World *YOUTH* Report 2003

The global situation of young people

UNITED NATIONS

Department
of
Economic
and
Social
Affairs

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Note

The Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat is a vital interface between global policies in the economic, social and environmental spheres and national action. The Department works in three main interlinked areas: (i) it compiles, generates and analyzes a wide range of economic, social and environmental data and information on which States Members of the United Nations draw to review common problems and to take stock of policy options; (ii) it facilitates the negotiations of Member States in many intergovernmental bodies on joint courses of action to address ongoing or emerging global challenges; and (iii) it advises interested Governments on the ways and means of translating policy frameworks developed in United Nations conferences and summits into programmes at the country level and, through techncal assistance, helps build national capacities.

Young people make up almost a fifth of the world's population. Close to 85 per cent of the 1.061 billion young men and women between the ages of 15 and 24 live in developing countries; Asia accounts for the majority, with 60 per cent of the total, while another 15 per cent call Africa home, and approximately 10 per cent reside in Latin America and the Caribbean. The remaining 15 per cent of youth live in developed countries and regions.

Many of the world's young people are doing well. They grow up in cohesive, caring societies that prepare them for a responsible and productive existence. Today's youth are better educated than ever before and have acquired an unprecedented level of knowledge of the world around them. In addition, they are arguably the healthiest group of people ever to have lived on earth. Young people stand at the threshold of a promising future, poised for leadership at the family, economic and societal levels.

Alongside these achievements and optimistic hopes exists a parallel reality that is far less pleasant and increasingly pervasive. Many young people continue to suffer poverty, discrimination and inequality, and far too great a number still lack access to proper education and health services. Most of those who become infected with HIV/AIDS are in their teens or early twenties. Some fall prey to early pregnancy or become involved in drug abuse and delinquency. In many areas, rampant unemployment dulls their ambition and undermines morale, and civil conflict can have a particularly devastating effect on the young.

The present publication seeks to address these two themes that characterize youth, exploring the hope, ambition and potential that exists in this context, while at the same time examining the elements of vulnerability, danger and lost opportunities.

This review of the global situation of young people is based on the findings of the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth, held in Helsinki from 6 to 10 October 2002. Organized by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of Finland, the Meeting brought together a multidisciplinary group of participants from Government, academia, youth organizations and the United Nations to address all aspects of young people's lives in today's complex world and to identify new directions for effective youth policy. Sincere appreciation goes to the Government of Finland for its financial support of this endeavour.

Preface

The outline of this book is based on the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond (available at www.un.org/youth). This United Nations blueprint for youth action encompasses the principal set of guidelines for youth policies to be implemented by the Organization's Member States. Adopted by the General Assembly in 1995, the Programme focuses on ten areas targeted for national policy attention and provides a framework for measuring and evaluating achievements. These areas of concern are addressed in part one of the present publication.

Part two of this book highlights five new priority issues that have emerged since the adoption of the World Programme of Action almost a decade ago. In the mid-1990s, few could have predicted the enormous impact globalization, information and communication technologies, HIV/AIDS, conflict and intergenerational relations would have on young people.

The World Youth Report 2003 intended to contribute to the development of strategies that give young people everywhere a real opportunity to become independent and responsible global citizens. As stated by the Secretary-General on the occasion of International Youth Day, 12 August 2003:

"Young people should never be seen as a burden on any society, but as its most precious asset." ■

Foreword

This report has been prepared through the collaboration of academics, young people and United Nations staff.
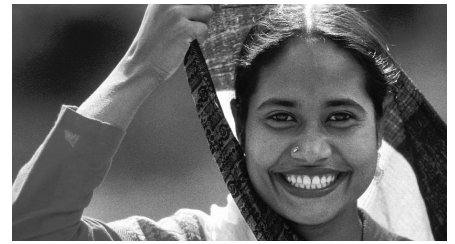
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Consultations were held in the preparation for this report during the **Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth**, held in Helsinki in **October 2002**. At this meeting, valuable comments and recommendations on the draft text were received from: Ms. Rindala Abdel-Baki (consultant, Beirut), Mr. Saifuddin Abdullah (Malaysian Youth Council, Kuala Lumpur), Mr. William Andrianasolo (United Nations Volunteers, Bonn, Germany), Mr. Juma Assiago (United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, Nairobi), Mr. Yahdia Mohamed Boulahi (General Union of Arab Students, Damascus), Mr. Ian Courtenay (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Geneva), Mr. David Everatt (consultant, Durban), Mr. Pekka Hakkarainen (National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health, Helsinki), Mr. Mohamed Hashid (Arab Youth Union, Damascus), Ms. Maria-Helena Henriques-Mueller (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris), Mr. Chon Sum Ihm (Sejong University, Seoul), Mr. Lasse Kannas (University of Juvaskyla, Finland), Ms. Nkatha Kobia (World Alliance of YWCAs, Geneva), Ms. Su-su Liao (Beijing Union Medical College, Beijing), Ms. Ioana Lucaciu (World Organization of the Scout Movement, Geneva), Ms. Terri Lore (consultant, Oklahoma, United States), Ms. Pia Lundbom

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Technical Note

In this publication, the term "youth" refers to all those between the ages of 15 and 24, as established in the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond. The term "young people" may be used interchangeable with the word "youth" in the text.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADHD   attention deficit hyperactivity disorder
AIDS   acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ATS   amphetamine-type stimulants
CDC   Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CEDAW   Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COVORPA   Committee of Volunteers for Reforestation and Environmental Protection
CVCD   Cambodian Volunteers for Community Development
DDR   (Programme on) Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DDT   dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane
ECOMOG   Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group
EFA   Education for All
EMCDDA   European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction
EU   European Union
EWS   early warning system(s)
FAO   Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
G-8   Group of Eight (major industrialized democracies)
GEM   gender empowerment measure
GDP   gross domestic product
GLBT   gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender
GNP   gross national product
HAART   highly active antiretroviral therapy
Habitat   United Nations Human Settlements Programme
HIV   human immunodeficiency virus
HIPCs   heavily indebted poor countries
ICPD   International Conference on Population and Development
ICRC   International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT   information and communication technologies
IDPs   internally displaced persons
IEC   information, education and communication
IDU   injecting drug user
ILG   International Learning Group on Youth and Community Development
ILO   International Labour Organization
IMF   International Monetary Fund
IRN   Independent Radio Network (Sierra Leone)
IT   information technology/ies
LSD   lysergic acid diethylamide
MTCT   mother-to-child transmission
MNC   multinational corporation
MSM   men having sex with other men
MYSA   Mathare Youth Sports Association
NEPAD   New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO   non-governmental organization
ODCCP   United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention
OECD   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OROSW   Operation Reach Out Southwest
PCB   polychlorinated biphenyl

PID	pelvic inflammatory disease
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RTI	reproductive tract infection
SLYAP	Sierra Leone Youth Advocate Programme
STD	sexually transmitted disease
STI	sexually transmitted infection
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TVET	technical and vocational education and training
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDCP	United Nations International Drug Control Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	universal primary education
VCT	voluntary counselling and testing
VET	vocational education and training
WEI	World Education Indicators
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Priorities for
OVERVIEW:
Global Youth Policies

This introduction is provided to create a general context for the different chapters in the publication.[1] It focuses on four particular areas, including the normative basis of global youth policy, the meaning of youth as a transitional concept, the reasons for considering global issues specifically in terms of how they relate to youth, and current trends emerging in the global youth policy discourse. This chapter also reviews the history of United Nations youth themes and priorities, explains how the World Programme of Action for Youth functions as a policy framework, and outlines the prospects for, and possibilities deriving from, a global youth policy.

INTRODUCTION

This publication provides an overview of the global situation of young people. Its purpose is to highlight the major challenges and opportunities youth are presented with today and to review key global youth issues. The publication's 15 chapters highlight particular areas of concern and derive from the collection of papers presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth, held in Helsinki from 6 to 10 October 2002. The first 10 chapters focus on the priority areas identified by the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, adopted by the General Assembly in 1995. The remaining five chapters address some of the newer issues that were later identified as additional priorities for youth and were adopted by the United Nations Commission for Social Development in 2003.

Young people between the ages of 15 and 24 total almost 1.1 billion and constitute 18 per cent of the global population. Youth and children together, including all those aged 24 years and below, account for nearly 40 per cent of the world's population.

Young people face many challenges today. Although in some parts of the world they are better educated than ever before, 133 million youth remain illiterate. Young people must also deal with increasing insecurity in the labour market; they now comprise 41 per cent of the world's unemployed. Some 238 million youth live on less than $1 per day. An average of 6,000-7,000 young people become infected with HIV daily. Girls and young women continue to face discrimination and violence and in many parts of the world lack access to reproductive health services. Young people are also involved in armed conflict, with estimates indicating a total of more than 300,000 child soldiers around the world.

Young people can be dynamic agents of social change, taking an active role in combating these problems, but they must be given the right tools to work with. The United Nations has long recognized that the world's youth are a resource for the advancement of societies; indeed, they are often the leaders of social, political and technological developments. Young women and young men should be seen not as a problem but as a force for change, and in keeping with this perspective, youth policy should be viewed not so much as a means of addressing problems associated with young people but as a means of ensuring their participation in the building of their communities and societies.

According to Ola Stafseng, an operational youth policy model includes three components or dimensions:[2] (a) national youth policies, which are by nature cross-sectoral; (b) cross-sectoral youth policies, which must be integrated and coordinated by bodies in the public and civic spheres; and (c) public youth policies, which should be conveyed through programmes, plans of action and other such vehicles at the State level. A new subdimension that might be incorporated into the third category is youth policies formulated by global communities and actors, including youth-oriented local and international NGOs.[3] The role of the

United Nations is to replicate and promote these dimensions, in line with its priorities, and to take the initiative in making youth policy truly global.

This youth policy structure presents a positive challenge for youth research, as a new kind of expertise is required that combines academic research and applied empirical analysis with active social participation in the development of youth policy and youth work at the national and international levels. This indicates the need for continuous dialogue between different actors in the youth field.

One possible problem may relate to the dominance of a particular research perspective; even the authors of the present chapter have an inherently youth-research-oriented[4] and Nordic[5]—and therefore quite Western—analytical approach. There is a risk that the interpretation of youth issues and needs could become one-sided, and that a youth agenda could be built on the basis of experiences in developed countries and the Western conceptual mechanism. This would be especially ironic, given that 85 per cent of the world's young people live in developing countries;[6] this simple demographic factor alone is enough to define global youth policy as being fundamentally a question of development.

THE NORMATIVE BASIS OF GLOBAL YOUTH POLICY

The key instrument of global youth policy is the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond,[7] adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1995—the tenth anniversary of the International Youth Year. The World Programme of Action signified the intensification of the United Nations' commitment to young people, and an international response to the call for more effective strategies aimed at meeting the needs of youth and addressing the challenges they would encounter in the next millennium. It seeks to empower young people and promote their participation in all areas of society. At a more practical level, it contains guidelines for the development of national youth policies and for the monitoring and evaluation of results.

The normative basis for youth policy is broadly rooted in the overall purposes and principles of the United Nations, and the fundamental basis of such policy is the United Nations Charter. The purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in the Charter, are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these ends.[8] In the 1990s, the Secretary-General of the United Nations condensed these objectives into three key themes: peace, development and democracy.[9]

A close look at the historical development of the United Nations youth agenda indicates the relevance of the three fundamental Charter-based themes to youth policies. Starting in 1965,[10] peace became the theme most closely connected with youth policy; in subsequent decades participation and development were also recognized as key themes of a global youth policy.[11] The General

Assembly designated 1985 International Youth Year and identified the goals of participation, development and peace as priorities. These three interrelated themes continue to reflect the overall objectives of World Programme of Action.[12] The International Youth Year established a baseline for social and political thinking on youth matters and, most importantly, pointed States and communities in a specific direction that allowed them to demonstrate their concern for their young people in concrete terms and to enable youth themselves to influence the course of their own lives.[13]

The declarations and programmes of United Nations global conferences constitute another normative basis for global youth policy. The priority areas of the World Programme of Action built upon the policies introduced at summits and conferences held in the early 1990s.[14] For example, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, June 1992) provided an impetus to target the environment as one priority area in the Programme, and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, September 1995) helped lead to the inclusion of a priority area focusing on girls and young women. The World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, March 1995) contributed to the identification of a number of the Programme's priority areas including education, employment, health, and hunger and poverty.

The ten priorities of the World Programme of Action, clearly reflecting the global agenda established by various international instruments, include the following:

- Education
- Employment
- Hunger and poverty
- Health
- Environment
- Drug abuse
- Juvenile delinquency
- Leisure-time activities
- Girls and young women
- Participation

The global agenda has continued to evolve since the adoption of the World Programme of Action, and additional youth policy themes have emerged. The United Nations Millennium Summit, the General Assembly special sessions on HIV/AIDS and Children, the Second World Assembly on Ageing, and several follow-up conferences to the world summits have been held since the original priorities were established, and these new developments have led to an expansion of the normative basis of global youth policy, reflected in the following five additional priorities (adopted by the United Nations Commission for Social Development in 2003):

- Globalization

- Information and communication technologies (ICT)

- HIV/AIDS

- Conflict prevention

- Intergenerational relations

Priorities such as those listed above raise questions about the relevance of articulating youth issues on a global level. How well do these priorities apply to the youth of the world, who comprise many different subgroups rather than a single demographic entity? This question makes an analysis of life transitions and the life course extremely relevant.

YOUTH AS A TRANSITIONAL CONCEPT

Within the United Nations System, and in all its statistics and indicators, young people are identified as those between the ages of 15 and 24. It is assumed that youth, as a phase of life, takes place within these boundaries. Young people are grouped together to form a sort of statistical entity, which makes it possible to produce comparative data. These boundaries are not static, however.

Youth, as a concept, varies from culture to culture and from one society to another. Alice Schlegel and Barry Herbert[15] in an anthropological publication based on some 200 different field studies, describe transition rites[16] in pre-industrial societies.[17] The two authors found that in more than half of the societies studied, the progression from childhood to youth, especially for boys, involved some systematic rite of passage. These rites have symbolic significance in that, simply by participating in them, an individual achieves a new status and position. It is also a matter of genuine community action; the new status gains validity only through community recognition.

Life-course rituals are also present in complex societies, although the arrangements are not as clearly defined as in pre- and non-industrial societies. Age group boundaries have become blurred in Western culture. This is often believed to be related to the homogenizing—but simultaneously individualizing—effects of universal education and popular-culture consumerism. The boundaries defining the transition from childhood to youth and from youth to adulthood are shifting, and the crossover into each new stage is now manifested in different ways than before.[18] The ritualized events marking the progression from youth to adulthood are changing and losing their earlier significance, as an individual's status and position do not change with the partial rituals of the consumer culture in a way that classical ritual theory would define as signalling a clear transition.[19]

This confusing and sometimes contradictory[20] landscape notwithstanding, the idea of transition, or the theory of life-course transitions, is a viable mechanism through which the nature of contemporary youth and the process of becoming an adult can be understood and described. The ritual transition theory thus has a contemporary utility in both a United Nations and a broader context. From an economic and social perspective, youth is a special phase of life between childhood and adulthood. Richard Curtain gives the concept a bit more depth,[21] asserting that youth is a complex interplay of personal, institutional and macroeconomic changes that most young people (other than those in wholly traditional societies) have to negotiate. Globalization is reshaping life-phase transitions and relations between generations,[22] and the changes that young people must negotiate do not occur as predictably as in the past. Defining youth globally according to some exact age range is therefore an awkward task. The age range 15-24 is often used by the United Nations and others for statistical purposes, but in many cases this distinction is too narrow.[23] In some developed countries, for example, the male transition to adulthood, in terms of achieving the economic and social stability that comes with steady employment, may extend into the late twenties. For some men in developed countries who have not completed secondary school, the transition to stable work could take up to around age 35.[24]

Curtain does not directly promote van Gennep's ritual theory but addresses different dimensions of youth transitions. He suggests that it is possible in many societies to identify four distinct aspects of young people's movement from dependence to independence, as follows: (a) leaving the parental home and establishing new living arrangements; (b) completing full-time education; (c) forming close, stable personal relationships outside of the family, often resulting in marriage and children; and (d) testing the labour market, finding work and possibly settling into a career, and achieving a more or less stable livelihood. According to Curtain, this characterization applies to both developed and developing countries; demonstrating the capacity to contribute to the economic welfare of the family is a key stage in the journey to adulthood.[25] These transitions are interconnected; leaving home and setting up one's own personal economy require an independent source of income, and to reach this stage a young person generally has to have acquired qualifications and to have succeeded in demonstrating his or her skill in the labour market or some equivalent subsection of society.

Young people, when faced with uncertain employment prospects and financial insecurity, are likely to avoid establishing stable personal relationships, postpone marriage, and/or put off having or accepting responsibility for children. More extreme social behaviour in response to limited or non-existent economic prospects may include engagement in illegal activities such as drug trafficking, violent crime or gang warfare. Poor economic prospects may also contribute to anti-social behaviour, including exposing others to the spread of HIV/AIDS through the practice of unsafe sex.[26]

The outline presented by Curtain, which can be called the transition model, exposes the problems of moving from one developmental phase to another, in particular those challenges relating to the fundamental life questions faced by young people growing up in developed countries. The role of youth policy in this sort of framework is to create favourable conditions for success by preparing young people for the roles and responsibilities of adulthood.[27] If this concept is tied to the idea that childhood and youth are valuable stages of life rather than just instrumental way stations on the journey to adulthood, the model takes on a whole new meaning. Youth policy then becomes not only a source of guidance towards adulthood, sent down from above, but a means of providing or ensuring the requirements for a safe and productive life for children and young citizens.[28] This entails viewing children and young people as subjects in every respect, not only at the personal level but in society as well, participating in decision-making and the debates surrounding it.

What sort of society does the transition model apply to? It appears to presume the existence of established labour markets, but what about the labour market structure in developing countries, where 85 per cent of the world's young people live? If there are not established labour markets, are there transitions? In other words, how does this model relate to societies whose members do not automatically think of their lives in terms of settling into a career, as do educated middle-class people in Europe and the United States, for example? The limits and possibilities of a transitional perspective must be considered.

Curtain acknowledges that the transition model "is focused on developed countries and therefore needs further elaboration to take into account other countries."[29] The relevant issue in these sorts of interpretations of youth is that the general problem of transitions relates specifically to the process of becoming independent. This idea is clearly expressed in the *Jordan Human Development Report 2000*, which places emphasis on the series of transitions "from adolescence to adulthood, from dependence to independence, and from being recipients of society's services to becoming contributors to national economic, political, and cultural life."[30] Viewed in this context, becoming independent is one of the most significant aspects of youth; moving from the childhood home to one's own place, letting go of one's parents and acquiring a spouse, and making choices after one's compulsory education regarding continuing education and/or career moves are all part of one of the most dramatic life changes a person experiences.

Youth policy ties into this process, since raising young people to make the right choices and take effective control of their own lives and social commitments constitute one of society's highest priorities in terms of ensuring its preservation and development. The need for a youth-specific policy arises since it is not a question of protecting children or helping adults who have already achieved some permanent position in their work and have families to care for, but of supporting the life processes in between.

In general, therefore, the definition of youth as the period of transition from dependence to independence relates to all societies and could serve as one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations global agenda. Independence, in the sense of representing personal autonomy, is part of the Western process of individualization[31] and, as such, is an example of a culturally conditioned relationship between an individual and society. The world's customs and cultures can be classified according to whether they are characterized by a collectivist or an individualistic nature;[32] the more collectively oriented a culture is, the more sensitive the dependence/independence issue tends to be. Although becoming independent is the key objective for youth, it is important to remember that children and young people need solid structures—a societal skeleton—to cling to and build upon for their growth and stability. Without this social dimension, a young person's trust in himself or herself, society, the world and life cannot develop. The two issues addressed here—trust and independence—are important enough to be considered foundational concepts underlying the United Nations global agenda.

Trust, as a crucial generic phenomenon of personality development,[33] allows a child to be raised as the product of social interaction and later in life is a precondition for the maintenance of social relationships. Without trust, a person has no feeling of ontological safety. As Anthony Giddens notes, trust generates the "leap into faith" needed for practical engagement.[34] Releasing the individual from traditional social restraints is often seen as one of the central features of development for modernized and urbanized societies. The notion that it takes a village to raise children and young people is foreign to the contemporary analysis of post-modern sociology, which views the village as being, if not entirely extinct, an endangered species in the new world order being produced by globalization. However, the idea that identity formation is an individual project cultivated in contexts ranging from intimate personal ties to global systems of interaction is well in tune with the spirit of modern times. When this contemporary analysis is considered within the context of the United Nations' youth agenda, emphasis is placed on the importance of the issue of trust. Trust is society's gift to the coming generations.

The concepts addressed above raise questions regarding concrete means and possibilities for building trust in different parts of the world—for example, in a situation in which 120 million people migrate from one country to another each year. Migration patterns such as these break up families and weaken or destroy organized social structures in unprecedented ways and at an unprecedented rate. From this perspective, the functional orientation of the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond and the direction of the projects associated therewith[36] are pertinent.[37] The Programme of Action emphasizes the social dimensions of life and the importance of community.

Becoming an independent adult requires a large measure of self-esteem, but this characteristic is not innate. Countless life-management and self-esteem

guides are available in the book market, but people cannot manage life; life manages people. Self-esteem grows when one does socially significant things, learns, and takes care of others.

The transition perspective articulates the issue of when and how young people achieve the status of becoming fully operational members of society—and thereby acquire citizenship in all its dimensions. The concept of participation then becomes relevant;[38] embedded in the theme of transition is a link between participation and gaining independence. What does globalization mean as the context for all this, and why should global questions be considered specifically as they relate to youth?

A GLOBAL YOUTH QUESTION

Young people today are faced with high levels of economic and social uncertainty and volatility.[39] In chapter 2, Andy Furlong cites ILO figures indicating that rates of unemployment tend to be two to three times higher for youth than for adults.[40] In chapter 11, Stephen Miles examines how and why young people, perhaps to a greater extent than any other group, are forced to bear the social costs of globalization.[41] This trend by itself represents a solid reason for the articulation of a global youth-specific policy. Miles focuses on globalization as an economic process and explores its profound social implications. He begins by highlighting the enormous gaps that exist, noting that the assets of the 200 richest people in the world are greater than the combined income of more than 2 billion of the poorest—and the gulf between these two groups continues to grow.[42] The news is not all bad, however. The World Bank reports that low-income developing countries, with a total of approximately 3 billion people, have shifted their export focus from primary commodities to manufactured goods and services.[43] Between the mid-1970s and 1998, the share of manufactured items in these countries' total exports increased from 25 per cent to more than 80 per cent. Per capita incomes in these developing countries rose by about 5 per cent per year in the 1990s, with the number of poor people declining by a not insignificant 125 million between 1990 and 1999.

Juha Suoranta, in the chapter on information and communication technologies,[44] mentions the uneven distribution of social, technological and cultural resources. He writes that young people live in situations of extreme inequality in terms of food, health, education, employment and social security. During the 1990s, the world experienced a substantial increase in income inequality, polarization, poverty and social exclusion. These problems, notes Suoranta, are even more prevalent among youth, and the issue is one of significant proportions, given that four out of five people under the age of 20 live in developing countries. Virtually all young people are encountering the uncertainties and risks generated by economic and cultural globalization, but those with a certain degree of advantage are able to manage the challenges more effectively. As Miles observes,[45] there is a group of young, educated, multilingual Europeans who are able to work

and study in different countries and thus experience a diversity of cultures; however, the vast majority of young people, especially those from developing countries, simply do not have such opportunities because they lack suitable skills, appropriate qualifications or sufficient financial resources.

This finding is in line with S.T. Hettige's observations[46] regarding the emergence of a transnational middle class. Hettige sees this new configuration as one of the most significant social outcomes of the current globalizing tendencies and trends, and argues that this new class, unlike the conventional, nationally rooted middle class, is very much linked to transnational space and therefore depends greatly on transnational forces for its sustenance and identity. Hettige maintains that members of the new class tend to be hostile to extreme nationalist tendencies, which often run counter to the universalistic ideas embedded in the notion of internationalism.[47] According to Hettige, this transnationally oriented middle class does not constitute a homogeneous social stratum; it is comprised of diverse elements including business executives in the outward-oriented commercial sector, the upper layer of the NGO sector, and executives and other higher-level employees in locally based international agencies, organizations and institutions. Paradoxically, young activists involved in anti-globalization movements and campaigns for global democracy often have this type of social background. These young people, travelling around the world for different demonstrations, meetings and social forums, constitute a political force within the international youth culture. This is not meant to trivialize such movements, but to sketch a picture of their social and cultural roots.

Striking paradoxes are also apparent in the situation of girls and young women within the global youth context. Nutritional and weight-related concerns are present everywhere but can be manifested in very different ways. The paradox in this example relates to the fact, pointed out by Helena Helve in chapter 9, "that girls and young women in developed countries suffer from eating disorders, while those in developing countries suffer from diseases caused by insufficient food consumption".[48] This extreme continuum leads to wider thoughts of simultaneous processes;[49] some suffer from the lack of means to meet their basic needs, while others are not able to decide between all the different means available to them to meet those needs. In circumstances such as these, are there enough shared platforms or common experiences among young people to bind them together as a global entity? Modes of living, coping and suffering are quite different in various part of the world. A collision between lifestyle syndromes in developed countries[50] and the lack of provisions for basic needs in developing countries appears inevitable.

Many of the authors contributing to this publication raise concerns about gender inequalities. In chapter 1, for example, Lynne Chisholm calls attention to the gender gaps in primary education enrolment; except in the Arab world, higher levels of overall enrolment seem to correlate with greater gender equity.[51] According to Richard Curtain, poverty has certain gender-specific consequences.[52]

He cites one of the national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, which notes that "poor women are less able to plan families; they have less access to information on family planning and face higher reproductive risks".[53] In his chapter on health, Robert Thomson refers to female genital mutilation as one of the most striking examples of gender-based violence.[54] Examining the issue of youth and HIV/AIDS, Vivian Mercedes Lopez notes that infection rates are increasing much faster among young women than among young men (the rate is double for young women in much of Africa).[55] This phenomenon is mainly attributable to the fact that girls and young women are biologically more susceptible to infection, tend to experience a greater degree of financial insecurity, are often forced to resort to sex work to survive, are subjected to forced and early marriages, and are victims of rape, sexual violence and human trafficking.

In the chapter on conflict prevention,[56] Laleh Ebrahimian warns that the continuation of current trends will lead to a surge in the level of conflict in various parts of the world, causing problems for the majority of the global population. She provides a case study of Africa, the poorest continent in the world in terms of social welfare but one with the potential to reverse that trend through the equitable distribution of its rich natural resources. More than half of Africa's population is below the age of 18, compared with about one-quarter in Europe. These young people will be unable to survive unless serious deficiencies in the healthcare, employment and education sectors and the grave threat posed by infectious diseases are addressed. Ebrahimian's conclusion is that these factors obviously affect the social, political and economic well-being of young people, but that the situation is unlikely to improve without sustained intervention. She contends that worldwide violence will continue to escalate unless the underlying causes of the deep-seated anger, frustration and restlessness are dealt with.

Disparities in living conditions bring the distinctions between developed and developing countries into clearer focus and raise questions about the concept of global solidarity. This is a world in which some people suffer from hunger while others suffer from injuries caused by IT use and poor ergonomics. Do those living in developed and developing parts of the world have anything in common other than the fact that they are human beings with human rights? Does this represent enough of a shared foundation on which to base and develop global youth policies? What should youth policy in a global context actually include? What does it mean in the United Nations context? Is a global youth policy even possible, considering the vast diversity and wide disparities between localities, countries and regions?[57]

There may seem to be few good reasons to presume the existence of global youth with unifying social markers, since living conditions are so different around the world. Swedish and Norwegian youth, for example, have little in common with Nigerian, Sri Lankan and Ecuadorian youth. There are also the changeable polarizations in each country inherently embedded within the various social gaps. These enormous gulfs can be said to exist even against the backdrop of the

transition model described earlier, in the context of which it was argued that every young person is confronted with the task of attaining independence according to culturally relative definitions. The process of striving for adult-level independence is different in, say, Kazan, Russian Federation, and in Melbourne, Australia. However, there still appears to be a universal perspective. The common element shared among all children and youth exists perhaps at the formal level of development (in terms of psychology).[58] On the societal level this relates to the idea of socialization; full cognitive development requires quality social interaction. The concept of socialization provides a framework in which to examine the social conditions surrounding youth at various stages, and to explore how these conditions facilitate or interfere with the developmental tasks to be achieved. Other dimensions of shared experiences can be sociologically constructed as well, including the issue of generations.

June Edmunds and Brian Turner have recently examined the contemporary relevance of the classical Mannheimian theory of generations.[59] Their argument is that extraordinary events such as those that occurred on 11 September 2001 give rise to the emergence of "global generations".[60] They call the cohort produced by the traumatic events in New York the "September generation". The authors describe a global generational consciousness sustained by mass media sources with an international reach. Events are local but receive worldwide coverage.

The events of 11 September can be compared to the Vietnam War, the Kennedy assassination, and the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in the sense that global communication systems created communities of emotions—with far-reaching effects. This is particularly the case for the post-war baby-boomer generation and the sixties generation[61] within the context of the cultural changes that occurred in the Western world during the second half of the twentieth century. Is there a corresponding mechanism that permits a generation, with all its fractions, to intervene meaningfully in social change? (It should be noted that these fractions may also lead to a global clash of cultures; the present chapter does not explore this possibility).

The analysis of generations is relevant here; as an element of the general discourse on youth, the generational model is particularly suitable within the context of the United Nations, which emphasizes an action-oriented approach and recognizes the active nature and potential of young people (as does the Mannheimian theory of generations). As noted earlier, a generation may conceivably be fabricated on the basis of the shared traumatic-event experiences of cohorts and shaped by living conditions. A consciousness and specific ethos is born, and this triggers action in societies. The result is social change and—ideally—a better world.

Karl Mannheim makes mention of the fresh contact, or susceptible stage of development. Generally, between the ages of about 17 and 25, the world views and attitudes of maturing young people are forming,[62] and it is during this period that human beings feel and experience the changes (traumatic events) in society

most deeply. How universal a stage this may be is subject to debate,[63] but the fact that it is an acknowledged phenomenon supports the notion that youth is an important stage in one's life and lends justification to the call for a youth-specific agenda for the United Nations.

The theory of global generations articulates the role of global communication networks in the establishment of generational cohorts. The contention is that there are consumer items and icons produced and/or mediated by international media conglomerates that become so widely known that they collectively constitute a dimension of the global youth culture. Shakira, Madonna or World Cup Football tournaments, for example, become part of the shared youth experience. What emerges from this is the sense that one is an engaged member of a young worldwide audience, or a kind of imagined community[64] (based, it must be said, on a very weak thread of shared markers). This perceived bond makes it possible for young people from different parts of the world, and from different social situations and backgrounds, to converse and interact as one cohort bound together by their common interest in the products of popular culture—and by the social ethics embedded therein.[65]

The critical question is how far this common generational consciousness actually extends; the answer lies, fundamentally, in whether the widely disparate origins and situations of those belonging to a particular generation are balanced by shared experiences and perceived membership in the global culture. What does all this signify in terms of the content of a global youth policy? People born within the same historic period do not necessarily share the same opportunities. Global gaps in income alone create different life chances for the world's young people.

The Mannheimian theory asserts that collectively experienced traumatic events produce generations. There are worldwide catastrophes that produce a global consciousness at some level. Just as important, however, are the violent confrontations and internal disputes that never reach the international audience. Between 1989 and 2000 a total of 111 armed conflicts were reported. As Laleh Ebrahimian notes, most warfare takes place in the poorest developing countries, especially in Africa.[66] It is estimated that there are 300,000 child soldiers.[67] Too many young people experience these traumatic events under catastrophic conditions, the improvement of which cannot be taken for granted in youth policy.

Stephen Miles notes in chapter 11 that young people's problems are not always unique but are often part of a more holistic crisis requiring immediate action by Governments and international agencies.[68] About 3 billion people—nearly half of the world population—currently have no access to sanitation, and 1.3 billion have no access to clean drinking water.[69] These circumstances reflect a general dimension of the global youth agenda, namely, the need for measures that address the requirements for basic survival and adequate living conditions.

Nutrition and health may be examined in this context. According to FAO, sub-Saharan Africa continues to have the highest prevalence of undernourishment and has experienced the sharpest increase in the number of undernourished people. Most of this increase derives from Central Africa, where the proportion of undernourished rose by more than 20 per cent in the 1990s. Approximately 40 to 60 per cent of the population in sub-Saharan Africa is currently undernourished.[70] In other areas, such as Asia, the food crisis has largely been resolved, and the situation has improved considerably. Hunger occurs for a combination of reasons, the foremost of which is poverty. Many countries are not self-sufficient and cannot afford to buy food from abroad. There are deeply indebted countries that have only enough to pay the interest on their loans. Poor governance and widespread corruption exacerbate the situation, as do regional wars and conflicts; according to FAO, eight of the 18 countries with the highest incidence of hunger are at war. Meanwhile, the HIV/AIDS epidemic is inflicting massive damage, wiping out the working-age population in some villages, weakening the fabric of society,[71] and driving many young people to engage in criminal activity and substance abuse.

All the chapters in this publication refer to global inequalities and the growing gap between rich and poor countries. It is noted, for example, that the policies of industrialized nations have contributed to the problem of global hunger. Farmers in developing countries cannot compete in production and work their way out of poverty because of developed countries' protectionist policies. Developed countries provide their own agriculture industries with $350 billion in subsidies every year,[72] which translates into an annual loss of $50 billion in agricultural revenues for developing countries—a figure equivalent to all of the development aid being sent to poor countries.[73] The EU, which spends about 70 billion euros per annum on its own agricultural support and regional support systems, has contributed 60 million euros worth of aid this year to fight hunger in Ethiopia.

Perhaps the hunger issue and all of its underlying causes represent an example of what Stephen Miles refers to as the elements of crisis to which Governments must respond with immediate and general (rather than youth-specific) measures. These include debt relief through the Heavily-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, United Nations development loans, and an increase in the foreign aid provided by industrialized nations to 0.7 per cent of GNP; this last measure alone would help reduce the incidence of hunger by half by the year 2015. Andy Furlong's emphasis (in chapter 2) on the need to create new jobs rather than just providing training programmes to solve unemployment problems also calls for what is essentially a generalized solution. It should be noted that the gap between rich and poor countries is also a matter of power,[74] and this should be acknowledged and factored into global policy development.

While a broad approach is often called for, it would not be productive to first address all of the world's hunger and poverty problems and only then start to consider global youth policy. The situation of young people could actually constitute one of the key elements in solving these basic problems and keeping them in the public eye. The relative status of young people and the conditions and circumstances under which they live, especially in developing countries, could also serve as indicators on both sides of a youth policy—denoting successes and failures in terms of policy content and implementation but also demonstrating areas of need, where and how such a policy must be sharpened, and what its underlined priorities should be. Youth specificity in relation to the different themes could even be a key factor in developing solutions (see, for example, the chapters on the environment, HIV/AIDS, health and drugs in the present publication).

The factors and themes highlighted here promote a broader concept of globalization, which is all too often perceived exclusively in economic terms. HIV/AIDS, crime, population and migration, environmental problems, ICT and commercial entertainment are all global phenomena. The multiple aspects of globalization raise questions with regard to its democratic control, which has a strong youth dimension (see Gerison Lansdown's chapter on participation).

As indicated above, the 15 (often interrelated) priority areas of the World Programme of Action for Youth are extremely relevant in contemporary society. The Programme explores these issues and urges action to address them.

CURRENT TRENDS IN THE DISCUSSION OF GLOBAL YOUTH POLICY

The overall objectives of global youth policy—peace, development and participation—have retained their priority status in the agendas of the various youth forums, but new dimensions have been incorporated into the discussion of these three themes and action taken to strengthen them. World Youth Forum sessions have been used as workshops to further develop the "action for youth" focus of the World Programme of Action,[75] and the reports and strategies of the Forum have brought out new dimensions in the global youth agenda, including the issues of youth rights and youth empowerment.[76] This has had an impact particularly on the priority area of participation, as will be explained below.

Peace

During the 1990s, intranational warfare killed more than 5 million people. A large number of youth worldwide are still dealing with the human tragedy of armed conflict. An integrated approach towards conflict prevention and peace-building has been identified as one of the key priorities in the global agenda.[77] Peace-related matters affecting youth are not incorporated into the present global youth policy framework with the same intensity and relevance, however. The issue is indirectly addressed in the World Programme of Action through topics such as

discrimination, violence, post-war trauma and integration, and peace education.[78] The Secretary-General has recognized the need for increased attention to this thematic area and has appointed a Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict to provide the necessary guidance in this respect.

Development

Globalization has challenged the development agenda of the international community. The new opportunities and social and ecological costs that come with it constitute a major focus in both the global youth policy agenda and the broader human development agenda. The areas of concern addressed at the Millennium Summit are directly linked to most of the global youth priorities, including education, employment, hunger and poverty, health, girls and young women, globalization, ICT and HIV/AIDS. The Fourth WTO Ministerial Conference (Doha, 2001), the International Conference on Financing for Development (Monterrey, 2002), and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, 2002) have contributed significantly to the creation of a new framework for global governance. The structures of global governance are extremely relevant to global youth policy, as is indicated by Ola Stafseng's assertion that youth policy is becoming a matter of global solidarity.[79] This is also demonstrated in an analytical review of the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (see chapter 3 of the present publication).[80]

Participation

In the area of youth participation, there has been a shift towards a more legislatively based focus on youth rights and movement away from the broad concept of youth participation to a more narrow concentration on structures for political participation.[81] This new emphasis on human rights as a fundamental normative basis for global youth policy derives partly from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), an instrument that specifically defines the human rights of those under 18 years of age. There are a number of other such treaties with relevance to most of the global priorities for youth. During discussions on the human rights of young people at the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth, held in Helsinki in October 2002, it was noted that a youth dimension should be included in human rights monitoring instruments as well as in the mandates of the various Special Rapporteurs on human rights.[82]

The direct relevance of human rights instruments to global youth policy is noteworthy. For example, the general prohibition against discrimination applies to many issues of concern to young people around the world. The principal of non-discrimination is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948):

> "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."[83]

The word "age" is excluded from the list of those areas in which no distinction is to be made in the application of human rights, as it is implicitly recognized in the Declaration that human rights are all-inclusive, pertaining to young people as well as adults. Other human rights instruments target particular priority areas. For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is, at a minimum, relevant to youth participation and youth delinquency.[84] The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights guarantees young people the right to education by obliging States to make education not only available but also accessible, adaptable and acceptable.[85] Finally, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) identifies specific areas of concern shared by all females, including girls and young women.

With regard to the narrower notion of youth participation, there has been a move towards more specific proposals and demands for political participation within the United Nations System.[86] Pressure is being applied for the establishment of a separate and distinctive youth policy structure within the Organization, characterized by institutionalized co-management with youth NGOs.[87] It is worth noting that these ideas of partnership with civil society are in line with the Secretary-General's proposal regarding new methods of civil society participation.[88] In the era of globalization, the challenge of democratization must now be addressed by international organizations, which are expected to play a greater role in the global governance of economic globalization. In the context of the United Nations, the outreach towards global civil society—including young people and their organizations—represents part of this development. This "civil society outreach" policy of the Secretary-General has been defined as a strategy of dialogic democracy, one of the legitimacy strategies of global democracy.[89]

The present challenge in facilitating youth participation is the institutionalization of this dialogic democracy with regard to the issues of global youth policy. The "Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth"[90] urges development in this direction; youth participation is identified as one of the three cross-cutting themes, and a proposal is put forward for the evaluation of youth participation mechanisms in the various United Nations agencies and national delegations. An evaluation of the activities and achievements of the World Youth Forum, prepared independently from the rest of the report, provides an interesting reference for further reflection on the development of trends in youth participation. The direct involvement of young people in decision-making processes is vital; towards that end—in the spirit of dialogic democracy—representatives of youth NGOs were involved in the preparation of the present publication.

As indicated earlier, youth can be characterized as a transition from childhood to adulthood—a developmental journey during which one gains independence and begins to participate fully in society. This period is fraught with enormous challenges for young people themselves and for the rest of society. It is imperative that societies invest in their youth, as they are especially vulnerable to the increasingly complex problems facing the world today.

CONCLUSION

The World Programme of Action for Youth urges the United Nations and its Member States to undertake various tasks during the period 2001-2010; in this "third phase", the focus should be on "further implementation and evaluation of progress and obstacles encountered", and suggestions should be offered with regard to "appropriate adjustments to long-term objectives and specific measures to improve the situation of young people in the societies in which they live".[91]

The present publication should be seen as part of the follow-up mandated by the World Programme of Action, as it represents a response to the call for both "further implementation" and an "evaluation of progress and obstacles encountered". The 15 chapters that follow provide an overview of the global situation of youth, of progress made with regard to the global priorities for youth, and of obstacles to be overcome in the future. The lack of data relating to certain fields in developing countries, as well as the problems of data comparability, are challenging the research community to develop a system of global indicators as well as qualitative research methods in order to build a truly global picture of the situation of youth.[92] The obvious dominance of the Western school/tradition of youth research is one of the key challenges to be addressed in the future, given the fact that the majority of young people are living in developing countries. The establishment of a global youth research network could provide the foundations for achieving a truly global conceptual apparatus as well as a truly global methodological framework for future evaluations.

This publication incorporates the conclusions of the evaluation of the World Youth Forum, prepared independently from the other chapters. Following this example, the next phase of the evaluation should target the means of implementation described in the World Programme of Action for Youth. At the regional and international levels, the youth policies and programmes of various United Nations agencies should be evaluated as mechanisms for the implementation of the Programme. In this context, the proposal of the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth on the evaluation of agencies' youth participation mechanisms could be considered.[93] With respect to implementation at the country level, there is a need for international assessment of national youth policies and coordination mechanisms. According to the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Programme,[94] there are some individual cases of such efforts having been launched by the Council of Europe.

There is a need for continued discussion on appropriate adjustments to long-term objectives and the adoption of specific measures to improve the situation of young people. It was noted earlier that the normative basis for a global youth policy has continued to develop since 1995, and new concerns have emerged since the adoption of World Programme of Action. These additional priority areas, explored in the last five chapters of this publication, need to be taken

into consideration when recommending adjustments to long-term youth objectives in any updating of the World Programme of Action. In addition, the trend towards developing concrete, proactive measures to address the challenges faced by young people should be sustained. The authors of the following chapters, along with the participants in the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth, have contributed to these efforts by suggesting and assessing various measures and by highlighting some of the key concerns of young people. However, the identification and adoption of specific measures is a task for the Secretary-General and the Member States of the United Nations. ■

[1] Appreciation goes to S. Aapola, P. Lundbom, K. Paakkunainen, S. Perho and L. Suurpää for sharing ideas about global youth policy in connection with the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth (Helsinki, October 2002).

[2] O. Stafseng, "Relevance of the themes of the United Nations International Youth Year (1985)", *Global Situation of Youth* (United Nations, 1998).

[3] See, for example, the World Youth Forum and the Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy (further information can be accessed at (http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/library/index.html). The concept of participation constitutes the starting point for this sort of youth policy; the objective is to motivate young people to participate in decision-making processes relating to youth and other issues.

[4] The Finnish Youth Research Network (http://www.alli.fi/nuorisotutkimus/nuoriso-www/index2.html), with which the present authors are affiliated, is a national research unit established in 1999 and financed by Ministry of Education in Finland and by various European, Nordic and national research funds. Research is carried out in cooperation with various universities and research institutes. More than 20 researchers of the Network are working in these universities and institutes, providing a strong functional framework for continuous multidisciplinary scientific cooperation at both national and international levels. The Finnish Youth Research Network regularly arranges training seminars for researchers and organizes discussion forums for the general public. The Network's publication series provides factual research information, as well as raising new issues and offering different perspectives for broader discussion on matters relating to young people.

[5] See http://www.alli.fi/nyri/index.htm.

[6] ILO, "Youth and work: global trends" (Geneva, 2001); and United Nations, "World youth report 2003: report of the Secretary-General" (E/CN.5/2003/4) (12 December 2002), para. 2.

[7] United Nations, General Assembly resolution 50/81 of 13 March 1996, "The World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond" (A/RES/50/81).

[8] Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice (DPI/511-40303-May 1987-50M), article 1.

[9] A former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, issued three reports in which he identified the interrelated key challenges for all States and the international community: an Agenda for Peace (1992), an Agenda for Development (1994) and an Agenda for Democratization (1996).

[10] In resolution 2037 (XX) of 1965, the General Assembly endorsed the Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples.

[11] A/RES/50/81, para. 13.

[12] Ibid., para. 3.

[13] See O. Stafseng, loc. cit., p. 2.

[14] The World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond refers, in paragraph 15, to the following five international instruments as having had an impact on the preparation of its priorities: (a) the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development; (b) the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights; (c) the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development; (d) the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development; and (e) the Platform for Action, adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women.

[15] A. Schlegel and B. Herbert, *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry* (New York, The Free Press, 1991).

[16] Philippe Aries's influential publication *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, Vintage Books, 1962) places the birth of "youth", as such, at the beginning of the industrial period, implying that this phenomenon is limited purely to developed and industrialized societies. Many historians of youth have disputed Aries's position; see, for example, J. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-present* (New York and London, Academic Press, 1974); or M. Mitterauer, *A History of Youth* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1992).

[17] The subjects of these studies were small hunting-gathering tribes living in one or a few villages, larger nomadic herding tribes, and settled agricultural tribes and peoples in Africa, Asia, North America and South America.

[18] In an earlier version of the "European Commission White Paper: a new impetus for European youth" (Brussels, 21 November 2001) (COM(2001)681 final), it is noted that life is not linear.

[19] A. Van Gennep, in *The Rites of Passage* (translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffe (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960)), suggested that rites of passage mark both biological changes and changes in social position. Rites of passage may be seen as characterized by a common structure involving: (a) separation of the individual from the order or previous social condition; (b) a marginal or transitional phase, which is highly sacred; and (c) a final stage, which incorporates the individual into the new social order or status; see D. and J. Jary, *Collins Dictionary of Sociology*, 3rd edition (Glasgow, HarperCollins, 2000), p. 523.

[20] In an earlier version of the European Commission White Paper, European organizations refer to changes in youth, noting, for example, that traditional collective models have lost their significance, and more indi-vidualized patterns of development have become more common.

[21] Private correspondence with Richard Curtain, 6 November 2002.

[22] Stephen Miles explores this issue in some detail in chapter 11.

[23] As Richard Curtain asserts, this age grouping is often too limiting when considered on an individual country basis; in the UNDP *Jordan Human Development Report 2000*, for example, youth are defined as those aged 15-29 years; see chapter 3 of the present publication for more information on this topic.

[24] R. Mkandawire and F. Chigunta, *Youth Unemployment and Livelihood Challenges in Africa* (Centre for Youth Studies, University of Venda, South Africa, 1999).

[25] See Richard Curtain's reference, in the unpublished poverty paper presented at the Helsinki meeting, to OECD, "Growing into work: youth and the labour market over the 1980s and the 1990s", *1996 Youth Employment Outlook* (Paris, 1996), p. 109.

[26] R. Mkandawire, "Alienated, criminalized and stigmatized youth sub-cultures of South Africa", a paper presented at the Kopano-Southern Africa Regional Exchange Conference, held in the North-West Province of Dikhololo from 20 to 25 July 2002, p. 10.

[27] Stephen Miles, in chapter 11, appears to be searching for some universal principle of intergenerational relations that can be applied within the broader context of globalization. He notes that efforts should be made to ensure that young people are made equal partners in the globalization process, able to pursue the opportunities and enjoy the benefits it brings. There is a need to design social policies that explicitly benefit all age groups and prevent the creation of further social divisions.

[28] See Heikki Silvennoinen, ed., *Nuorisopolitiikan suunta* (The Direction of Youth Policy) (Helsinki, 2002).

[29] Private communication with Richard Curtain, 6 November 2002.

[30] UNDP, *Jordan Human Development Report 2000* (New York, 2000), available at http://www.undp-jor-dan.org/publications_jhdr/publications_jhdr.html, as cited in chapter 3 of the present publication.

[31] N. Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999). The process of modernization involved the breakdown of some of the more important institutions of traditional society such as the larger family, the fixed clan and agrarian village life to make way for urbanization and the beginnings of the wage-based industrial labour movement.

[32] See, for example, G. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations* (Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, 1980); and M.J. Gannon and Associates, *Understanding Global Cultures: Metaphorical Journeys through 17 Countries* (Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 1994). Gannon notes, on pages 340-341, that there are many types of both individualism and collectivism. He shares various cultural metaphors representing unique forms of individualism, as follows: the German symphony represents subordinated individualism; Italian opera, exteriorized individualism; traditional British house, tradition-bound and iconoclastic individualism; Spanish bullfight, proud and self-sufficient individualism; American football, competitive individualism; Swedish stuga, individualism through nature and self-development; French wine, rationalistic individualism; and Irish conversation, religion-focused individualism. For collectivism Gannon identifies the following types of cultural metaphors: Chinese family altar, relation-based and differentiated family system; Japanese garden, kata-based undifferentiated family system; Dance of Shiva, religion-dominated family system; and Israeli kibbutz, democracy-based family system. There are nuances; collectivist societies can be individualistic and vice versa. Gannon mentions that collectivist societies seem to maintain a group-focused individualism that allows for dynamic interplay between the acceptance of rigid hierarchical authority and sanuk, or fun; conversely, some supposedly individualistic societies are also collectivist, as Ireland demonstrates with its strong emphasis on helping others.

[33] A. Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Oxford, Polity Press, 1991).

[34] Ibid., p. 3.

[35] A. Giddens, "Living in a post-traditional society", in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization, Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994).

[36] See paras. 108-143 (Means of Implementation).

[37] The World Programme of Action can be compared with, for example, the European Commission White Paper referred to in note 18. The latter is an official document that identifies the contents of youth policy; however, it does not specify how the various policy directives should be realized and translated into action. Conversely, the World Programme establishes the priority position of youth and outlines the means of achieving targeted objectives (on the level of the ideal of global citizenship).

[38] The youth-adult transition theme has contemporary relevance in Europe, but even within this regional context there is a surprising range of cultural variations. S.E. Ollus comments on the European debate: " For example, in Spain and Italy the defence of young people's independence must be considered. Questions such as 'how to get young people to move away from home before they turn 30' and 'how can young people learn to take responsibility for themselves' are not part of the basic Finnish debate."; see S.E. Ollus, "Nuorten osallisuus meillä ja muualla" ("Young people's participation at home and abroad"), in *Konventti TÄHDISTÖ*, the publication of the Finnish National Youth Convention (November 2002), p. 13.

[39] As noted by R. Curtain in chapter 3.

[40] See the introduction to chapter 2.

[41] See chapter 11, which details the challenges associated with globalization and how they affect youth in particular.

[42] M. Wolf, "Globalization: the big lie about inequality", *Financial Times* (8 February 2000), available at http://news.ft.com/ft/gx.cgi/ftc?pagename=View&c=Article&cid=BUGSXO3PJ4C&li – FT.com February 11.

[43] World Bank, *World Development Indicators 2002*, available at http://www.worldbank.org/data/wdi2002/globallinks.htm.

[44] See chapter 12.

[45] See chapter 11.

[46] S.T. Hettige, "Introduction: youth, nation-state and globalization", Globalization, Social Change and Youth (Colombo, German Cultural Institute and University of Colombo, Centre for Anthropological and Sociological Studies, 1998), pp. 1-10.

[47] There are important exceptions, however, as exemplified by the growing membership in far-right nationalist political groups, which represents a reactionary response to globalization. According to K. Popple and R. Kirby , the authors of "Winners and losers: young people in Europe" (in *Britain in Europe: An Introduction to Sociology*, T. Spybey, ed. (London, Routledge, 1997), pp. 161-172, cited in chapter 11 of the present publication), the market model has created greater global economic uncertainty, intensifying the pressures and disadvantages youth are experiencing. It is this feeling of exclusion from the mainstream that makes young people vulnerable to recruitment into these far-right groups, where they are able to enjoy a sense of belonging. This ties in with what was mentioned earlier in the present chapter about trust and community membership; a sense of belonging is crucial but is being seriously threatened by diverse dimensions of the globalization process.

[48] The circumstances underlying this phenomenon are explored further in chapter 9.

[49] Based on information obtained in a discussion with S. Perho.

[50] Australian political scientist Sheila Jeffreys, Associate Professor at the University of Melbourne, stated the following in a lecture entitled "Cutting up: harmful beauty practices and male domination", given at the University of Helsinki on 2 December 2002: "I will talk about breast implants, labiaplasty, self-mutilation, amputee identity disorder and amputee pornography, autogynephilia and how all these practices are promoted and made into profitable businesses over the Internet."

[51] As Lynne Chisholm states in chapter 1: "In comparison with sub-Saharan Africa, Western Asia as a whole reports higher levels of primary school participation (84 per cent versus 74 per cent), but the gender gap measures 16 per cent in the Arab world and 14 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa."

[52] See chapter 3.

[53] Government of Nicaragua, "Nicaragua: a strengthened growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper" (31 July 2001), p. 10.

[54] See chapter 4.

[55] See chapter 13.

[56] See chapter 14.

[57] S. Perho and L. Suurpää assisted in the formulation of these questions.

[58] Compare with the stages in cognitive development described by Jean Piaget; see C.B. McCormick and M. Pressley, *Educational Psychology: Learning, Instruction, Assessment* (New York, Adisson Wesley Longman, 1997); J. Piaget, *The Mechanisms of Perception* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969); and C. Brainerd, *Piaget's Theory of Intelligence* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1978). Also refer to the critical examination of the subject by Vygotsky in his social development theory; see L.S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1978); and J.V. Wertsch, *Culture, Communication and Cognition: Vygotskian Perspectives* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[59] K. Mannheim, "The problem of generations", in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, P. Kecskemeti, ed. (London, Routledge Kegan & Paul, 1928/1952), pp. 276-322.

[60] J. Edmunds and B.S. Turner, *Generation, Culture and Society* (Philadelphia, Open University Press, 2002), pp. vii-viii and 121. Edmunds and Turner stress that traumatic events such as warfare are fundamentally important to the creation of generations (p. ix). The authors define a "cohort" as a collection of people who are born at the same time and thus share the same opportunities available at a given time in an epoch. They call these opportunities "life chances". A cohort can be further defined as a generation that for some special reason, such as a major (often traumatic) event, develops a collective consciousness; in the context of the 11 September example (the traumatic event), there has been a split into fractions, as the attack is interpreted as a clash between two global cultures: Islamic and Western.

[61] The cohort in this case was also shaped by the rise of consumerism and the sexual revolution.

[62] Karl Mannheim notes the following (op. cit., p. 300): "The possibility of really questioning and reflecting on things only emerges at the point where personal experimentation with life begins—round about the age of 17, sometimes a little earlier and sometimes a little later." He also ascertains (in a footnote on pp. 299-300) that "it is difficult to decide just at what point this process is complete in an individual—at what point this unconscious vital inventory (which also contains the national and provincial peculiarities out of which national and provincial entelechies can develop) is stabilized. The process seems to stop once the inventory of a-problematic experience has virtually acquired its final form. The child or adolescent is always open to new influences if placed in a new milieu. They readily assimilate new unconscious mental attitudes and habits, and change their language or dialect. The adult, transferred into a new environment, consciously transforms certain aspects of his modes of thought and behaviour, but never acclimatizes himself in so radical and thoroughgoing a fashion. His fundamental attitudes, his vital inventory, and, among external manifestations, his language and dialectic, remain for the most part on an earlier level. It appears that language and accent offer an indirect indication as to how far the foundations of a person's consciousness are laid, his basic view of the world stabilized. If the point can be determined at which a man's language and dialect cease to change, there is at least an external criterion for the determination also of the point at which his unconscious inventory of experience ceases to accumulate. According to A. Meillet, the spoken language and dialect does not change in an individual after the age of 25 years." (See a. Meillet, Methode dans les Sciences (Paris, Alcan, 1911); and his "Introduction a l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes", as quoted in *Mentre*, No. 19, p. 306ff.)

[63] See, for example, E. Burman, *Deconstructing Developmental Psychology* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1994).

[64] This borrows from a concept introduced by Benedict Anderson in his analysis of nationalism in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983).

[65] N. Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (New York, Picador, 2000).

[66] Laleh Ebrahimian notes in chapter 14 that armed conflict, which often attracts youth, exacerbates violent conflict and reduces the chances for peace. She writes that in the past decade, 2 million children have been killed as a result of armed conflict and 6 million have been disabled, mainly through mutilation and landmine explosions. Moreover, 12 million have been left homeless, more than 1 million orphaned or separated from their parents, and more than 10 million psychologically traumatized (see http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/Children.asp).

[67] See chapter 14.

[68] Private correspondence with Richard Curtain, 6 November 2002.

[69] See http://globalissues.org/TradeRelated/Facts.asp.

[70] See FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, information on the proportions of undernourished people in developing countries, 1990-1992 and 1998-2000, available at http://globalissues.org/TradeRelated/Facts.as.

[71] Armed conflicts are addressed earlier in this chapter. Laleh Ebrahimian examines the connection between conflict and HIV/AIDS in chapter 14: "The HIV/AIDS pandemic has contributed greatly to the disintegration of societies already under enormous stress. The disease has infected 34.3 million people worldwide, with an average of nearly 6,000-7,000 new cases among youth alone appearing every day, mainly in Africa and Asia. The rates have surged in areas of armed conflict. More than three-quarters of the 17 countries with the highest numbers of children orphaned by AIDS are in engaged in hostilities or are on the brink of an emergency involving conflict." (See UNICEF, HIV/AIDS Unit, "Fact sheet: HIV/AIDS and children affected by armed conflict" (New York, 2002)).

[72] From an interview with UNDP Administrator Mark Malloch Brown in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, No. 44 (2002), p. 16.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Teivo Teivainen and Heikki Patomäki, "Global democracy initiatives: the art of possible", Network Institute for Global Democratization, Helsinki, 2002.

[75] O. Stafseng, loc. cit.

[76] The participants in the second session of the World Youth Forum of the United Nations System, held in Vienna in 1996, proposed the drafting of a youth rights charter and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on youth rights (see O. Stafseng, ibid.). The fourth session of the World Youth Forum, held in Dakar in 2001, adopted the Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy; further information is available at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/library/index.html.

[77] Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.00.I.16). This publication is also referred to as the Millennium Report.

[78] O. Stafseng, loc. cit.

[79] Ibid.

[80] See chapter 3.

[81] O. Stafseng, loc. cit.

[82] The discussion was based on proposals by Cecilia Möller of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and Zina Mounla of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

[83] United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948, article 2.

[84] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by United Nations General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, with entry into force on 23 March 1976, in accordance with article 49; see article 22 on freedom of association and article 10 on the separation of youth delinquents from adult prisoners.

[85] Information obtained from a note by Cecilia Möller, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, to the Rapporteur.

[86] See, for example, "An additional mechanism for co-operation between youth NGOs and the United Nations", a policy document of the European Youth Forum (adopted by the Council of Members, Athens, 15-17 November 2001), available at http://www.youthforum.org/en/press/reports/0719-01-e-FINAL.pdf.

[87] This conclusion was drawn by O. Stafseng (loc. cit.) after a review of such proposals.

[88] K. Annan, op. cit.

[89] A study of United Nations legitimacy strategies was done by Juha Mustonen in 2003. The very of concept of dialogic democracy is from theories on the future of radical politics by Anthony Giddens. With this concept, Giddens refers to another dimension of democracy, noting that it represents a way of creating a public arena in which issues can be solved through dialogue on a global scale as well; see A. Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics* (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1994).

[90] Available at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/helsinki/finland_report.pdf.

[91] United Nations, World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, para. 17.

[92] See the "Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth, Helsinki, 6-10 October 2002".

[93] United Nations, "Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Global Priorities for Youth"…, para. 50 (see http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/library/index.html).

[94] United Nations, "Implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond: report of the Secretary-General" (A/56/180), para. 43.