people (Schild et al. 2017).

But youth work not only has a function in cross-sectoral cooperation, youth work also requires cross-sectoral cooperation. First, it can aid with developing the understanding of youth work itself. It is argued that by cooperating with other actors, the identity of youth work is made more visible (Siurala et al. 2016) as other partners must understand the principles (European Commission 2015b) and respect the values of youth work (European Commission 2017). In order to avoid instrumentalisation, youth work has to be able to communicate its strengths, impact and capacities (Schild et al. 2017) as well as understand the strengths and limitations of youth work in cooperation with other sectors (Pisani et al. 2018).

Second, youth work needs cross-sectoral cooperation to directly exercise its tasks. Not only does it encourage innovative thinking and the development of new approaches in youth work (European Commission 2018; Council of the European Union 2016), but it also promotes dialogue and provides tailor-made interventions (Council of the European Union 2018a; European Commission 2017). On the practical level it is suggested that cross-sectoral cooperation provides the opportunity to access and secure resources, yielding a wider array of learning opportunities and the expertise and insights of other sectors (Andersen et al. 2017).

Professionalisation and the promotion of quality youth work

Apart from the discussion on subjects to which youth work can contribute, the analysis of the documents revealed a further major topic which has been continuously discussed over the last five years and which is – from different angles – still being discussed today. This is the topic of professionalisation and the promotion of quality youth work.

The discussion on youth work quality started long before the 2nd European Youth Work Convention in 2015 (Ord et al. 2018). In the Convention's Declaration it is recalled that "There needs to be a core framework of quality standards for youth work" (Council of Europe 2015). Until today, there exists a very diverse mosaic of so-called quality assurance systems in Europe (O'Donovan et al. 2020b). The role of the European institutions and their funding programmes are fundamental in the promotion of quality in youth work practice, both in countries where youth work is established and in countries where youth work is being established (Ignatovitch et al. 2020; O'Donovan 2020a).

Following the Declaration and the work of the EU Expert Group on Quality Systems (European Commission 2015a), a handbook was published on how to develop and implement quality systems for youth work (KEKS et al. 2017). In an international project, InterCityYouth developed a concrete method to measure the impact of youth work through qualitative indicators (InterCity Youth 2018). It is stipulated that the development of appropriate forms of review and evaluation of youth work has to be supported in order to establish the quality of youth work (Council of Europe 2017; Schild et al. 2017).

The Youth Partnership unfolded the discussion on professionalisation in 2017, when an expert group on education and training of youth workers was established, resulting in a book on the practices, structures and policies of youth worker education in Europe (Taru et al. 2020). This research was supplemented by a study on youth work studies in 2019 (Panagides et al. 2019) and a study on the promotion of quality in youth work practice (O'Donovan 2020a). The discussions from these documents are analysed further below in the chapter on youth work qualifications.

Parallel to the discussion on the quality of youth work, a trend towards the discussion of professionalising youth work has emerged. The discussions focus both on European standard setting as well as linking youth work more closely to qualifications.

The discussion on standards cropped up mostly in documents published during the last year. Professionalising youth work through standard setting is necessary because it assists recognition of youth work and avoids its manipulation and tokenism (O'Donovan 2020a). Such standards refer both to the way youth

work is delivered, with a focus on codes of ethics and quality standards, as well as the professionalisation of youth work providers, with a focus on educational and professional standards (Ignatovitch et al. 2020). In the documents from the last year, the development of ethical standards for youth workers has been highlighted as an urgent task for European youth work (Basarab and O'Donovan 2020; Council of the European Union 2019b; Europe Goes Local 2019; Ignatovitch et al. 2020). A first exploration of existing codes of ethics has taken place (Taru et al. 2020).

Strengthening professionalism through the closer linkage of youth work and youth workers' qualifications has also been called for in the documents. However, this linkage could lead to the youth work sector becoming overly bureaucratised and formalised (Cedefop et al. 2016). The History of Youth Work series discusses this development and warns against a more formalised form of youth work as being neither in the interest of young people nor in the interest of youth work itself (Siurala et al. 2016). Such a tendency towards stronger professionalisation is accompanied by more precarious short-term projects focusing on combating the effects of societal problems, leading to an identity conflict for many youth workers (Williamson et al. 2018).

Another issue discussed in the context of quality, especially in regard to working with vulnerable young people like young refugees, is the establishment of supervision and guidance systems (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018; Pisani et al. 2018). Apart from guaranteeing quality, such supervision and guidance systems can also support youth workers by promoting their mental health as well as in maintaining personal engagement and motivation (European Commission 2019).

Finally, a knowledge-based approach for youth work is named as a major factor determining youth work quality. Such a knowledge-based approach concerns both information on young people as well as information on the functioning of youth work. Both political and professional documents state the need for information on the lifestyles and current living trends of young people, both at a general level (Council of the European Union 2016) and more specifically for particular groups like migrants (European Commission 2019) or particular topics like young people's digital uses and cultures (European Commission 2018).

Apart from information on young people, a knowledge-based approach also includes the use of information on the functioning of youth work itself. Political documents in particular stress the necessity for knowledge-based youth work with mechanisms to measure its outcomes and impact (Council of the European Union 2018a; Council of Europe 2017) including the development of a reflexive practice (Council of Europe 2015). According to recent documents, systematic evaluation and research is seen as a useful tool in mapping key youth work approaches, contributing to the legitimacy and

recognition of youth work (Ohana 2020). At the same time it is difficult to demonstrate the impact and outcomes of youth work and a balance is needed in terms of what youth work can achieve in this sense. If youth work concentrates too much on demonstrating the impact and outcome of its work using elaborate methods, it will no longer be doing youth work. However, if it is not open to the call for accountability, it is difficult to gain public recognition (Williamson et al. 2019).

Reviewing the documents, the concept of professionalisation has often been associated with the negative connotation of bureaucratisation (Williamson et al. 2018; Cedefop et al. 2016; Siurala et al. 2016). A more positive approach towards professionalisation is taken when it comes to mapping career paths and education and training (Taru et al. 2020). Questions such as supervision or knowledge-based approaches are not addressed in this context, although they could be understood as contributing towards professionalisation. Rather, they are introduced and addressed as part of the discussion on youth work quality.

Youth work qualifications

Due to the continuous commitment to the development of quality and professional youth work provision (European Commission 2015a), the education and training of youth workers has come to the fore.

Research on the education and training of youth workers shows that the education and training landscape is extremely diverse. Some European states offer degrees in youth work, some do not. The degrees on offer are sometimes of a theoretical nature, and sometimes combine theory and practice (Panagides et al. 2019). A division between central/northern/western Europe and southern/eastern Europe in education and training is identified (O´Donovan et al. 2020b).

Already in 2017 the Council of Europe called for the development of coherent frameworks for education and training to ensure the quality of youth work (Council of Europe 2017). The experience gained within the European Long Term Training Courses in regard to human rights training has provided initial learning experiences both for participants and the European level as a training provider. As a positive policy example they give insights into how the European level and engagement with policy can support youth work efforts (Ohana 2018).

In order to enhance youth work training, it has been suggested to provide more information on training opportunities concerning new challenges, for instance in the contexts of digital youth work (Council of the European Union 2019a; European Commission 2018) as well as migration (European Commission 2019; Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018) and to develop peer-learning and networks as training opportunities (Panagides et al. 2019). Recent documents

stress that education of youth workers can only be successful when sustainable structures and resources are in place, and education is sensitive to difference in training needs for paid and volunteer youth workers (Council of the European Union 2019b; Taru et al. 2020).

In addition to the call for (European) education and training systems, the documents are also quite specific about what kind of education and training is needed. Apart from (partly already existing) education and training on the core principles and values of youth work, specific training is also required on new approaches using both online and offline tools (Council of the European Union 2016). Offline tools can be combined with training on digital (European Commission 2018) and smart (Council of the European Union 2017a) youth work. Closely related to these training needs is the call for programmes that specifically enhance the capacity of youth workers, e.g. in the use of learning tools, methodologies and practices (Council of the European Union 2017b). According to the documents, working with migrants is a particular challenge for youth workers due to the lack of adequate education and training. What is needed is training on human rights, legal frameworks, languages, cultures, intercultural dialogue, dealing with mental health and trauma, gender roles and gender identity as well as opportunities for reflecting on the influence of religion on identity and on the promotion of European values (Council of the European Union 2018a; Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018). It would be helpful if the training needs related to migration could be mapped, before being brought into a coherent framework (Council of the European Union 2018a).

What else?

In addition to these debates, which have been central and relevant for the last five years, it became clear in the context of the analysis that further topics are relevant independently of the discussion threads presented above.

One major aspect that appears throughout most of the debates and topics is the question of funding. This shows that, thematically, issues were dealt with from a content perspective but not detached from the structural conditions of implementation. Unfortunately, however, only superficial references were made to this content perspective, so that the question of funding has not yet gone beyond the regular mentioning of European support programmes like the EU Erasmus+ YOUTH IN ACTION, the EU European Social Fund and the Council of Europe European Youth Foundation as important sources of funding. Only in the latest publications of the Youth Partnership has the topic of funding youth work been deepened as sources and forms of funding on different state levels are discussed (Basarab and O´Donovan 2020; Ignatovitch et al. 2020).

It also turned out that not only the general values and goals, contributions and activities were dealt with or only current topics were perceived – even if they do take up the most space in the main debates. The question of missing topics was also raised. With regard to youth work history, it is assumed that some topics have been side-tracked because of other contemporary priorities, or that they are still perceived as being taboo (an example from Finland are topics related to youth work and the Second World War (Siurala et al. 2016)). Nevertheless, it shows that there is an awareness of the need for a future-oriented perspective that focuses on the further thematic development of youth work in order to still be able to make a valuable contribution in the future.

6.

Conclusions

While the 1st European Youth Work Convention celebrated the diversity of youth work, the goal of the 2nd European Youth Work Convention was to find a "common ground". This seems to have been reasonably successful when comparing the definitions of youth work in the post-2015 documents. Nonetheless, it is noticeable that even almost ten years after the 1st European Youth Work Convention and the EU Council Resolution on Youth Work in 2010, every document, whether political or professional, begins with a definition of youth work, including forms, principles and values that underlie youth work. The question arises as to whether this repetitive work of definition is an expression of the insecurity of youth work actors, explicating itself in the reiteration of what youth work means, and/or an expression of differentiating youth work from other policies, to emphasise its own unique character.

The common ground quoted in this paper shows, due to the selection of documents, the understanding of youth work that is reflected in the institutional European discourse. The core that has been defined is still very general and offers great scope for interpretation in the design of youth work. Also, this understanding of youth work is by and large detached from what is discussed in other contexts (for example, employment or health). Nevertheless, it is obvious that a European core of youth work exists. The question that then arises is how this European core will continue and influence the national and sub-national levels. Discussing this question will be one of the major tasks of the 3rd European Youth Work Convention.

The analysis also revealed that certain challenges and threats have already been identified in recent years. It is important not to lose sight of them in the future – especially when it comes to taking action and implementing a European Youth Work Agenda. One major strength of youth work is its holistic approach. Young people are perceived as a whole and are not reduced to just one (problematic) aspect – for example being unemployed, radical, or someone who has to be educated. Youth work is aimed at all young people and not just at a problematic group. However, if it comes to discussing the implementation of youth work and youth work policy, it quickly runs the risk of focusing on concrete groups, aspects or topics and forgetting this very strength of holism in both respects.

This discussion about a holistic versus a specific approach also returns in the discussion about the core of youth work. Here it is the discussion about the perception, especially from a functionalist perspective, of youth work. The current discussions in youth work about professionalisation and the question of "good youth work" reinforce this perception. Furthermore, problems caused

by the impact of austerity on youth work provision increase the risk of narrowing the focus of youth work to a pure problem orientation. Since all countries in Europe are dealing differently with these issues, it is important not to lose sight of the special features of youth work at least at a European level. In the end, youth work is all about taking the strengths of young people to address different kinds of weaknesses.

The aim of the 3rd European Youth Work Convention is, after having discussed the diversity and common ground of youth work in the previous editions, to focus on the further development and implementation of youth work at the European, national, regional and local level. If one wishes to take action in the light of the findings in this paper, the first question is, what is the goal of that action and which aspects are to be considered? Looking at the titles of the documents shows that many discussions about youth work are conducted in a specific context (e.g. migration, education, employment), which means that they are about the contribution of youth work to a specific societal issue/challenge. If one were to adopt this approach, then the focus on youth work development during the 3rd European Youth Work Convention would have to be marked by specific societal issues and challenges.

The analysis has also shown that the fundamental themes of social inclusion and participation play a major role in many documents – not only as topics in themselves but also as overriding goals reflected in most documents. It is about how to help young people (disadvantaged as well as mainstream) to find their place in society and to prevent individual exclusion from creating negative consequences for society. If one takes this focus on inclusion and participation seriously, then one focus at the 3rd European Youth Work Convention should be under the banner of discussing youth work topics that involve the lifeworlds of young people.

If one wishes to include young people according to the holistic approach, then it is a logical step to build on what we already have and what is being driven forward. From this perspective it would be worthwhile to take a closer look at the Youth Goals developed within the framework of the EU Structured Dialogue. Also the manifesto "Young ideas for the Future of Europe" produced by the project #EngagEU and financed within the framework of the EU Europe for Citizens Programme, could be considered here. Many of the themes in both papers overlap.

The analysis further shows that acting in the field of youth work often involves cross-sectoral cooperation. The thematic interests of young people from the Youth Goals and the #EngagEU Manifesto confirm this approach. In the field of youth work, the question arises not only with whom it must collaborate, but also with whom it wants to collaborate. The difference lies in the fact that, in the first case, cooperation is forced by the issue. In the second case, cooperation

arises from the interest of youth work in working together in cooperation towards a shared goal with other policy fields.

Since the first version of this paper was presented in autumn 2019 (Hofmann-van de Poll et al. 2019), the corona outbreak and subsequent COVID-19 pandemic has had a major influence on youth work. Although it does not alter the findings of this paper, it surely influences current and future debates, raising questions like the necessary youth work infrastructure for young people, also with regard to reducing the impact of the pandemic on the lives of young people, and the systemic relevance of youth work. The question of innovative youth work, which has in the past years often been discussed in the light of digital youth work, now gains new weight.

Looking further afield and past the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences, it is noticeable that some issues that have been discussed in Europe in recent years do not, or hardly ever, appear in the context of youth work – at least as far as the documents selected here are concerned. Four examples, being discussed in European context but hardly in the analysed documents on youth work, are outlined here.

First, there is the issue of gender equality. The fact that this issue is becoming increasingly relevant and political is not only reflected in ongoing discussions on the balanced composition of political offices, governments and board memberships of large companies. Looking at the Youth Goals mentioned above – explicitly demanding the equality of all genders – it is clear that the question of gender equality is as important for young people as it is for society. With regard to youth work and refugees, the question of gender equality and access to youth work is acknowledged as being a challenge that youth work has to tackle (Henriques and Lyamouri-Bajja 2018).

A second issue is that of gender inclusion. A study on Europe's LGBT population shows that around 6% of the EU population classifies itself as LGBT, with a significantly higher attribution among young people aged 14–29. At the same time, the data show that the attributions vary greatly between countries, ranging from 7.4% in Germany to 1.5% in Hungary (Lam 2016). To what extent this is an indication of social acceptance in different countries is to be debated. Nearly 50% of the respondents to the EU LGBT survey experienced discrimination or harassment because of their sexual orientation (FRA - European Union Agency for fundamental rights 2014). Corresponding with the Youth Goal of inclusion, these data show that there is a need to address the issue of acceptance and inclusion of LGBTQI+8 more strongly in youth work policy and practice if striving for an inclusive society as well as a youth

⁸ See Youth goal #2: equality of all genders, in: Council of the European Union 2018b.

work orientation towards the lifeworlds of young people in Europe are to be taken seriously.

As a third issue, mental health and well-being is gaining increasing significance in European general policy and specifically in European youth policy. So far however, the health issue is hardly addressed in documents and debates concerning youth work policy. There could be a role for youth work in creating more sensitivity among young people with regard to dealing with (mental) health issues.

A fourth issue, which has (re)gained European importance since the Paris Agreement of 2016 on climate change, is the issue of global warming, climate change and "green" youth work. Looking for example at the EU, the issues of global warming and climate change are spearheaded by the previous European Commission under Jean-Claude Juncker and the current Commission under Ursula von der Leyen. In the field of European youth work however – at least as far as the documents analysed here are concerned – environmental issues do not yet seem to have arrived. If one does not want to lose touch with the world in which young people live – and the Youth Goals, where the environment plays a prominent role, are just one example of that – then there is still a development task for (European) youth work in this area.

For the 3rd European Youth Work Convention, this means that there is a need to think about which topics should be raised at the Convention, with whom youth work should cooperate and how European and national actors can transport the vision of a European Youth Work Agenda into actual implementation of youth work development on all levels – without losing the identity of youth work and the great values youth work offers young people and society.

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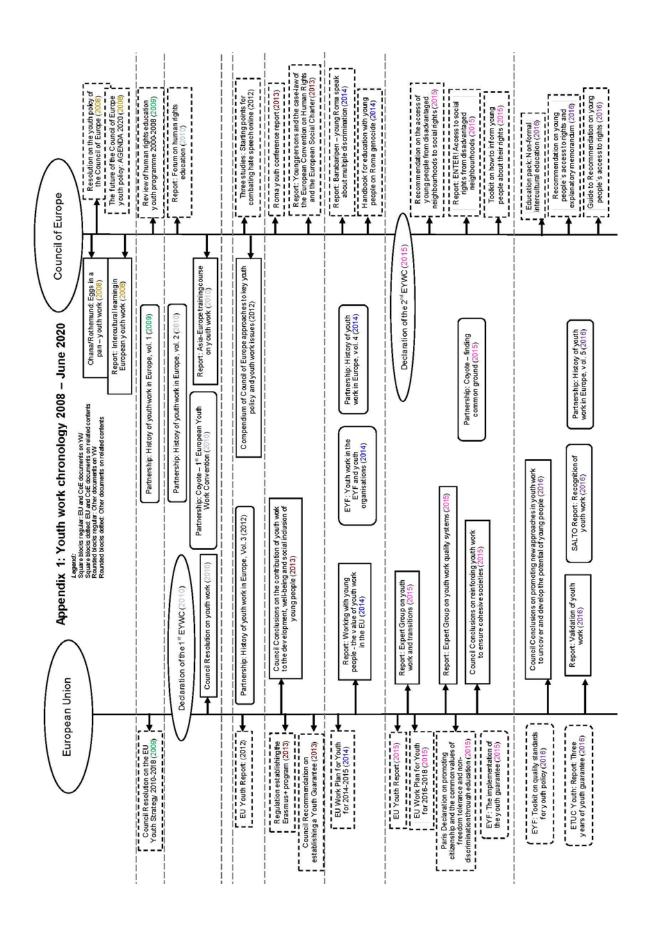
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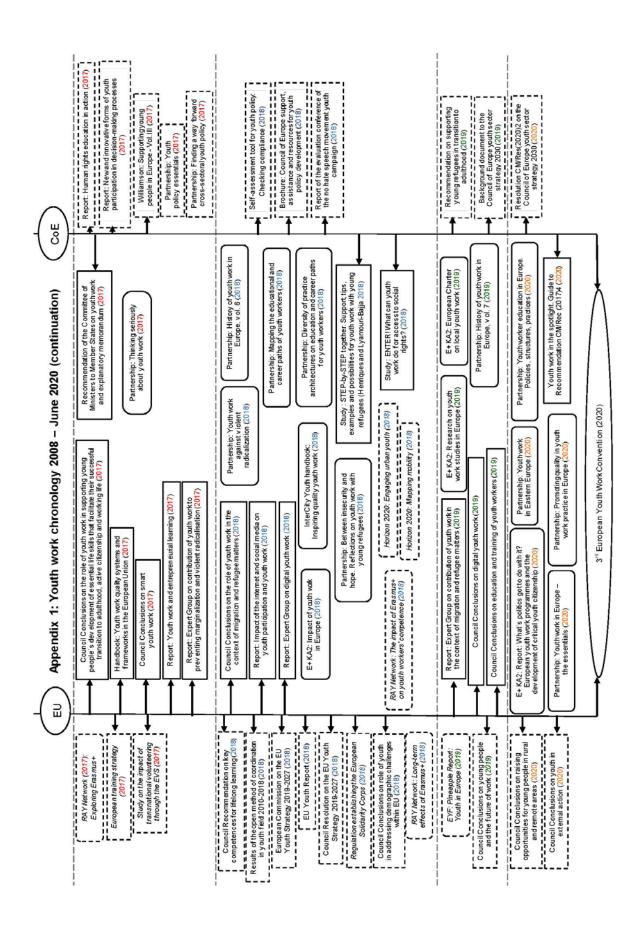
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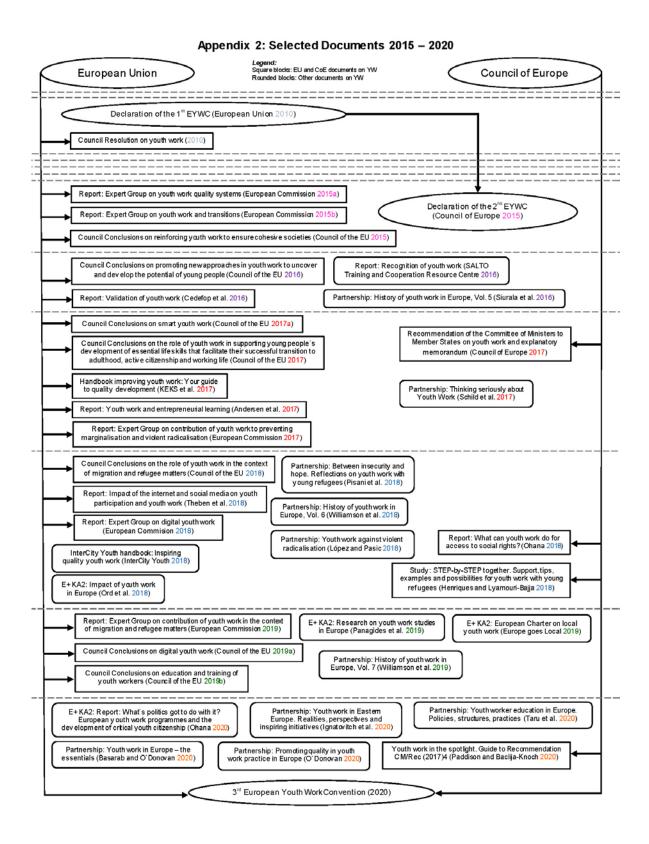
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