

Young

<http://you.sagepub.com>

Youth and education

Sven Morch

Young 2003; 11; 49

DOI: 10.1177/1103308803011001076

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://you.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/11/1/49>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Young* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://you.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://you.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.in/about/permissions.asp>

Youth and education

SVEN MØRCH

University of Copenhagen

Abstract

In this article educational challenges and developments are analysed from a youth studies perspective. Youth research is engaged in understanding the links between societal change and youth responses with a focus on the relation between social integration and individualization. The article shows how a new analysis of the relation between youth, modernization and competence might influence both the general understanding of youth understanding and educational developmental perspectives. In modern society, the period of youth is changing from being a transition to a highly valued period in its own right. In this way, youth life functions as a reserved situation of fragmented contextualization of modern development. This change questions the traditional educational perspective and underlines the new challenge of developing general competence for modern life. In this situation, conversely, young people should not learn to be adults but to be youth.

Keywords

competence, education, educational youth research, fragmented contextualization, individualization, trajectories, youth development, youth transition

In a modern 'educational world', the relation between youth development and education is, of course, debated in many different scientific contexts and from numerous perspectives.

This article (see Figure 1) looks on youth life and educational life as two parallel and interacting pathways of youth development. Youth and education are constructed by each other as fields of individualization and therefore changes in one influence the other (Mørch, 1985). Today both spheres of life are challenged by demands from different aspects of 'modernity'. In response to these modern challenges I raise the subject of competence as a necessary reference point for further understanding and policy in youth-related questions.

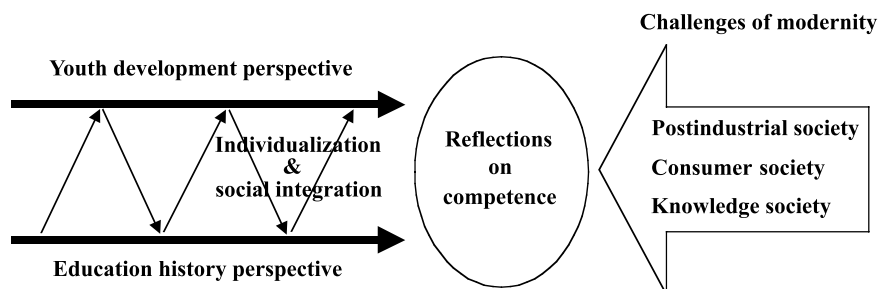


Figure 1 The logic of the article

Taking a youth research perspective, this article focuses on questions of individualization and social integration, which are important in developing a broader picture of youth life and development.

GENERATIONS OF YOUTH THEORY AND RESEARCH

In a changing world, it is possible to point to shifting 'generations' of youth theory and research. Very crudely speaking, it can be argued that these generations view the construction and challenges of youth and the issue of individualization as a European and Western development (Aries, 1973; Musgrove, 1964; Mørch, 1985). Therefore, the first generation of youth theorists looked at the European bourgeois phenomenon of individualization up to the end of the 19th century. If it is at all possible to profile a youth theory at this time, it was mostly philosophical or pedagogical, reflecting the individualization process of bourgeois upbringing (Musgrove, 1964; Stafseng, 1996).

From around the start of the 20th century, youth theorists focused more directly on the new youth construction in education (Stafseng, 1996). The broadening of education and school systems accompanied industrialization and its demands for knowledge and skills in the upcoming industries. Youth was created inside the educational systems, and more and more social groups or social classes were included in education. Young people became 'youth' and developed a special youth behaviour or 'youth personality'. Also, the development of scouting and sports activities supported this broad picture of a youth personality or identity; therefore, the second generation of youth theorists often looked at youth as a psychological stage, as one of adolescence. Maybe researchers were inspired by their own bourgeois children and from

this developed a theory of adolescence as a biologically based, psychological developmental stage, formed within the self-image of bourgeois society. This construct followed Stanley Hall's (1904) physiological and psychological ideas of development. In youth theory, it became important to understand this new construct and, from the notion that adolescence seemed to be a general biological or psychological phenomenon in the individual, it followed that young people should be both nurtured and disciplined into adulthood.

MODERN YOUTH RESEARCH GENERATIONS

The boom in youth research occurred after the Second World War in the USA and Europe.¹ And here at least three distinctive, if overlapping, generations can be detected (see Table 1). In the war period, more books such as, in Denmark, *Afsporet ungdom* (Detracked youth) (Fleron, 1942) warned that youth development could easily get off the right track but after the end of the war a more optimistic, if also more concerned, picture of youth development appeared. The first post-war generation of youth research in the 1950s and 1960s often looked at youth as a social problem. With an authoritarian approach, it proposed that youth was or should be seen as a 'value' and the research evaluated the possibilities for social integration and the fears for social disintegration (e.g. Coleman, 1961). The research was mostly based on the disciplines of psychology, sociology or criminology. The authoritative approach to *youth development* and *problem youth* brought up youth deviance and crime as serious challenges; society should find out how to socialize young people into modern democratic society. The inspiration from Erik Eriksson (1950) to support youth identity and moratorium also found its way into pedagogical work. All social classes should learn to behave democratically and in the manner of the middle class. The task of engaging young people in educational life and the democratic process of post-war society became a scientific concern. Youth should be educated. Young people's education both in family life and school, and especially their taking part – or not taking part – in educational curricula and political organizations, was the focus of youth research (see, e.g., Anderson, 1969). Socialization and re-socialization became the central concepts of individualization and social integration, and an important political issue.

Table 1 Generations of postwar youth research

<i>Youth research</i>	1950s/60s	1970s/80s	1990s
Focus	Problem youth	Resourceful youth	Faltering youth
Purpose	Integration	Resistance	Transition
Perspective	Valued	Rebellious	Vulnerable
Approach	Authoritarian	Solidarity	Guardian
Educational perspective	Formal education	Informal learning	Non-formal learning
Discipline	Psychology/ criminology	Cultural studies/ social psychology	Education/sociology

In the 1970s and 1980s, the picture was reversed. Young people had become celebrated critics of society. Society was seen as suppressing the personal identity and subjectivity of its members and therefore the remaking of individuality and subjectivity became the issue. The overall line in youth research became critical, and 'resistance against society' was now the scientific concern. Youth research was not engaged in criticizing young people but in understanding the new forms of their critique and often taking part in it. The angle of youth research changed from being authoritarian to showing solidarity with young people through the research perspectives. The focus was now on youth as resourceful and spearheading the battle against a modern oppressive society. The purpose of the research was to analyse the fields of resistance and to view young people as 'rebellious'. The central disciplines in this research became cultural studies and critical theory. In Germany, the scientific discourse focused on the opposition between individual psychological development and 'oppressive' societal change – the contradictions between a Freudian and a Marxist perspective (Ziehe, 1975). In Britain, the Birmingham School became known world-wide for bringing to light young people's 'resistance through rituals' and 'youth cultures' as oppositions against society and a changing social class system (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Willis, 1977).

The second generation of modern youth research tried to understand the challenges of the upcoming postmodern or consumer society and the place of young people in a changing society – their progressive and regressive roles. Educational demands should be altered – or modernized – and more individual choices made possible (Ziehe and Stubenrauch, 1982). Informal learning in the peer group attracted particular attention. Even from an institutional educational perspective the idea of informal learning and group work became important. The message was that in our modern risk society, life for young people had become difficult and individualization should be supported. Youth projects in which young people were supported in their individual development and sometimes re-integrated into the modern world by motivational and artistic means became popular.

The third generation of youth research developed from the 1980s and into the 1990s. Its main focus was on youth transition. Education, the issues of knowledge and changing forms of knowledge and technology were researched. Young people were perceived as faltering and youth research became preoccupied with what facilitated or obscured a 'successful' transition into adulthood. Young people were vulnerable and they should be helped in their transition. Research focused on youth as a transition phase from private childhood to modern societal citizenship. The main youth research discipline became education and, at the same time, the focus changed from education to learning. In this way, many changes in postmodern society became visible to research: new educational developments and learning models, new qualifications, the split between formal and non-formal learning in youth-contexts, the role of computers and the internet, and the rights of individuals to take an active part in this transition. Both formal and non-formal learning perspectives became important (Walther and Stauber, 1999). The third generation of youth research had a positive view of social integration and individualization. Young people should be political and knowledgeable citizens, and engaged in decent and sustainable jobs. Modern work-fare society had become a reality, and social or youth policies focused on the new transitional capacities, individual knowledge acquisition, employability and citizenship.

For this reason, the positive perspective of youth as not only a problem but also a

resource became a popular formulation. It brought policy and research together, and made it acceptable to form scientifically based youth development policies.

Discourses in social science and in popular understanding, of course, do not disappear when new discourses pop up. They stay on the scene as a broad 'catalogue' of understandings or theories and may be used by different interest groups or for different political purposes.

NEW CHALLENGES IN YOUTH RESEARCH

This third post-war generation of youth research is being challenged. A new generation of youth research, which tries to understand the new developments in young people's lives and in society is on its way.

On the one hand, it is increasingly clear that the transitions of youth have been blurred. Youth as a transitional phase between childhood and adult life is changing. Multiple transitions exist and some are becoming misleading because educational trajectories do not always lead to jobs, sometimes jobs do not exist, sometimes gender prejudices exist in job situations and obstruct transitions and sometimes marginalization occurs. This situation is caused both by changes in youth life, by changes in educational patterns and by changes in adult and working life.

On the other hand, the modern shifts between being young and being adult, the young adult situation or the 'yo-yo-ization' of young people's lives, not only point to new and creative transitions but also to a changing transitional perspective. The period of 'youth' is prolonged to the end of the 20s. Young people are in education, they wait to marry and have children and they develop a broad network of friends (Frønes and Brusdal, 2000). Young people may also alternate or oscillate between being young and adult in different situations, in different areas of youth life (such as education, sexual relations, job situations) and over time. In many ways, youth life looks like a supermarket: young people are trained as customers, they learn to 'shop', and they 'shop' around in many aspects of their lives such as education and sexual relations. Therefore, the transition perspective may have become a normative model, which is already badly out of step and out of date.

The popular ideas in educational studies seem to say that education establishes transitional trajectories to job and future. Transition is successful if young people are placed in a secure job position. However, today the idea of having a regular or steady job is changing. The labour market has become 'flexible' and often it is expected that people have to become flexible too, to be able to hang on to their jobs – people have to change jobs and positions throughout their lives. Lifelong learning has become the new mantra for this new reality: school and education are no longer reserved for young people.

Such changes should cause new reflections on the status of youth and raise the question of whether 'youth' has been prolonged or has disappeared as a central transition phase. Should the question of 'transition' in a modern or postmodern world be reconsidered?

Perhaps, however, this question is wrongly formulated and consequently creates a misleading answer. The question may in fact be whether or not adults and adulthood have disappeared (Côté, 2000; Jensen, 1992). More facts points to this conclusion: the lifelong learning perspective has broadened the central activity of youth – learning

– to all aspects of people's lives. Today people change or are expected to change jobs many times. People's demands are becoming more and more private, leaning towards 'personal development' and private interests. Jobs should be personally rewarding and they should encompass personal development. Private life is also in flux. People change partners and children change parents. Adults live like young people in a constant search for new sexual experiences, new partners and new relationships. Youth perspectives, values and demands are encroaching upon adult life and lifestyles. It becomes more and more difficult to be and behave as an 'adult'.

If this is indeed the case, then the whole 'transition' perspective of youth research needs re-evaluation. This is not to argue that 'normal' biographies do not exist any longer. Of course, there are still 'normal' biographies, but what we can detect are some changes, some new trends, which point to the new 'postmodern situation'. Post-modern descriptions are not general descriptions but scenarios of change, indicating new developments which maybe do not happen in all situations, but are happening somewhere. Therefore these trends reflect some uncertainty. Empirical evidence may be rather arbitrary, as is obvious in Giddens's *Modernity and Social Identity* ((1997) or even in Beck's *Risk Society* (1992).

MODERNITY AND YOUTH: THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE IN YOUTH RESEARCH

Youth research is both influenced by the general paradigms and discourses of social science and the development of, and perspectives on, youth life. Therefore, understanding youth is obviously closely interwoven with understanding modernity and social change. Theories of modernity are mainly theories of challenges and changes in individualization, and youth development is the central individualization process. Youth, therefore, is understandable as a structuration process dependent on both societal structures and conditions and the state of individualization in society (Giddens, 1984). Youth life in this respect becomes understandable inside the broader story of modernity. In modernity, youth is both the result and the agent of change.

Modern social constructionist literature has been very efficient in telling stories about many aspects of modernity, such as gender and race, and in showing how social categories should be seen as social constructions (Gergen, 1991; Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Shotter, 1993). The youth story can also be told, but a modern version should point out that youth is not only a social construction, but a changing social construction.

Therefore, we might combine the question of change and youth in a 'big story' about individualization, with many 'small stories' about transition inside and in between different contexts of youth life. The context of education is especially important. Education is the historical basis of youth construction; the notion of youth developed as a consequence of the development of educational systems (Gillis, 1981; Musgrove, 1964; Mørch, 1985). Therefore changes in educational perspectives are very important; the context of education is arguably the most basic structuration context of youth.

Most reflections about western youth today are inspired from the 'big story' of individualization in modernity and post-modernity. Giddens and Beck (Beck et al., 1994) point out that we live in a risk society, we become dependent on 'pure relation', our

bodies become most important in the presentation of ourselves and we need to develop self-identity as an individual stabilizer in coping with everyday life.

All these notions are based on a general understanding of the history of change: how fundamental societal processes are understood and how the consequences of change are reflected. The discussion of modernity focuses on different conceptualizations and perspectives and therefore several theoretical models exist. They are not exclusive; they combine different points of view, but they draw attention to different aspects of individualization (see Table 2).

Table 2 Main theoretical models of society and individualization

<i>Society of yesterday</i>	<i>Society today</i>	<i>Aspects of interest</i>
Modern society	Postmodern	Culture
Modern society	Late modern	Risk
Industrial society	Post-industrial/knowledge society	Education
Production society	Consumer society	Life style

A broad common denominator for understanding the modernization process and developments in Western European societies – but also elsewhere and certainly with consequences elsewhere – is that the market economy has taken over. The market economy, new liberalism and the consumer society have become an insistent reality. More and more aspects of human life have become regulated according to market economy principles (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Jessop, 1990; Torfing, 1999a, 1999b).

In such circumstances, individualization and social integration in different contextual situations change. If we look at the issue of social equality and inequality in education, we see that they appear more and more as a consequence of the individuals themselves and not of any asserted class structure of society. Differentiation is no longer caused by basic social differences but by social distinctions. Social class differences are still influential, but now more indirectly so (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Social class has become an individual characteristic and not a social issue. When we look at inclusion and exclusion on the labour market we find the same individualized patterns. The core premise is that modern life creates individualization and that individualization creates winners and losers, but what also happens is that 'private' societal and individual life is changing. The dynamic between social conditions and individual aspirations and possibilities in individual life becomes increasingly difficult: the 'promised', expected or 'wished for' life is unobtainable.

MODERNITY AND THE YOUTH PERSPECTIVE

Without leaning on a specific youth theory it is possible to illustrate some of the new challenges which exist in modern youth life. Youth development can be analysed according to two dimensions. First, there is the dimension child–adult, which addresses the process of growing up, and second, there is the dimension individual–society, which reflects the process of individualization (see Figure 2).

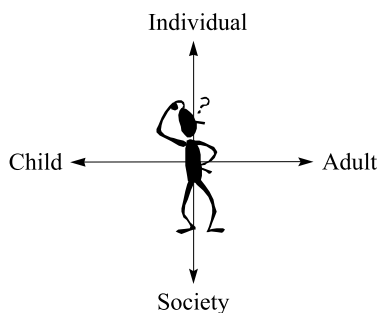


Figure 2 Two dimensions of youth development

Youth development can be defined as a process of biographical individualization and therefore an analysis of youth development brings together traditional psychological and sociological perspectives. Since the meeting between the dimensions always happens somewhere in time and space, youth development as individualization in biography should always be understood and analysed as a contextual issue.

In psychological 'youth' analysis, the focus has been directed to the horizontal change as a change inside the individual caused by biology or individual psychological conflicts. Here the contextual perspective is not present; development is only seen as influenced by social conditions. This psychological developmental time in between child and adult has been conceptualized as 'adolescence'. In sociology, on the other hand, another perspective has prevailed. In sociological research the focus has been on the concept of youth and on individualization, which has been understood as a socialization or transition process, not determined by biological or biographical changes, but by societal structure. Youth has been seen as a social or cultural construction and transition period. The transition process has among other things been studied in family and school contexts, in educational and labour market research and as a culturization process or as youth culture (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Mørch, 1985). Emanating originally from the Birmingham School, the focus on youth culture has been very important in Scandinavian youth research.

The challenge of youth analysis is to understand individualization in biography. Thus the personal trajectory concept or the concept of individual routes or pathways have become popular in youth research as they illuminate the individual use of possible conditions or existing social trajectories for the building of an individual trajectory. In this way, the personal trajectory concept looks at the individualization process as a biographical process integrating private life and social trajectories across different contexts. The personal trajectory concept also underlines the biographical process as a constant part of a social trajectory at the same time and thus exposes individualization as a structuration process. Transition disappears in individualization but development is still present in biography. Therefore individualization in biography is the process of change or development, which should be researched in contextual modern youth life.

As already mentioned, modern Western societies are changing from class-differentiated and production-structured societies to consumer and market-structured societies. The analytical implication of this change is that the managing of modernity

becomes more influential for the development of young people than their social and cultural background. This does not mean that class structures and conditions are without influence, but social inequality can no longer be seen only as a result of unequal social class background.

Social inequality is increasingly the result of the distinctions that develop in a segmented society in which education and youth life become stronger and stronger tools for individual success in work and life. Social inequality develops not only because processes of contextual inclusion and exclusion are operating, but also because life inside social contexts differentiates and polarizes people. Youth has become a field of competition for desired adult perspectives.

YOUTH LIFE AND TRANSITION

Youth life has become more and more important to young people's developmental possibilities. Youth is the time for individualization and learning is the most important means for individual success or failure. Young people who abstain from using the opportunities in this period will experience relative de-individualization (Mørch, 1998). However, at the same time, youth has lost its direct transition qualities; it is no longer formed and developed directly in accordance with clear adult life demands. It has acquired its own importance and become its own (prolonged) time of life. Youth is no longer only a stage in a developmental perspective but a set of contexts which people belong to for a period – longer or shorter – of their life.

The central role of youth contexts is supported by many modern societal changes in a consumer society. Young people have become the target of media and consumer interests. Also, strong individualization has made people dependent on themselves and their physical appearance and, in this situation, youth has become a general social ideal (Giddens, 1997). Youth in itself has become a value and therefore it has developed its own internal reference.

In order to try to understand modern youth life, it should be seen in comparison with the 'traditional' youth picture, or a model of how youth is generally understood (Mørch, 1997).

In this model (see Figure 3) youth is shown to exist in between childhood and

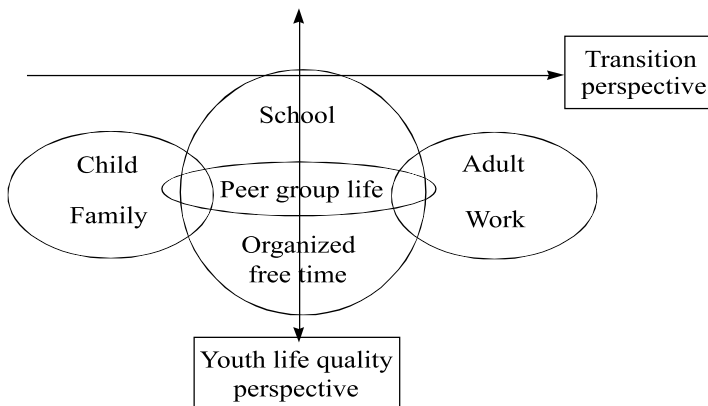


Figure 3 The general youth life model

adulthood as a transition period. The transition perspective holds that the content of youth is formed from an adult perspective: youth life is formed according to future work and political adult life expectations. At the same time, youth life is lived in a number of social contexts – in school contexts, organized free time contexts and peer group contexts. All these contexts of course may be seen and analysed as part of a transition plan and youth transition is facilitated – or obstructed – by the qualities of these contexts.

This general model of youth life may no longer hold. The different contexts of youth, like school, peers, youth clubs and sports are still there, but they are not directly part of a transition plan. Youth life is less and less constructed directly in relation to adult life: some aspects have gained more independence and self-reference – but maybe also a growing dependence on societal and commercial interests. The period of youth has not become more isolated in relation to society – it is perhaps even more socially integrated. Youth culture has developed as a common reference for all young people and as Thomas Ziehe (2001) points out, youth life-worlds are not private in any way: they are just as ‘social’ as other life-worlds.

Social and even educational institutions more and more focus on the individual developmental process as a process of creating autonomy in young people. The democratic and participatory aspects of youth life indicate that young people are more and more responsible for their own development. The planned relationship between youth and adulthood has become indirect – but in a special way. Youth life is not training for being adult, it is itself part of modern society. This may be because adult life is disappearing, or because it is becoming invisible to young people and their social contexts. In postmodern society, adult life no longer exists as a developmental model for young people. Youth life and educational life are not planned according to adult life prerequisites but according to the activities, autonomy and culture of young people.

Young people, therefore, use and combine contexts of youth life in a more personal way. They develop private trajectories inside modern youth life and in between the various youth contexts. For young people themselves, this generates a new perspective. They may feel formal education, which is defined according to the demands of working life, to be more and more in opposition to their ‘personal’ lives and life perspectives. Therefore educational systems are under pressure to change their curricula and to find new ways of planning and delivering education or – more precisely, learning.

FRAGMENTED CONTEXTUALIZATION

The indirectness of modern youth life may require a new understanding. Instead of specific stages of life, we are confronted in the modern western world by new circumstances of ‘fragmented contextualization’: we live in a world in which more contexts are functioning as a network producing different aspects of development (Mørch, 1999). Developmental demands are overall demands of living in a postmodern world, where traditional structures have broken down and made the individual the central focus of interest. All aspects of development are in some way informed by and combined with these challenges of modernity (see Figure 4).

Today, therefore, social integration no longer points to one major trajectory or

normal trajectories between childhood and adult life. Many more routes or pathways may exist and become trajectories inside and between different or fragmented social contexts.

This means that the real trajectory challenge falls back upon the individual. Individuals form their own trajectories and in this way contextualize aspects of development in their youth life by combining societal conditions and individual interests. So, therefore, in our fragmented society, the first trajectory challenge for young people is not merely to participate, but to find out what they should participate in and for what reason.

In order to understand this challenge, it is important to include a broader view of young people's lives, pathways and trajectories. Modern youth life calls for a better understanding of individual activities, individual trajectories and how young people create and contribute to individual development. Logic and sense do not objectively exist in formal transition trajectories – the individual has to develop them. The individual has a new responsibility for making his or her own trajectory and this calls for a better understanding of how young people cope with conditions, and how they should be empowered to make choices inside youth and societal life. Therefore the second new challenge of youth seems to be 'the construction of sense and competence' for manoeuvring in a more open world. Young people should learn to 'cope' or they should develop forms of 'expedient' life management (Mørch and Laursen, 1998).

However, even in a 'fragmented contextualization' situation, some contexts may be 'reserved' for specific age groups. It is still possible for outsiders to observe youth and for young people to see themselves as youth. Youth still exists as an objective and subjective social category.

This new situation creates both great opportunities and difficulties for young people. If they engage themselves in and learn from modern youth life and reject the 'irrelevance' of formal education, they may gain new competence, but they may also lose their connection to jobs and the future. Individual trajectories may become too 'private'. A qualitatively new situation is in the making.

Today the demand is not to become an adult but to engage in one's own developmental process. But if youth life becomes autonomous how might the relation between youth and society look to young people and policy planners? Which guide-

lines would guarantee adult life successes?

The challenge of modern fragmented and 'indirect' youth life seems to be to construct individual skills for the job market or 'transversal' competence – the kind of competence that may be used in working life too. But the youth situation is so indirect, it is difficult to see connections and an individual planning perspective can become blurred. Therefore,

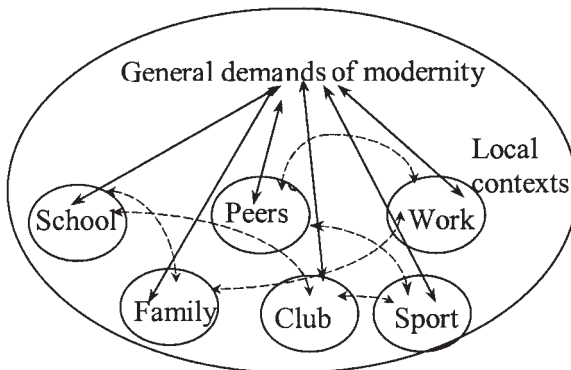


Figure 4 Fragmented contextualization

when developing a useful trajectory 'sense-making' becomes important and demands both guidance and counselling in many situations.

The difficult question for many young people is which activities and competences are important in youth life for their future employment careers. And one of the individual answers to this 'un-plannable situation' might be 'to get the most' education. In the Danish educational system, for example, more and more young people choose to go on to grammar schools, even if their educational orientations are not academic.

Our broad and common youth culture, which involves all young people, at the same time has a hidden agenda, however, which not all young people are aware of. Co-existing with the concept that youth life should be fun, a competition for the future lies underneath the shared youth culture. This problem is especially serious in educational curricula where many youngsters are not aware of the serious consequences of bad academic performance until they experience the barriers to further education and jobs raised by underachievement. Youth and educational life in themselves differentiate young people according to adult life perspectives. They create leading and misleading trajectories, but it is difficult to see which are leading somewhere and which are not.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The construction of youth life and youth is closely connected to the process of individualization in educational systems. Therefore the dialectic between youth development and educational systems is important to study, not only in the way educational systems influence youth development but also in the way youth development demands changes in educational planning, contexts and methods. Though some basic similarities exist, the educational systems in Western European societies show very clear differences, which have less to do with the level of knowledge and technology than with the way education is socially distributed. Differences exist in relation to who profits from education: who has access to knowledge, to education and to employment, and how the system of trajectories has been built.²

The importance of educational processes and differences in the implementation of education stems from the fact that in 'education societies' education is important both as a tool for employment and for a more general life perspective. Education is the ticket to the 'nucleus of qualified occupation' (Mørch et al., 2001, 2002). As such, education is a value distributed according to social class differences and social privileges as well as a serious political issue in all societies. Education, however, may be organized in ways referring to quite different youth life, adult life and societal perspectives. Education and individualization are closely connected and part of changes in modernization.

MODELS OF EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

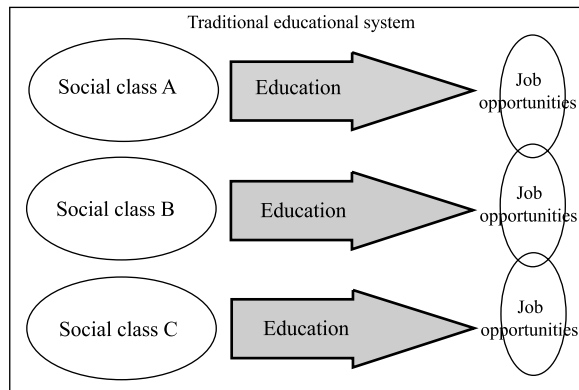
When looking at educational systems and structures it is instructive to study the logic underpinning their individualization or the trajectories created inside the contexts of schooling. Education might be seen as planning for individual development.

Therefore it becomes important to find out what the plans are about, whom they benefit and how they are part of youth construction.

Differentiated qualification

The development of education systems can be illustrated by a few basic models (Mørch, 1998). They have a historical basis, but as models of educational systems they also point to possibilities existing in educational structures.

The model of 'differentiated qualification' (see Model 1) shows the basic educational perspectives that existed in societies like those in 19th-century Europe, where young people were expected to take over parental occupation and social status. The educational system was divided according to the social background of the young people, and it often functioned by offering different schools – or no schools – for different social classes. The school system sorted children at the school gate. Of course a few 'misleading trajectories' existed where children were placed in an education they normally would not hold out any hope for. Often this happened because they were looked after by adults or families who belonged to other social classes.



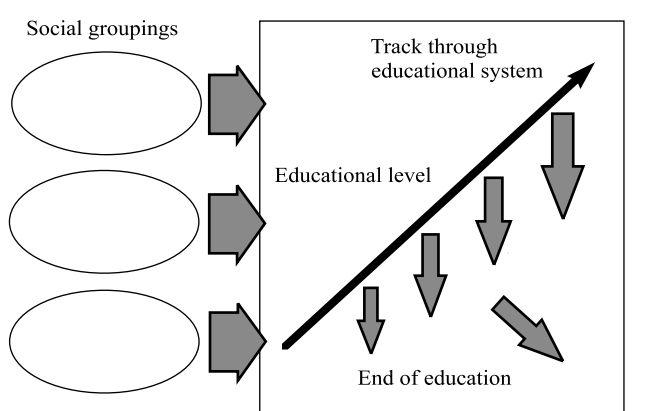
Model 1 Differentiated qualification

Today this class reproductive system no longer exists in its pure form. Most modern education models are 'democratic' in the sense that they underline the principle that all children should be given the same educational opportunities. However, inside many modern educational systems a private school system often develops, which gives special opportunities to children from higher social backgrounds. Such a broad pattern of private schools aids and abets social class reproduction; modern democratization thus not only creates equality in education systems but also gives room for the reproduction of inequality.

Educational differentiation

The model of 'educational differentiation' (see Model 2) seems to have been the ordinary developmental model of education in the 20th century. The structures were developed differently depending on local or national background, but share a certain basic logic.

The way this educational system works is that all children are allowed into the same school system, but inside the school they are divided into different tracks according to school performance or 'abstract qualifications'. We may say that the school system is one-dimensional. It creates a 'best' educational trajectory, while at the same time creating its opposite – a sorting out process. Young people within this system are differentiated according to their individual school performance. The system, however, solves the problem of distributing young people both according to social class privileges and individual performance through the content of school life, which has a normative accordance with bourgeois or middle class social class life and experience. Children from a bourgeois background do better in school than young people from a lower social class.

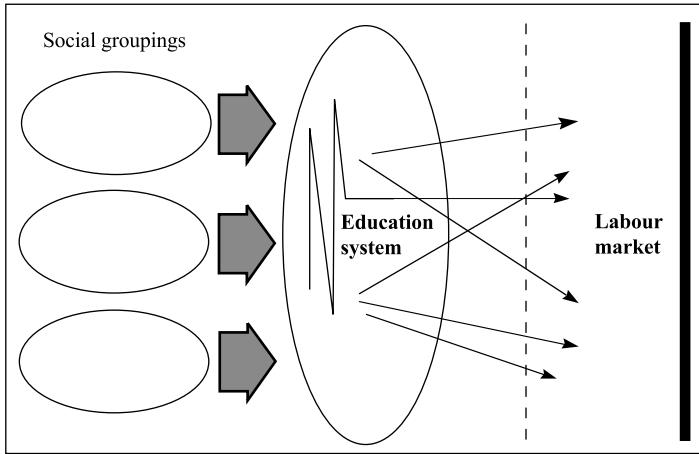


Model 2 Educational differentiation

Qualified differentiation

Today a third model of education has developed (see Model 3), which could be described as a model of 'qualified differentiation', in which all students are part of the same educational system, but they are given different qualification perspectives according to their own interests and abilities. This model is expected to help young people select their own trajectory in further education and position on the labour market. Therefore a variety of educational trajectories have been developed. In Denmark this system has existed for 30 years and is seen as a 'democratic' system, which should break down social class differences and guarantee 'equality through education'.

Within this system all students have the same opportunities and all trajectories are seen as equally important. Depending on individual abilities, young people may follow different trajectories in education. The educational system should no longer form 'normal trajectories' but function as an opportunity for developing different school or learning curricula. Young people should be taught and should learn according to their individual abilities. The actual realization of this system often creates problems, however. Schools have difficulties accepting that private learning perspectives should overrule the 'normal trajectory'. Moreover, this system often creates new contradictions in education between the 'democratic' intentions of the educational system and the differentiated expectations from the labour market.

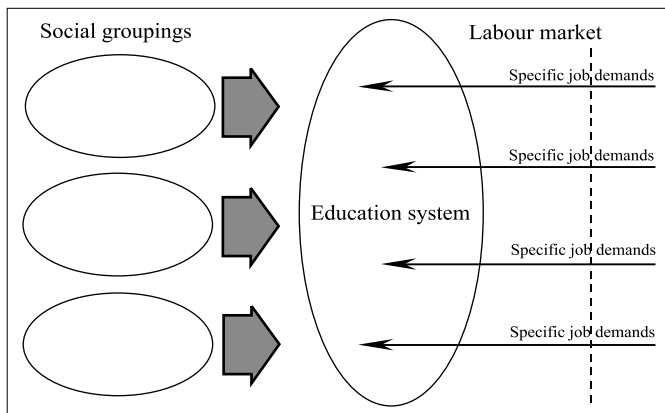


Model 3 Qualified differentiation

An interesting consequence of this educational model seems to be that it challenges the youth trajectory perspective. Breaking the ‘normal trajectory’ gives opportunities for individual routes in life, which may lead to early employment and postponed education. If young people have opportunities to choose they may also decide to give up educational trajectories. Therefore young people may shift in and out of jobs and education for many years.

Labour market governed education systems

The fourth model shows that instead of citing individual choices as the most important ideology informing educational systems, education may be planned according to labour market demands. This model (see Model 4) has mainly been formulated as a critique of the existing system. The modern school system is seen as being either too ‘closed’ or distant from real-world demands or too ‘open’ for individual choices. This



Model 4 Labour market governed education systems

critique derives primarily from employers' associations, but it is often backed by governments and made into a plank of public policy.

This system proposes the planning of individual development according to actual job situations and makes employability the basic issue. Of course such a system has its strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, it may become very static – as it was in a version in the former East Germany – or, on the other hand, it may create educational trajectories or plans which become unpopular among young people and are therefore unsuccessful.

THE PLANS FOR EDUCATION

The overall logic of the models shows that education may be planned according to:

- social background,
- social background and individual performance,
- individual interests and abilities, and
- labour market perspectives.

In this way, educational systems become plans for individualization in society and therefore they change with social change. All models exist in the European context, but generally, and especially in the Scandinavian countries, the ideological focus moves from social class privileges to a contradiction between individual choice and labour market demands. In relation to individual biographies it means that education may change its focus from social background (in the past) to engagement and future life perspectives (in the present). The modern or modernistic problem is the conflict between labour market demands and individual choices, or how individual choices should be regulated according to 'societal interests'. Educational challenges expose change and new issues of social integration.

Through considering the different ways of establishing social and individual integration in modern societies, different basic patterns begin to appear. Of course, modes of social integration are not absolute; however, they do illuminate some tendencies in social integration policies. An analytical model can be constructed from a comparison between a static picture of these strategies as they existed before and systems that are in transition in different European societies (see Table 3).

Table 3 Patterns of integration through education

Patterns of social integration	Low political responsibility/ individual competition	High political responsibility/ social regulation
Authoritarian	Differentiated qualification	Labour market governed education systems
Democratic	Educational differentiation	Qualified differentiation

By invoking the concept of democratization one can detect a process which attacks social privileges in education and advances individual educational choices. Most

European societies are changing from more authoritarian models of social integration towards more democratic strategies and the rights of individuals. At the same time, the welfare/workfare dimension may point to the 'responsibility' aspect of social integration. Individual competition or social regulation seems to make a difference to educational plans and systems.

THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

As has been shown, school systems not only educate children or distribute knowledge; they also function as instruments of social integration and differentiation. School systems thereby produce the conditions for individual trajectories and biographies. European educational systems demonstrate this process very clearly, not only with regard to their historical differences, but also to current differences within local educational systems (Walther et al., 2002).

Democratization ambitions, which are also part of the concept of citizenship, belong to the fundamental powers of educational systems to develop and change. In education policy these aspects are seen to break down social privileges in connection with a growing tendency to further individualization.

The modern individualization process and post- or neo-modern privatized individualization have not only contributed to social equality in education. Rather it seems as if the old social inequality produced by social class differences has been changed into a modern kind of inequality resulting from individualization and individual choices. New differences are created. And, because of individualization and the competition within the educational systems, young people can no longer experience differences as 'natural' or 'social'. On the contrary, differences seem to come from individual failures for not being clever enough to manage school life. Modern education marginalizes some young people and for this reason creates individual losers.

Educational systems exist as gateways to the labour market, and therefore their role in the development of young people's individuality and their employability is a serious issue. But the focus on employability often leads to very closed or one-sided reflections on the part of educators. Instead, there should be a broader understanding of the development of young people with regard to their employment perspectives. The question therefore seems to be how education and the labour market should relate to each other in order to secure the future of young people.

The basic problems of the 'educationally differentiated' school system and the 'qualified differentiated' school system are that educational or individual curricula do not necessarily reflect labour market development. In Denmark, this problem has been underlined by employer organizations (Danish industry), social research and political analysis. Modern 'democratic' educational systems create new forms of differentiation and leave some groups of young people with few employment opportunities (Hansen, 1995, 1997, 1998). However, a labour market-oriented school system does create problems too. It may become very static, educating young people for jobs which do not exist any more. It may also limit the future of young people at a very early age. The case of East Germany has demonstrated that a close interrelation between education and labour market is highly vulnerable to societal change.

Having the individual choose his or her own trajectory – as is currently the case,

especially in Denmark – seems ideologically important. This situation sometimes gives opportunities for individual development and new competences never seen before, but it also creates a lot of ‘blind’ or misleading trajectories which do not lead young people anywhere, at least not into the labour market. Therefore, the idea of flexibility in educational systems is not as axiomatic as it might appear to be; it solves neither the problem of inequality nor the employment challenge.

Multi-trajectory systems augment choices and may integrate more young people into the educational contexts. They also give opportunities for integrating more labour market demands into educational systems. Yet the relevance of the trajectories remains a problem; young people have to spend their time without a guarantee of a future job.

THE COMPETENCE PERSPECTIVE

Recent developments and reflections about qualifications, competence and technology may prove helpful when elaborating on the notion of developing individual trajectories or more individual plans. The role of modern technology, especially information technology, is obviously important in the discussion of modern educational systems. As it questions the logic of contexts, IT does expose more and more aspects of knowledge and qualifications and provides access to immense amounts of knowledge. It thus challenges former knowledge monopolies, including those of teachers. Doctors’ wisdom may be checked and the internet may inform us about practical activities, and thus authorities lose power. To find knowledge itself may no longer be the problem; it is the use of knowledge or knowledge contextualization which becomes important – the translation of ‘knowing that’ to ‘knowing how’.

In this situation, the concept of competence has largely replaced the concepts of qualification and skills in questions of education and working life. Competence is the meeting point between structural requirements and individual capacities. It is dependent on knowledge; however, the challenge is not only to have more knowledge or be more qualified, but rather to be able to translate contextual problems and competence demands into information and knowledge queries. This is what the educators and the young persons, the educational system and the labour market, will have to ponder. It is about the developmental challenges of young people and educational systems.

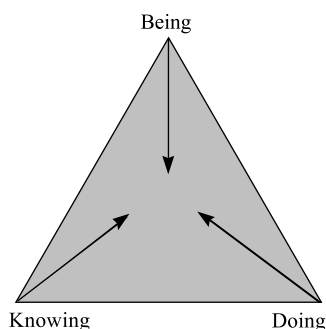


Figure 5 Developmental perspectives

In order to discuss this issue, it is necessary to have a broad picture of development as it relates to both the individual and to individuals as agents in structures – to the structuration process. For this we can outline (Figure 5) a very basic model of development (Mørch, 1998).

Development should be seen as having more dimensions – to refer to identity, as many youth theories do, is too narrow. This model pictures development according to three dimensions: being, knowing and doing. The perspective of the model, on the one hand, draws attention to the fact that development always involves all corners or dimensions and,

on the other hand, that, in practical life, different corners of the triangle have often been seen as most important for young people.

In the classic bourgeois school in the 19th century, the 'being' dimension was seen as the most important. Young people from the bourgeoisie learned the Classics, Latin and Greek. These subjects and the correct normative and educational manners formed the foundation for being an educated person. To have a job one needed to be 'educated'. Thus social class was expressed in 'being' qualifications and opened the way to adult life and employment. Being 'educated', in the sense of having the right bourgeois values and manners, gave opportunities for having a job and a social position. Today the 'being' dimension points to a more individualized 'being' perspective, some sort of identity or self-understanding. Today it is important to know yourself and to 'be yourself', but only in special situations does it lead to a job.

Around the end of the 19th century another angle was paramount. Industrialization demanded qualifications; skills and knowledge became more important. Schools developed their own understanding of education and knowledge in school curricula. Knowledge about 'practical subjects' became central in this process; employment followed practically from educational trajectories. Education gave the knowledge, and knowledge gave the job. Today knowledge is 'unimportant', yet you will not have a job without it (Frønes and Brusdal, 2000). Education does not guarantee a job.

In contrast to the knowledge dimension, the 'doing' dimension was developed in real life and in the apprenticeship model. It focused on the development of skills. 'Doing' was something that happened in real working life. In the apprenticeship model, skills were more or less contextual and most skills were transferred in a job situation. In this way, school knowledge and practical skills were opposed. They should work together as different forms of qualifications, but in practice this seemed to be a contentious marriage.

Today it seems as if the 'doing' dimension has become the new challenge and a basic ingredient of development, though not in the sense that the value of being and knowing is declining. However, today, educational systems have developed a high level of knowledge and more and more young people stay in school longer and longer. Also, young people's self-understanding and self-reference, their being, has become very strong. 'Being' or 'knowing' do not seem to be challenges of modern development. The challenge now seems to be how the individual can use self-understanding and knowledge in a contextual way. Young people seem to be clever enough, but the question is what they are able to do.

The competence challenge

The discussion in education today centres on the issue of competence. In the developmental triangle this means that the perspective of doing has become a basic question – but not in the traditional sense of having 'skills'. Competence refers to what people should be able to do in a modern or modernistic world. Therefore the being, knowing and doing perspectives are being challenged and changed. In the different critiques of school knowledge, this modernistic perspective has not been understood. Inspiration from Paulo Freire's (1973) liberation pedagogy or from Jean Lave's apprenticeship models (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in this respect leads to misunderstandings of the modern challenge. The challenge does not involve a contradiction between being, doing and learning but refers to the way they should be combined.

The dimensions have changed. The 'being' dimension has been individualized; today it points to personal and individual identity questions, not class affiliation. The knowledge dimension still indicates the different subjects in school, but knowledge does not seem to be a limited good. Education has grown but its relevance and value have become rather uncertain according to Frønes and Brusdal (2000). The doing

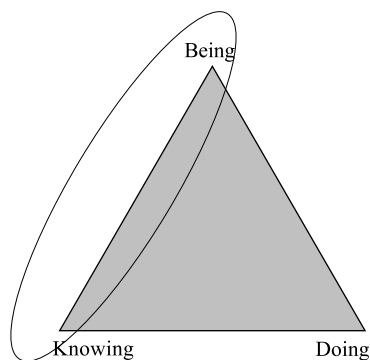


Figure 6 Abstract competence

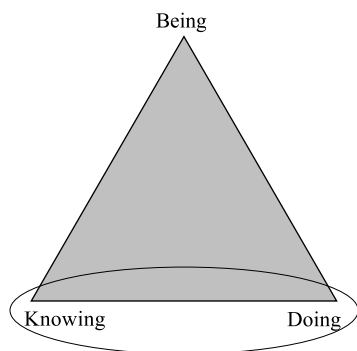


Figure 7 Labour market competence

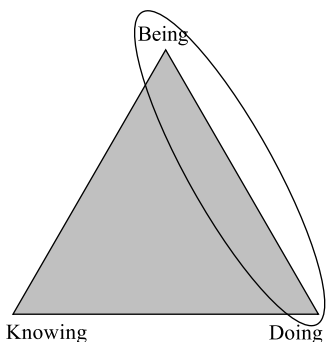


Figure 8 Social competence

perspective is also expanding. Many modern challenges and developments today seem to happen everywhere. Knowledge no longer seems to be the monopoly of education; doing is not the opposite of knowing. Theories of learning in practice have shown that learning happens in many everyday situations as non-formal or informal learning (Lave, 1988; Lave and Wenger, 1991).

So the discussion of modern competence may circle around what sorts of competence young people should be able to answer for. And this seems to be a question of how the dimensions of development are reflected. If competence is seen as a combination of being and knowing, then we are dealing with a very special or abstract competence because the doing perspective is weak or only relates to educational life itself (see Figure 6).

When knowledge is reflected according to the doing perspective or labour market demands we may talk about labour market competence (see Figure 7).

If, however, the relation between identity and social functioning exists according to the doing perspective, we may talk about developing social competence (see Figure 8).

These different 'competence' perspectives are discussed in various institutional settings. Abstract competence is discussed in the 'gymnasium' or school systems; labour market competence is discussed in political settings and in organizations and institutions of the labour market. Social competence is discussed in modern organizations as well as in pedagogical settings.

The discussions and reflections taking place do, however, often neglect one important aspect. Competence involves not only individual qualities, but also contextual experiences and knowledge. Thus, competence has to do with challenges in social contexts. The fact that the awareness of the competence perspective

mostly developed when modern companies introduced computer technology may be illustrative. This new work situation created different demands for employees, who needed to be able to use computers in the work situation. They needed to become competent in a contextual way.

In this sense, competence belongs to the context, and 'being' and 'knowing' may be seen as means for appearing competent. In our understanding, knowing and being do not define competence but competence is based on being and knowing. The content of being and knowing should be developed according to contextual competence which might be illustrated as in Figure 9.

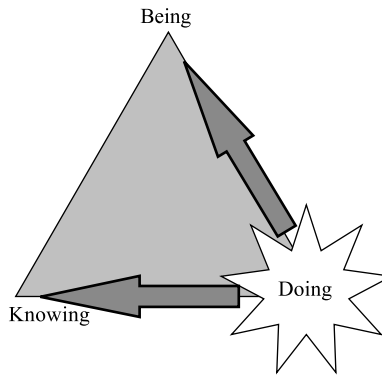


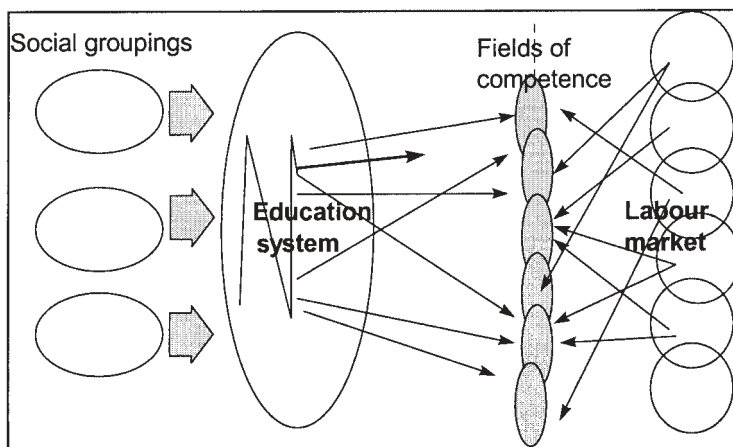
Figure 9 Contextual competence

Many aspects of modern life demand competence, which in turn originates from knowing and being. This situation may not be new in any way but modern demands and new technologies have helped to focus our attention on the role of competence.

Competence and education systems

The modern challenge of youth, and educational systems as a challenge involving combining individual choices and labour market interests, can now be reflected in a new way. It is now possible to point to a new perspective in the development of educational systems, which is illustrated by Model 5.

This model shows that it is necessary to develop a new meeting point. Educational systems and the labour market should develop a common understanding of the modern fields of competence. School itself should not only 'modernize' its traditional curriculum, but also be more flexible or broaden it by focusing on social questions. The labour market in turn should not only ask for more practical knowledge but also reflect upon what sorts of basic competence will be important in future productive and public life and thus define what should be required and expected from the educational system. The task of education systems would be to focus on the relationship between those modern key competences and the individual. Education will have to offer trajectories which at the same time allow for choice both within an individual perspective and within educational trajectories.



Model 5 Planning for competence

THE NEW TRAJECTORIES

Now it seems possible to suggest a new story about modern youth development and education. The school trajectory perspective is under attack; youth has developed its own autonomy and its own qualities. To make educational plans for adult life becomes difficult. The challenge seems to be to find out what competence existing in youth life should be developed; fields of competence should be found.

Therefore it becomes important to broaden the discussion of the school models and educational planning. Negotiating fields of competence seems to be the new challenge. These fields might be seen as the melding of youth life and societal life. Individual trajectories should reflect the idea of fields of competence.

In Denmark, some of these perspectives were developed in what was called 'free youth education', a new experimental educational planning. Here the idea was that the plan for educational systems should be replaced by individual plans. Individual plans, however, should be seen not as private but negotiated plans of individualization for social integration.³

CONCLUSION

Youth individualization is not a very abstract developmental entity. Individualization is part of practical trajectories, and educational plans construct the different forms of individualization. Therefore youth, individualization and education are closely connected.

However, individualization is not necessarily increasing in modern societies: it is changing. We discern at least two different modes of individualization. Educational systems have in the last 200 years been engaged in a special development: the making of the individual, first as a development in the bourgeoisie and since then as a broadening of individualization to extend to all young people (Mode 1). The new or

contemporary situation seems to be that individuals are seen as actors in modern society, and as such, they are seen as individuals before they engage in education and social life (Mode 2). Therefore, the new challenge is not to create individuals (Mode 1) or to support the individual, but to influence individuals in the making of society and new forms of social integration.

The change in individualization may be illustrated very simply as a change in the two different modes of individualization and social integration:

from society to individual (Mode 1)

from individual to society (Mode 2)

Today both modes of individualization exist, but Mode 2 challenges Mode 1. Young people are not only the result of socialization in education; they have become partners in the structuration of modern life. Youth life is not only transition to adult society but a fragmented contextualization world where societal questions should be answered. Therefore individual learning and individual competence have become crucial for making people agents or constructors of society.

What are experienced, however, are the difficulties in creating social responsibility in modernity. All people – and maybe especially young people – see the world from their own perspective, as worlds-of-their-own, and often it looks as if individualization has a tendency to create a very private perspective: ‘What’s in it for me-thinking’ (Ziehe, 2001).

This situation makes it important to do something, to broaden the educational perspective and make the discussion of competence and fields of competence a central theme in education. Young people should be engaged in the development of trajectories of competence because competence refers to broad aspects of social life and not only to individual or private life perspectives.

Notes

- 1 A.B. Hollingshead’s *Elmtown’s Youth* (1949) could be seen as the first research which focused specifically on youth understanding. It was conducted at the start of the 1940s, but because of the Second World War it was first published in 1949.
- 2 The following analysis of educational systems is also part of a European research project entitled ‘Misleading Trajectories’, which is coordinated by EGRIS, a research group with representatives from eight European countries. The project is financed by the EU: TSGR, DGR XXII (Walther et al., 2000).
- 3 Unfortunately this initiative was stopped by the new liberal government.

References

- Anderson, Bengt E. (1969) *Studies in Adolescent Behaviour*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Aries, Philippe (1973[1960]) *Centuries of Childhood*. New York: Random House.
- Beck, Ulrich (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Beck, Ulrich, Giddens, Anthony and Lash, Scott (1994) *Reflexive Modernisation*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Coleman, James (1961) *The Adolescent Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Côté, James E. (2000) *Arrested Adulthood: The Changing Nature of Maturity and Identity*. New York: New York University Press.
- Eriksson, Erik H. (1950) *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton.

- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fleron, Kate (1942) *Afsporet ungdom* (Detracked Youth). Copenhagen: Fremad.
- Freire, Paulo (1973) *De undertryktes pædagogik* (The Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers Forlag.
- Frønes, Ivar and Brusdal, Ragnhild (2000) *På sporet av den nye tid* (On the Trail of New Times). Oslo: Fakkbokforlaget.
- Furlong, Andy and Cartmel, Fred (1997) *Young People and Social Change*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gergen, Kenneth J. (1991) *The Saturated Self*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, Anthony (1984) *The Construction of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, Anthony (1997) *Modernity and Self Identity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gillis, John (1981[1974]) *Youth and History*. New York: Academic Press.
- Hall, Stanley G. (1904) *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, Vols I-II. New York: D. Appleton.
- Hall, Stuart and Jefferson, Tony (1976) *Resistance through Rituals*. London: Hutching University Library.
- Hansen, Erik J. (1995) *En generation blev voksen: Den første velfærdsgeneration* (A Generation Grew Up: The First Generation of Welfare Society), Socialforskningsinstituttet, Rapport 95: 8.
- Hansen, Erik J. (1997) Perspektiver og begrænsninger i studiet af den sociale rekruttering til uddannelserne (Perspectives and Limitation in the Study of Social Recruitment to Education), Socialforskningsinstituttet, Rapport 97: 17.
- Hansen, Erik J. (1998[1992]) 'Sociale klasser og social ulighed (Social Classes and Social Inequality)', in Heine Andersen (ed.) *Sociologi – en grundbog til et fag* (Sociology – A Textbook). Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels.
- Hollingshead, A.B. (1949) *Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents*. New York: Wiley.
- Jensen, Torben B. (1992) *At være eller ikke være. Om psykologisk rådgivning/behandling af unge* (To Be Or Not To Be: On Psychological Consultation/Treatment of Young People). Copenhagen: Institut for psykologi.
- Jessop, Bob (1990) *State Theory*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Lave, Jean (1988) *Cognition in Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, Jean and Wenger, Etienne (1991) *Situated Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Musgrove, Frank (1964) *Youth and the Social Order*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mørch, Sven (1985) *At forske i ungdom* (Studying youth). Copenhagen: Rubikon.
- Mørch, Sven (1997) 'Youth and Activity Theory', in John Bynner, Lynn Chrisholm and Andy Furlong (eds) *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context*, pp. 245–67. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Mørch, Sven (1998) *De anderledes egnede* (Those with Different Competences), *Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift*, October.
- Mørch, Sven (1999) 'Informal Learning and Social Contexts', in Andreas Walther and Barbara Stauber (eds) *Lifelong Learning in Europe: Differences and Divisions*, pp. 145–71. Tübingen: Neuling.
- Mørch, Sven, Bömish, Lothar, Lopez, Andreau, Bascunan, Javier, Gil, German, Siefert, Holger and Mørch, Mathilde (2001) *Contradictions and Trajectories: A Road to Adult Life in Three European Societies – Spain, East Germany and Denmark*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.
- Mørch, Sven and Laursen, Svend (1998) *At lære at være ung* (To Learn To Be Young). Copenhagen: Ungdomsringen.
- Potter, Jonathan and Wetherell, Margaret (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology*. London: Sage.

- Shotter, John (1993) *Conversational Realities: Constructing Life through Language*. London: Sage.
- Stafseng, Ola (1996) *Den historiske konstruktion av moderne ungdom* (The Historic Construction of Modern Youth). Oslo: Cappelan.
- Torring, Jacob (1999a) *Towards A Schumpeterian Workfare Postnational Regime*. Roskilde: COS.
- Torring, Jacob (1999b) *Velfærdsstatens Ideologisering* (The Ideologized Welfare State), research paper, Department of Social Sciences, Roskilde University.
- Uddannelsesstyrelsen (1999) *Hvad virker? – erfaringer om uddannelse til flere unge* (Evaluation of Reforms, Aiming at Giving Secondary Education to More Young People), October.
- Walther, Andreas and Stauber, Barbara (eds) (1999) *Lifelong Learning in Europe*. Tübingen: Neuling.
- Walther, Andreas, Stauber, Barbara et al. (2000) *Misleading trajectories: Integration Policies for Young Adults in Europe?* (An Egris Publication). Opladen: Leske and Budrich.
- Willis, Paul (1977) *Learning to Labour*. Farnborough: Saxon House.
- Ziehe, Thomas (1975) *Pubertät und Narzissmus*. Hamburg: EVA (Europäische Verlag Anstalt).
- Ziehe, Thomas (2001) 'De personlige livsverdeners dominans (The Dominance of Personal Life Worlds)', *Uddannelse 10*, Undervisningsministeriet.
- Ziehe, Thomas and Stubenrauch, Herbert (1982) *Plädoyer für ungewöhnliches Lernen*. Hamburg: Rohwohlt Taschenbuch.

SVEN MØRCH is an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology, University of Copenhagen. He has been working as a social psychologist at the Department of Psychology, University of Copenhagen, since 1971. His main research field is youth research. He has published several books in Danish and articles in many journals including *Jeunesse et politique*, *International Journal of Comparative Race and Ethnic Studies*, *Jovenes: Centro de investigación y estudios juventud* and *Polish Psychological Bulletin*. Other articles have appeared in *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context*, edited by J. Bynner, L. Chisholm and A. Furlong (Ashgate, 1997), *Youth in the Information Society* (Youth Directorate, Council of Europe, 1998) and *Lifelong Learning in Europe*, Vol. II, edited by Andreas Walther and Barbara Stauber (Neuling, 1999). Address: Department of Psychology, University of Copenhagen, Njalsgade 90, Copenhagen 2300, Denmark. [email: sven.moerch@psy.ku.dk]