



Máster en Cultura de Paz. Conflictos, Educación y Derechos Humanos

Human Rights of Youth in November 2019 Spanish General Election

Trabajo Fin de Master

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Resumen

La juventud a menudo se define como un periodo en el cual completar las carencias para alcanzar la plenitud como adulto. Los jóvenes a menudo están excluidos y no pueden practicar sus derechos, específicamente sus derechos sociales, desde la educación hasta la vivienda, como miembros iguales de la sociedad, debido a las realidades estructurales y políticas. El objetivo de este estudio es analizar el discurso de la juventud y los derechos de los jóvenes en los programas electorales de los partidos políticos españoles (específicamente PSOE, Unidas Podemos, PP, Ciudadanos y Vox) involucrados en las elecciones de noviembre de 2019. Durante este estudio, he analizado el concepto de ciudadanía juvenil a partir de las prácticas y sobre eso, ofrezco una visión general sobre la realidad de la juventud española para crear una base contextual con la cual abordar las interrelaciones entre las agendas electorales y los problemas en España. El estudio subraya las agendas electorales y su relación con el discurso juvenil, la ciudadanía juvenil y la realidad de la juventud española.

Palabras Clave : Derechos humanos de la juventud, discurso juvenil de los partidos políticos, ciudadanía juvenil, discurso juvenil

Abstract

Youth is often defined as a period to become an adult. Young people are often excluded and are not able to practice their social rights, from education to housing as equal members of society due to structural and political realities. This study aims to analyze the discourse of the youth and the human rights of young people in the electoral agendas of the Spanish political parties (specifically PSOE, Unidas Podemos, PP,Ciudadanos, and Vox) involved in 2019 November elections. During this study, I have analyzed the concept of youth citizenship from the practices, and I have given the general overview of the reality of Spanish youth to create a contextual base to address the interlinkages between the electoral agendas and the issues in Spain. The study underlines the electoral agendas and their relation with the youth discourse, youth citizenship, and reality of Spanish youth.

Keywords : Human rights of youth, Youth discourse of political parties, youth citizenship, youth discourse

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Theoretical Framework	4
Youth and Human Rights of Youth	4
Approaches to Youth.....	4
Youth Citizenship.....	7
Welfare State, Youth Welfare Citizenship and Autonomy of Youth	10
Human Rights of Youth.....	14
Spanish Reality on Youth	17
National Youth Framework and Policy Documents related to Youth.....	17
Participation.....	21
Education	24
Employment	27
Health	30
Housing.....	32
Methodology.....	34
Choice of Material and Limitations	34
Research Questions	36
Analysis.....	38
Youth Discourse.....	38
Participation.....	42
Education.....	45
Employment	52
Health.....	58
Housing.....	59
Conclusion	62
Bibliography.....	65

Introduction

The citizenship practices of young people and human rights of youth have been the discussion points among the scholars through the years, while these practices of young people and how they practice their rights are affecting their daily lives all over the world. When we consider that the situation in Spain where youth unemployment is 3rd in Europe (Eurostat, 2020) and the expenditure on youth is 34 times less than the expenditure for the elderly, and more than 50% of young people depend on income or the housing provided by their families (Jimenez, 2016).

Thus, the case of Spain is not different where the young people are dependent on their families rather than the state, and their autonomy is endangered. It is as well argued that policies decommodifying youth than codifying them are necessary for them to increase their involvement in the society autonomously. Decommodification of young people is the primary tool to increase the autonomy of young people and taking the role of the family or market, which commodifies the young people, and giving this role to state is the way to do so in the welfare system structure. Even though that is preferable, there are plenty of obstacles in front of achieving this, such as economic, cultural, or also social realities.

The citizenship practices of young people evolve within the welfare state structures, depending on the service provider, which is family, state, or the market. That structure affects the daily life of young people and prolongs or shortens their youth period and affects their autonomy and participation. For creating a basis to analyze the electoral agendas of Spanish political parties in November 2019 elections, the relation between the citizenship practices and welfare state structures and how it is affecting the daily life of young people is argued under the theoretical framework on youth and human rights of youth. As human rights of youth are shaped around the social citizenship concept of young people where the welfare state guarantees the social rights of its citizens to reach out the civil and political rights on an equal basis.

Furthermore, to implement the methodology of discourse analysis, defining the current situation and the context in which the discourse is created is important. Thus, the Spanish policies and the current status quo of the Spanish youth scene are detailed explained in relation to the rights areas defined under the human rights of youth to create a broader view before analyzing the political agendas. It was essential to create an understanding of the

reality of Spanish youth primarily through the national policies as well as the statistics related to participation, employment, education, health, housing to implement a meaningful analysis.

In Methodology, I have underlined the theory and defined the methodology of the analysis by using the discourse analysis methodology by stressing the policies related to young people and how the youth discourse is developed. I have explained the choice of material and the words and the framework that I have used in the analysis. During the analysis, I have used the main electoral agenda to analyze the political parties' policies.

In the analysis section, I have analyzed the policies that are provided by the political parties in their electoral agendas by referring to the framework on youth and human rights of youth and the reality of the Spanish youth scene. During the analysis, I have explained how the political parties proposed or mentioned the young people and the issues concerning the youth from education to the housing by stating the policies promoted within the electoral agendas. My main aim during the analyze was providing a clear understanding of the youth policies in Spain as well as providing a picture on issues that concern youth population in Spain and how it is dealt by the Spanish political parties, which are currently in parliament and in charge of taking a decision concerning to youth, in electoral agendas.

Theoretical Framework

Youth and Human Rights of Youth

Approaches to Youth

Youth is defined as a demographical object such as an age range by the institutions and states. Those age ranges vary from country to country, but the UN defines the young people as aged between 15-24 (UN, 2018, p. 12), EU as 15-29 (EU, 2012, p. 143) while differently African Union defines it as 15-35 (AUC, 2006). Nevertheless, defining youth as an age range comes with issues, according to Bendit (2006, pp. 56-58) the youth life is combined of variations depending on employment, education, and life status. Meanwhile, there is a supporting argument to age strata such as the policies related to youth life is related to the welfare, education, and labor market, and young people can make the use of it during the different ages which are vital for them during the cycle of their youth experience. For example, young people tend to participate in education and training before the labor market early stage without attending tertiary education. In contrast, others are already involved in employment.

Another issue is related to this demographic classification is that age strata are becoming invalid due to different youth experiences in different countries. As EU states in its White Paper published in 2001 as follows, “*First, Youth is lasting longer.*” (EC, 2001) due to economic factors, socio-cultural issues, they are involving education, starting employment, or forming a family in later ages than before. Differentially, the transition approach is defining the young people as individuals in a “transition period” rather than individual agencies of today. Thus, the youth is defined as “*passage from dependent childhood to independent adulthood*” (Perovic, 2012, p. 2) refers to the point that the young people are on the road of becoming full and independent and being an adult is the destination for reaching to this point. (Yentürk, Kurtaran, & Nemutlu, 2008, p. 5) Furthermore, considering youth as a “*transition period*” and considering this position as a linear process means that considering the young people are as “deficient”. (Harlan, 2016, p. 4)

In that way, the politicians are considering the young people and the policies related to their rights to cover those deficiencies as mentioned earlier. When it is thought that, the average age of a parliamentarian is globally 53 (Power & Shoot, 2012, p. 107) which is almost

doubled considering the age group of the youth. Hence, it might be that they do not have sufficient capacity to have their say within the decision-making circles on the policies that affect them in their daily life.

Nevertheless, being an adult depends on economic conditions such as having sufficient income, having private living space, or having an educational level that enables young people to become autonomous. (Coelho & Estramiana, 2013, p. 22) The transition pathways towards becoming an adult are diversified due to different experiences of the young people, and this transition period depends on the individual's cultural capital (Bendit, 2006, p. 60) such as their family, the country that they are born, their region, their education level. Furthermore, when this period expands or shrinks, we begin to talk about two different youth groups, such as "prolonged youth" and "young adulthood".

Prolonged youth is still dependent on an income from their families, they live with their families. They are not able to involve in the labor market due to lack of experiences as well as develop fully autonomous views differentiating from their parents. (World Bank, 2014, p. 28) As they are still not involved in the labor market, their all income depends on their families or caregivers. On the contrary, young adults are often experiencing difficulties in adopting the life of an "adult" when they are already involved in the labor market, and they are having a low-level of education and struggling from day by day and job to job.

The third approach to youth is as a "problem"; this categorization is related to seeing youth as a problem is mainly considering youth as reckless, tend to involve risky behaviors, rebellious within the society. (Wyn & White, 1997; Bendit, 2006) This approach comes with an immense burden to society as it leads to the exclusion of young people in different areas, from education to employment through their lives. In contrary to that approach is seeing young people as a resource for economic development. The young people are illustrated as "*the most dynamic*", "*striving power of economy*" or "*the assurance of tomorrow*" which leads to the commodification of young people and makes them seen as a tool for "greater good". (Yentürk, Kurtaran, & Nemitlu, 2008, p. 5) Both approaches come along as a package due to its political aspect. As young people are considered as a "*problem*", the policies are being shaped to protect young people from the factors which can make them "*problem*", i.e., rebel, drug abuser, or criminal. On the contrary, when young people are seen

as “future” or “resource”, the policies are changing their focus to the empowerment and development of young people.

The latter approach within this research that I will use during the analysis is “youth culture” or, in other words, considering the youth as a culture derived from particular experience. During an interview in 1978, Bourdieu states that “...*Youth and age are not self-evident facts, but are constructed socially, in the struggle between the young and the old.*” Thus, the French sociologist refers to the situation that the identity of youth is constructed within the socio-cultural boundaries that the society emphasizes or validates. (Bessant, Pickard, & Watts, 2019, p. 3) Feixa and Nofre (2012, p. 3) define the youth cultures as a collective social experience depending on a specific space and time, as like Bourdieusian approach defines the differentiated cultures through their validation or so to say rationalization process and the struggle between the socio-cultural classes. There is not a clear-cut definition to represent the youth cultures are evaluated within the rationalization process.

Nevertheless, Foucault (2000, p. 27) argues that the rationalization comes with an issue of the process of rationalization and construction of this process and from the point where the rationalization process is constructed. For example, Feixa and Nofre (2012, p. 5) indicate this approach from a point that the youth cultures depends on the place. Such as the cultures supported by the state in an institutionalized youth center as “*institutionalized youth culture*” or the industry supported youth cultures as “*commercial youth culture*”, or the youth cultures created within the civil society circles as “*alternative youth culture*”. Hence, the analysis process of the youth cultures depends on the “social conditions” and “cultural conditions”. Social conditions depend on the ones’ generation, gender, class, ethnic, and territorial identities, while cultural conditions depend on the ideological and symbolic attributions.

The complexity of defining or attributing youth to a single particular group depending on age, cultural experiences, or a transition period remains an issue in youth studies. However, following aspects for defining the process of youth would be put emphasize on during this research :

- **Youth Cultures:** The experiences of young people shapes their life in early age, the place that they grow up, the place that they have experienced being youth, and the social circles that they are in. Therefore, defining the youth without its dependency on

the social and cultural conditions are lacking the aspect to address their issues accurately.

- **Youth as a transition period:** This transition period depends on different socio-economic factors, cultural experiences, but it constructs the relation of the young people with the institutions and their struggles within the society. To understand the connection of the youth with power groups and to understand their struggles with them is crucial to address their needs and interests within the society.

Youth Citizenship

The notion of citizenship has been identified as a capacity of a person to be able to defend his rights in front of authorities, and it has been presented in different virtues such as civic, social, political, intercultural, or even ecological due to current ongoing discourses. (Caves, 2005, p. 97) The story of the citizenship discourse backs to the 1950s to T.H. Marshall's "Citizenship and Social Class" in which he extended the notion of citizenship from political and civic matters to social rights. However, until the 1980s the notion of citizenship was not part of political discourse. (Osler, 2011, p. 189)

T.H. Marshall divides citizenship into three sets of rights, such as civil, political, and social. He considers citizenship as a status introduced to all members of the society coming with rights and duties which are not universal but generic. (Marshall, 2006, pp. 19-26) Furthermore, those rights arising with citizenship are not indivisible such as in the absence of one set of rights such as social rights; the citizens cannot equally enjoy their civil and political rights. As one of the sets of rights is violated, the citizen cannot participate the society as a full and equal member, and the people start to be marginalized. Thus, the criticism upon the Marshall's idea of social rights importance was done by Kymlicka and Norman (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 354) by magnifying the inequalities in the society and seeing social rights as a tool to reach on the social justice system. Thus, social rights are a crucial part of citizenship to be full and equal to practice civil and political rights as they are equalizing the level of participation among the citizens.

Another approach to citizenship was made by Kylimcka and Norman (2000, pp. 5-30) as citizenship consisted of three pillars: *legal status, identity and activity, or civic virtue*. The

legal status refers to rights such as civil, political and social along with the duties; identity refers to membership to a political community, particular race, gender, profession, etc. ; civic virtue refers to courage, work ethic, independence, respect the rights of others, etc. by referring to the set of virtues of citizen theorized by William Galtson's responsible citizenship model. From this perspective, they have taken the right-based citizenship perspective and conceptualized it to a new level, which gives us a clearer picture to identify and differentiate the citizenship between the groups accordingly to their identities, which makes them involved in civil and political life in a daily basis. Furthermore, they emphasized the fourth pillar of citizenship not in an individual but at a community level as *social cohesion* by referring the political unity, stability, and civil peace. In contrary to T.H. Marshall's perspective solely based on social rights, Kyrimcka and Norman (2000, p. 31) argued that this differentiated status due to the particular identity of the individuals changes the legal status of the citizen by referring to equality and existence of invisible classes.

When we conceptualize both citizenship concepts to young people, it changes its context to the two distinctive groups due to young people's position as active participants in society or dependent on the family as another. The ambiguity of the dimensions of citizenship, such as rights, duties, virtues, identity, and inclusion, take place in the discourse on youth citizenship. (Butler & Benoit, 2015, pp. 26-29) Arnot and Swartz (2012, pp. 1-6) argue that when it comes to youth citizenship, it should be analyzed by not only the legal status per se rights and duties as well as belong to the community as it is crucial for the development. As it creates a long-lasting effect on the life of individuals in the manner of political participation. Therefore, the differentiated citizenship theory plays a significant role in understanding the life of young people through their particular sub-culture groups such as rural youth, LGBTI youth, educated youth, early adult youth, etc.

From this point, I will link together the youth citizenship with the differentiated citizenship as the young people are the member of particular group belonging to the youth culture. Thus, their citizenship practices are differentiating from the other citizenship practices. Young people are experiencing social citizenship concerning the other disadvantaged groups. In this sense, Tom Chavalier on "*Varieties of youth welfare citizenship: Towards a two-dimension typology*" as emphasizes (2016, pp. 6-9) that the young people are not practicing the social citizenship as T.H. Marshall defines the social citizenship. They are only able to enjoy social rights through a "proxy" which refers to the family in most of the cases validates the truth

behind the youth citizenship. He defines the youth transition period to say “becoming adult” as becoming financially independent and divides citizenship into two dimensions: *social and economic citizenship*.

He defines the **social citizenship** dimension within two categories, such as :

- **Familialized citizenship:** The state of being young is considered as being a child and young people are still financially dependent on their families. It occurs in the states the family is considered as a “welfare provider” rather than state, and the family has an obligation to support the children through his education regardless of age. The state aid depends on the income of the “welfare provider” and the young people are with low social security coverage.
- **Individualized citizenship:** The state of being young is considered as being an adult where young people are financially independent. It occurs in the states the individual is directly receiving aid from the state, and the family has no obligation to support the young person whether he is in education or not. On the contrary, state aid is not depending on the income of the family, and young people are with high social security coverage.

Economic citizenship dimension within two categories as follows:

- **Encompassing strategy:** Education allows young people to involve in education for upskilling and enhancing human capital. The skill distribution is focusing on every young person, and the state intervenes in the labor market to help the unemployed young people to enter the labor market.
- **Selective strategy:** In contrary to encompassing strategy, the selective strategy focuses on a more elitist education system where quality is essential. The young people are not provided with enabling education opportunities, which leads to a high level of drop-outs in the schooling system. The state aims to lower youth labor costs by introducing policies focusing on low-cost workforce done by young people.

From all theories as mentioned earlier, it can be argued that young people are experiencing their transition periods differently, their citizenship is not equal like the other members of the society where the welfare is distributed in “equal” or “unequal” manners. Thus, discussing

the welfare regimes and their effect on the citizenship practices and, in particular, to youth's independence in their road to adulthood becomes an important topic.

Welfare State, Youth Welfare Citizenship and Autonomy of Youth

A welfare state is constructed on the usage of deliberative power for guaranteeing basic income to the individuals regardless to their market value or property and providing assistance during the troubled times such as sickness, unemployment or aging or so to say social contingencies as well as doing so without segregating them related to status or class while providing the “agreed” range of social services by historian Asa Briggs. As the welfare state embraces the impact of the market by mitigating poverty and providing safety nets, the alleviation of the risks is changing due to different standards. (Andersen, 2012, p. 4) The evolution of the welfare states, as well as its relation with citizenship, is changed through the years; the bedrocks of the terminology are bases on the idea of T.H. Marshall followingly Esping-Andersen.

In “*Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*”, Esping-Andersen defines that the social citizenship ideal of T.H. Marshall can only be achieved with the existence of the welfare state though at the same time, these ideal needs a broader definition above the rights it grants. Thus, he uses three core principles to cluster welfare state regimes: *decommodification of the individual, social stratification, family, and market's role on social service provision*. **Decommodification** happens where the individual is receiving the service which does not rely on the market value or the market performance but as a right and depends on the structure of the welfare state and which enables them to act outside of their labor contract. **Social stratification** comes with the existence of the welfare state as the welfare state aims to alleviate the effects of the social class. Lastly, **family and market's role in social service provision** comes as a third pillar on interlinkage between the family, market, and state on service provision (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 21-26).

By using that three dimensions, he clusters the welfare states into the three such as “*liberal welfare state*”, “*corporatist welfare state*”, “*social democratic welfare state*”. In **liberal welfare states**, the state tends to intervene less and giving the role of the service provision to the market by providing subsidiary or minimum contributions. In liberal welfare states, the class differentiation happens due to state-welfare recipients and market-welfare recipients.

In corporatist welfare states, the state structure is ready to take the place of the market as a provider of welfare though, the preservation of the status, as well as the class are preeminent. Furthermore, the corporatist regimes are highly linked with the Church, which comes with the result that the gender roles and role of the family in society is highly visible, and the state intervenes as subsidiary where the family cannot provide the need of its members. Lastly, the **social-democratic regimes** are clustered as the countries where the role of service provision is mainly in the shoulders of the state and decommodification of the social rights and principle of universalism are extended to the different classes of the society which resulted with the change of the role of the family and market. (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 27-29)

I wanted to emphasize these welfare-state regimes to create a link, especially between the roles of the welfare state providers such as family, market, and the state. Although there are different critics of Esping-Andersen's classification due to the diverse experiences and dynamics in the world after 30 years, it is still intact but lacking different perspectives. Due to limitation of the research and the need to understand the Spanish context, I would like to address the especially the critic as "**Southern welfare states**" which concludes Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece due to different practices such as leaving the parental home later, co-habiting with the parents after marriage or relying on the parents on making investments in later ages due to strong ties with the family as a social norm. As well as the family plays a significant role in protecting the youth in the society comparing to the Nordic counterparts (Moreno & Mari-Klose, 2013, pp. 494-496) corresponding to the corporatist welfare states such as Germany or France. Except then the cultural and social norm phenomena, the late development of the Southern countries is one of the other facts as they have followed a different and distinctive path to modernization. (Ferrera, 2000, p. 166) Moreover, as the family takes a significant role on its shoulders in the Southern welfare states, the young people's citizenship practices are hugely related as well as their participation and enjoyment from the social rights as they are guaranteed by the family (in the presence of) than the state.

One of the main principles of the welfare state as the decommodification process starts with the management of the social risks within society. Social risks above everything can be differentiated due to class, gender, or age. It is argued that those risks are based on the social risks as even in that equality of the welfare distribution per se, there is a disparity in the distribution of the social risks. Those social risks change its shape through the generations, social class, and the belonging of the citizen to a particular group. Another aspect that can be

criticized as “*class risks*” so to say differences between the strata of the society is exists as the unskilled workers are more exposed to the chance of unemployment than the skilled workers. Even though the unemployment schemes exist, reach to those employment opportunities that are limited compared to skilled workers.

That risk comes along as well with the “*inter-generational risks*” as class risks are like heritage, and as like richness is taken as heritage, poverty goes in the same direction too. The inherited disadvantage within the family continues through the family bonds. (Esping-Andersen, 2006, pp. 44-49) That comes again with the same argument, if we put the role of the family as a service provider as it is in southern welfare regimes than the market, the risk management or elimination of the risks become unlikely along with the family lines. Hence, it can be said that young people are inheriting those class risks through their families. Their reach to these rights is under precariousness, and the role is being taken by the market or the family, which hinders the full citizenship of young people.

Lastly, the typology that I would like to discuss is the youth welfare citizenship typology introduced by Chevalier concerning the citizenship experiences of the young people due to their social and economic citizenship, which he classifies the youth citizenship practices in 4 different clusters: *denied*, *second-class*, *monitored* and *enabling*. *Denied youth citizenship* falls into the welfare state where the young people are not provided means with independence as their social citizenship status bases on the “familialized citizenship,” so to say their primary provider is family, and they are objected to selective strategy in their economic reach. *Second-class youth citizenship* falls into the group where the young people have an equal reach to social benefits but in low equality. Monitored youth citizenship enables young people to specific opportunities. Still, their reach is depending on the family and apprenticeship system though that increases the young people’s reach to the labor market and independence higher. *Enabling youth citizenship* in where the welfare state provides the needs for autonomy and considers the young people as independent citizens. (Chevalier, 2016, p. 8) That gives us a clearer picture of putting the position of lives of young people in the welfare state regimes and how the welfare state regimes enable young people to participate, become independent per se autonomous on the decision that they take during the life.

From this point, when we go back again to the ideal of T.H. Marshall on citizenship, in which he emphasizes on the indivisibility of the rights as one set of the rights are violated or not being able to be practiced, the individual will have obstacles to enjoy the other sets of the rights. *“Are the welfare states are providing an equal reach for the citizens to social rights and increase their participation equally?”* and *“Are there still inequalities within the society?”* are the remaining questions. The well-known buzzword by the fundamental of the social welfare regimes comes as an answer to this dilemma: *“Equality before and under the law.”*, but it is not always the case. Even though the right to advocate is guaranteed in most of the states in the world, the equality of the quality of advocacy is not so to say, if your access to a lawyer who is an expert in your case is limited than the right to a fair trial will be at risk. (Yurttagüler, 2014, pp. 3-5) Therefore, the family comes to the question again as a service provider within the “Southern welfare regimes”, it can be said that those inequalities per se class risks continue within the family lines. Hence, it can be said that young people are inheriting those class risks through their families. Their reach to these rights is under precariousness. The role is being taken by the market or the family. Those situations hinder the autonomy of the individual and affects the decision-making process as the individual has to accept the conditions put by the market or the family.

The issue becomes evident that the welfare state mechanisms are affecting citizenship. It is as well evident how the politics are shaped can evolve the situation in another way by increasing the capacities of young people or so to say their autonomy. Autonomy is defined as the ones’ ability to self-govern, such as able to make decisions concerning to their life practices from the party that they will vote or with whom they will marry or to where to work or get an education. When these independence mechanisms are set in motion by the state in the welfare state, young people tend to be more independent on the job-seeking process, involvement in the education, or participation of the young people. Nevertheless, when this is set by the other actors within the welfare state regimes such as family and the market, young people are more tend to be less independent or less autonomous. (Yurttagüler, 2014, pp. 4-24)

Henceforth, it can be argued that the welfare state regime is highly relevant to the autonomy of young people. The role of the provision of social services or social rights are intended to be provided by the state, the young people are more autonomous to make their decision, but if that services or provided or subsidized by family, the young people tend to be dependent to their families and take the decisions accordingly to the values/ideas and beliefs of their

parents. That leads to a situation where the young people are not able to enjoy their civil and political rights as same as the adults as they do not have any choice rather than to align with the conditions put in front of them by their parents, whether their rights are violated or undermined.

Human Rights of Youth

The Human Rights of Youth bases on the Human Rights Council Resolution 35/14 put in motion in 2017 which urged the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to identify the challenges and obstacles on the enjoyment of the human rights by young and their access on civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. After it led to the development of a report on the human rights of youth by the involvement of state parties, NGO actors and youth movements. The report on Human Rights of Youth¹ was developed to address the issues of young people around the world as until that date; there was no specific instrument to address the problems of the young people regarding human rights while there were several instruments dedicated to the other populations such as women, people with special needs or children. Although the human rights of youth are a newly developed framework within the UN structure, the discussion on the human rights of youth is not new, respectively, the young people were mentioned in several UN Articles and Resolution through the years. Firstly, in 1975 with the joint initiative of the Italian Government and Division on Human Rights of the United Nations Secretariat, a meeting on youth and human rights was organized. The human rights challenges in front of young people were discussed, which followed by the Commission on Human Rights resolution 1985/13, though there was no further action taken until 2017.

Throughout the report, the primary critical areas defined as following, which reflects the challenges directly to the young people's autonomy, citizenship practices, and the transition experiences through their life span:

- Participation in politics and public decision-making
- From education to decent work: youth employment

¹ United Nations General Assembly (A/HRC/39/33) - Human Rights Council - Youth and Human Rights - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights available at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G18/193/07/PDF/G1819307.pdf?OpenElement>

- Access to health services, in particular sexual and reproductive health and rights
- Conscientious objection to military service
- Transitioning to autonomy in vulnerable situations

Participation in politics and public decision-making emphasizes the involvement of the young people in political processes and policy-making and the legal barriers put in place to hinder their participation, especially in elections to be elected where the voting age is persistently lower than the minimum age to run for public office. Furthermore, as they are not involved in the decision-making processes directly due to age limits, it hinders the young people's participation in the decision-making processes on the issues that effects their lives in direct manners, which hinders their political rights.

From education to decent work: youth employment emphasizes the right to work and education and the right to just and favorable conditions of work, which are not often the case for young people. As more than 70% of young people are working in informal jobs without contracts and 21.8% of young people are NEETs (Not in Education, Employment or Training). Young people tend to receive lower payments for the same job done than adults, which results in an inadequate standard of living and little social security benefits as they suffer from wage discrimination. Due to these reasons, young people's right to housing, right to social security, is endangered, and the youth transition period becomes more protracted than ever before as the process slows down due to the challenges put in front of young people to reach out the decent work and living conditions.

Access to health services, in particular sexual and reproductive health and rights emphasizes the lack of access on the health services as in some countries limiting the access of young people to the health services due to the state policies and laws specifically to sexual and reproductive health services as they require the parental authorization for sexual and reproductive health services which hinders the reach of the young people to those services even though they still engage sexual activity.

Conscientious objection to military service emphasizes the young people's right to object the involvement in military service due to their freedom of thought, conscience, and religion or belief. In some countries, it is still the case that young people are obliged to involve military service, which hinders their involvement in employment and endangers the other rights that they are entitled to.

Transitioning to autonomy in vulnerable situations emphasizes the needs and challenges of particular groups such as young migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, young people in conflict with the law, youth with disabilities. Notably, these groups are the most affected by the state of being young, considering the reach to decent housing, work conditions, education, and health services due to given circumstances in the world.

Additionally, an expert meeting on the human rights of youth² to frame the particular areas related to youth before the development of the report, following areas were defined: *multiple discrimination against youth, youth employment, political rights, education, military service, health and health services, especially for young women, youth in conflict with the law, Gender gap in youth rights, LGBT rights*. From both documents, it can be said that the human rights of the youth are highly related **participation of young people, education, employment, and social protection, housing, health policies** of the states as well as military service which is irrelevant in Spanish context due to absence of the obligatory military service. Thus, I will use it as a guideline during the analysis of the Spanish political parties' electoral programs.

² United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights – Expert Meeting – Executive Summary and Outcomes available at <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Youth/ExecutiveSummary.pdf>

Spanish Reality on Youth

Spain is one of the aging countries of Europe, as only 9.8% of the whole population consists of the young people aged between 15-24 while having the most unemployed youth population after Greece and Macedonia with %32.5. (Eurostat, 2020) Since the crisis in 2008, young people continue to leave Spain for a better future. Due to low-income of young people with temporary contracts and underpayment, the young people are not able to leave their homes and continues to live with their parents as there is no housing the young people feels abandoned where the public spending on elderly is 34 times higher than the spending on youth and education while it is around ten times in all over OECD countries. (Jimenez, 2016)

Those are the quick facts that are mainly discussed in the media on youth, which I will elaborate under each right area as well as citizenship practices with the framework I previously mentioned above. While considering the policies and explaining the current situation on Spanish youth, I considered only the centralized policies to restrict the research area as the elections in November 2019 were on the national elections, which I have chosen to analyze.

National Youth Framework and Policy Documents related to Youth

In Spain, there is no national framework for youth. Still, the policies related to youth is developed and implemented in each autonomous state with different objectives due to Spain's decentralized structure. Although in the Spanish Constitution (Constitución Española de 1978) (EC, 2017, p. 9), the youth is mentioned as following:

“Los poderes públicos promoverán las condiciones para la participación libre y eficaz de la juventud en el desarrollo político, social, económico y cultural.” – Art. 48

“Public authorities will promote the conditions for the free and effective participation of youth in political, social, economic, and cultural development.” – Art. 48

Specifically, it indicates without mentioning the state structure that, the public authorities should develop and implement the youth policies by internalizing an empowerment approach

to increase the involvement of youth in political, social, economic and cultural life or so to say, promotes the active citizenship of young people by promoting the conditions that can enable the young people by seeing them as a resource than danger and helping their autonomy by urging the public authorities to guarantee their social development and political participation and aims to decommodification of young people by providing the free services as a right than market value and promotes the autonomy of young people by providing the conditions on free basis. On the other hand, according to Chevalier's (2016) welfare citizenship aspect, the statement in the constitution falls into the category of *enabling citizenship*. *The young people should be able to enjoy their political and social rights independently though the facts show us that it is not the case as it is going to be mentioned in the following sub-chapters regarding employment, education, housing, health, and participation.*

Despite the non-existence of the national framework or national policy, the governing body on youth policies exists, and it's the duty of INJUVE (Spanish Youth Institute), which develops the policies and offers guidelines for the autonomous societies to shape their youth policies.

One of the most important documents concerning the youth policies is "Estrategia de Juventud 2020" which underlines and provides a framework for autonomous public authorities to develop and implement their youth policies (EC, 2017, p. 10) in which youth is defined as a transition period and the main objective of the strategy is put as to help young people like as following "*.... ayudar a las personas jóvenes a adquirir la condición de adultos o, expresado en otros términos, ayudarles a emanciparse. [... to help young people to acquire adult status or, expressed in other terms, helping them to emancipate themselves.]*", (INJUVE, 2014, p. 13) shows the fact that young people are not considered as complete and having deficiencies and, the policies should be helping them to become full.

It can be argued from this point that the main policies defined with the perspective that the young people are considered with a deficiency as they are not considered as free adults or equal citizens considering the aspect of citizenship as they are not able to enjoy their rights fully within the society due to discourse created on youth affect the process of formation of the youth policies and their differentiated citizenship status as a youth. As I have previously mentioned that even the constitution urges the autonomous communities that young people are provided with the conditions for free, the situation of young people is not reflecting that

in practice. Another verifying fact that is mentioned related to this situation is that the autonomy is mentioned in the same document as I have previously explained as having economic independence which comes with a stable job and independence from the family home which in practice becomes the most challenging two aspects in the life of Spanish youth for achieving the autonomy per se becoming adult. After explaining the facts related to young people in different aspects such as employment, education, housing, health, etc., Estrategia de Juventud 2020 (INJUVE, 2014, pp. 68-69) defines six critical areas with a variety of indicators related to the key areas:

Axis 1: Education and Training aim to develop virtual skills of young people by providing and developing new educational programs and as well as promotes the involvement of young people to non-formal education systems. If we consider the fact that the participation of young people to education is continuously increased through the years at the same time with the stable unemployment rate, education and training have immense importance to tackle with the employment.

Axis 2: Employment and Entrepreneurship aim to provide measures in recruitment and promotes the tax relief for the companies which hire the young people or provides subsidies and promoted the implementation of Youth Guarantee Program of Spain which is one of the leading programs of the European Union on increasing the involvement of young people's to employment.

Axis 3: Housing aims to provide aids for young people and to encourage public housing property renting and tax deductions on property renting for young people. Those aims to increase the independent housing of young people when considered the fact than most of the young people are living with their families.

Axis 4: Health and Leisure Sports to promote the Spanish National Health System, healthy life habits for young people, and promoting sport practicing among young people. It as well as promotes the drug usage prevention and reduction of the use.

Axis 5: Participation, Voluntary Service, Inclusion, and Equality aim to promote the participation of young people through relevant tools such as European Voluntary Service and promote the inclusion of the young people with disabilities, cope with the exclusion of young

people. Moreover, it encourages the volunteering of young people and equal opportunities of young people with fewer opportunities by promoting gender and education for less-favored sectors and teach and social worker support systems.

Axis 6: Institutional Cooperation aims to cooperate with international actors on youth as well as promotes the national mechanisms to cooperation between the different state bodies by fostering collaboration among the organizations.

It can be argued that these axis areas are promoting the active participation of young people and enhancing the life opportunities of young people and making them enable. Hence, it does, but it serves not the whole youth population on an equal basis but considers the young people in tough conditions. To give an example, the youth guarantee program in Spain is provided for the young people aged between 16-25 who didn't work for past 30 days, did not involve in education for past 90 days and didn't involve in training in past 30 days (INJUVE, 2014, p. 72) where the welfare regime is classified as southern or Mediterranean welfare regime due to family ties rather than social-democratic welfare regimes. In contrary to Spain, in Denmark, which is under the social-democratic welfare regime, the Youth Guarantee Scheme is provided for the all young population aged under 30. (EC, 2020, p. 6) In contrary, the entrepreneurship programs such as "*InnGames*" or "*Programa de microcréditos para jóvenes*" are more inclusive (INJUVE, 2014, p. 74) than the aid programs for the young people leads us the situation where the youth economic citizenship is constructed within a selective strategy due to hardness of reach to those programs and requirement of certain skills-set and education. Despite the fact that the youth guarantee scheme and other employment and educational opportunities are not easily in reach or inclusive for the whole youth population, the Erasmus+ Programme for young people is due to its unique nature, which promotes the participation of young people through its volunteering and mobility programs.

According to Chevalier's typology on youth citizenship, the public expenditure on youth is one of the main pillars to understand how youth citizenship is constructed. In Spain's case, the funding is highly differentiated. "Estrategia de Juventud" with its action plans in two year periods (2014-2016 / 2016-2018 / 2018-2020) on youth were mainly focused on entrepreneurship and employment such as in Action Plan 2014-2016 with 2.9 thousand million euros with different axis areas as above-mentioned, more than 90% of the budget was

allocated for the entrepreneurship and employment of the young people where the expenditure on housing was “0,00 EUR” and the health expenditure was less than one million EURs. Even though the housing is one of the most significant issues for the young people’s autonomy especially concerning the given data for Spain (INJUVE, 2014), the young people’s low-income and their involvement in short-term jobs (EC, 2017), makes them dependent to their families on the issue of housing.

Even that this is considered in all policy papers as an important issue and support by the constitution and underlined in several parts of the documents that emancipation of young people depends on their leave from the family house (INJUVE, 2014; EC, 2017) In fact, that was taken into consideration with a less priority. Regarding the economic and social citizenship aspect, both facts prove that youth economic citizenship falls into the selective citizenship category, and social citizenship falls into the familialized citizenship category, which leads to the denied youth citizenship of young people. Moreover, the only funding mechanism used for the young people is not the national funding provided by the national government but as well EU Funding from Creative Europe, Erasmus for Young Entrepreneurs, and the Competitiveness and Innovation programs. From these programs, Spain received 195 million EURs in total by the year 2016. (EC, 2017, pp. 23-24)

Participation

Participation is considered in three pillars, such as *economic*³, *social*, and *political participation*. Most of the scholars argue that political and social activity is intersected and linked to each other as political activity. Thus, the social involvement, helping behavior, participation in voluntary associations are as well in the fact that political acts but considered as social participation than political. It can be argued that political participation cannot only be characterized as I previously summarized in the human rights of the youth section but can be involving in protests, signing a petition, or engaging in a campaign. Those can be categorized under five main pillars, such as conventional political participation, unconventional political behavior, participation in voluntary associations, informal social involvement, and informal helping behavior. (Newton & Giebler, 2008, pp. 2-5)

³ Economic participation is highly related with the employment and involvement to the labour market activity. Thus, I will explain that under the employment section.

Concerning the conventional participation, the young people in Spain aged 18 and above can involve in conventional participation mechanisms and eligible to vote and to be elected for the office in principle. Still, it has never been the case in the upper office. According to a report published in 2014 by INJUVE, only 64,1% of young people participated in voting in general elections, which was 5 points less than the national average in all age groups while the average age of deputies in Congress was 47.7. Additionally, in Spain, no Youth parliament exists but the Youth Council and Youth Advisory boards. The most well-known body related to that is CJE (Youth Council), which members should be aged less than 31 by the day they took office. (EC, 2017, pp. 64-72) These facts show that there are deliberative mechanisms for the young people/youth organizations in Spain to participate, become a delegate, and have a say on the issues that are related to the young people. However, they do not have any legislative power on the policy-making processes even though there are mechanisms that exist for young people to participate, and their involvement in the political parties is eased comparing to the other countries.

According to the research implemented in 2008 related to youth participation in politics among the countries were mentioned within the study, data on Spanish youth shows the fact that %21 of young people are neither interested in politics nor political discussions in comparison with the other countries mentioned in the research. (Newton & Giebler, 2008, pp. 14-18) One another aspect of political participation is unconventional political behavior, which is usually widespread among young people, such as signing a petition, buying ethical products, boycotting products, or involving the peaceful demonstration. In comparison to the conventional political participation of young people, on the contrary, young people in Spain are more involved in protests and signing petitions comparing to the other countries. (Newton & Giebler, 2008)

According to the Constitución Española de 1978 Art. 22, which regulates the right to associate, recognizes the importance of the right to associate and provides a guideline for the public authorities for encouraging the development of associations and for the citizens who might involve in the associations and sets the minimum age as 14 for participation to the associations. Additionally, the participation mechanisms for youth set forth as follows: youth associations, youth sections of social-collectives and NGOs, federations of youth organizations, and youth councils. Furthermore, young people's trust in institutions is highly low, and young people are hardly interested in politics due to mistrust to political institutions.

On the contrary, they are eager to participate in politics, but their expectations from politics and politicians put them in a desperate position. Differentially, the gender gap among the aforementioned participation mechanisms is high. Females tend to participate in the associations where the service delivery, so to say helping others is the main objective than males. On the contrary, for the males, the involvement in the associations where the “entertainment and fun” is the main priority. (CoE, 2009, pp. 10-12)

The dilemma between the support mechanisms and the numbers on participation is one of the critical issues on understanding the participation of young people in Spain as it can be considered that the participation of young people and children is supported through deliberative mechanisms such as Youth Councils and with national and regional policies, but that does not constitute that the young people are involved in politics or satisfied with their participation to the politics. (Gaitán, 2012, pp. 135-136) Their involvement in the voluntary associations validates this fact as the youth participation in the associations is less than %20. Among the youth participation in sports, associations are high compared to the other types of associations, such as political, science, business, and humanitarian, etc. Although formal participation in the associations is low, the informal helping behavior can be explained by the collectivist form of society, as 44% of the young people involved in informal helping behavior. (Newton & Giebler, 2008, pp. 12-18)

The reasons behind the participation per se non-participation of young people differentiate from spending their free time involved in religious activities or to help others. The main reason behind the involvement of the associations is making use of free time activities as it is legitimizing the fact that most young people are involved in sports associations in Spain. Followingly, the primary motivation is feeling useful while helping others among the young people who are involved in charities and religious associations. Finally, the third leading reason is that there is a presence of friends in the same association. Considering social participation as involving as a volunteer in NGOs, it can be argued that young people in Spain are not participating. According to the report published in 2016, only 9% of the young people have involved in volunteering, 16% have involved once, 75% have never engaged in any volunteering activity. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 516-522)

Furthermore, the involvement in voluntary associations, political parties, and trust in democratic institutions are highly relevant with the participation in the education,

employment, and autonomy or emancipation of young people. It can be argued that the young people's unconventional and conventional participation is guaranteed within the constitution, such as age factor, the participation to Youth Council, the involvement on the decision-making mechanisms of NGOs accordingly to the guidelines put front by United Nations. However, social and political participation are interlinked with the social and economic capital of young people and their cultural practices as the involvement of the Spanish youth to the sports associations more than the other fields, or thematic areas validates this fact.

Education

The economic crisis in Spain created a significant impact on employment and education policies, which resulted in young people's involvement in education for a longer time than earlier. Before the crisis, the participation in education was lower due to the generous labor supply, which did not require any educational level such as construction. In 2009, 38% of young people aged between 25-29 years were involved in education, which reached 42.1% in 2016. Even though involvement in education increased after 2008, the drop-out rate as %19 was still above the EU-28 average, which was 11% in 2015, which occurred in most touristic areas of Spain such as Extremadura, Andalusia, Canary and Balearic Islands due to increased demand on workforce on tourism. In 2011, 41.6% of young people aged between 18-25 did not involve in any education or only had primary and secondary education, while 46.6% of young people had middle education grades, and 14.7% had a higher degree, and 8.7% had university graduates. Although 35% of these young people were non-educated or involved in primary and secondary education. (EC, 2017, pp. 81-82)

Receiving a decent education is one of the keystones on autonomy; in other words, the emancipation of young people. But after the crisis in 2008, Spain is changed in this regard. Youth unemployment resulted in the prolongation of studies through the years as the young people could not involve in the economic activity in early ages as like before and started to engage in education. On the other hand, young people in Spain do not choose to combine study and work compared to the other countries as only 9% of young people combined both according to the statistics in 2013. One of the other issues is that the polarization on the qualifications among young people such as highly educated young people with frustration about unemployment after their studies vs. young people with a low level of education who

tends to continue the education as a strategy for increasing their employability or as a refuge from the job market. It can be argued that those are the result of a structural issue such as Spanish Education System has three distinct, identifiable differences than the other European countries such as the young people who have obtained an ESO (La Educación Secundaria Obligatoria) degree on the obligatory system which is until 16 years and dropping out without continuation, the highest rate of the possession of the higher education degree and the lowest rate of young people with intermediate-level vocational training in Europe. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 555-561)

Youth Council of Spain (Consejo de Juventud) declared the fact that the Spanish Education system proved itself wrong by promoting inequalities, individualism, competition, and the idea of acceptance of the status quo. (CDEJ, 1999, p. 28) These issues were addressed in 1999, even before the crisis in 2008 shows that the situation has not been changed until today. According to the Youth Report 2016, social inequalities are still in place in Spanish society, considering the reach to Education. One of the main issues in this regard is the choice of the educational center. Between 2008 and 2016, private school attendance is increased overwhelmingly. Even though %92 of the young people aged between 15-19 years are still in education but with a high risk of drop-out increase that they are not supported by the state, family, or the private sector after the competition of the compulsory studies. When it is considered another age group as 20-24, the trajectory divides into two distinctive groups such as 62% of them are in the study and 38% is not involved in education. 25% of those who are not involved in education are employed, and 13% of the same group are not in education and unemployed or looking for a job and economically inactive. Therefore, they are dependent to their parents. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 555-561)

One of the primary mitigating factors on the educational success of young people is their families. When the parents of the children are involved in education than the children are tend to engage in further education, but when the parents of the children are not involved in further education, their children tend to not to involve further education but involve in the job market to cover either their own or their family's financial needs. Furthermore, Studying in Higher Education is more expensive in Spain than the other European Union countries even though higher education participation is higher. It can be argued that the Spanish state does not provide for the students, the primary income of the students become their families as the

%90 of the young people who are only in education depending on the income of third people or their parents. (INJUVE, 2016, p. 558)

Regardless of the financial aspects of the continuation of education, one of the issues that are hindering the motivation of young people to involve education is that young people do not have enough confidence in the education opportunities due to the weak adequacy of the education to the requirements of the market. Furthermore, the interest in learning foreign languages is highly low in Spain. Only 39.9% of the young people are willing to learn a new language when this ratio is 53.7% as EU average. Furthermore, 38.7% of young people do not know any other language except their mother tongue in Spain. (CDEJ, 1999, pp. 2-30) Henceforth, the education is not answering the demand of the market; as a result, the unemployment increases, or the young people starts to drop-out from the education through the course of the education and due to lack of language abilities, the young people are not eligible to be employed in another country.

Along with the statistical data on the issues of education, the demands and the challenges are on the education system “Estrategia Juventud 2020” identified as the drop-out as 23.6% in 2013, the quality of the education which are measured as competencies in the fourth year of ESO, a dysfunction structure between the educational opportunities and the demand from the market and additionally low motivation for entrepreneurship. (INJUVE, 2014, p. 15) In light of those facts and strategies, it can be argued that the education system is structured upon a system of selectivity and search for the best but at the same time as a refuge for the young people who cannot reach the employment opportunities but have a belief that the involvement to education will increase their competences and chances to get a job.

Education is one of the main right areas concerning citizenship as it is highly related to the practicing the other rights such as political and civil rights and a first step on the emancipation of the young people from the family home. Despite the fact that it is essential, the involvement in education in Spain is harder for young people due to class risks, lack of aid, inequalities within the education system, its selective nature. Although it is not always the case, due to the selectivity nature of the education system, the education aids are for the best or the disadvantaged where the state takes the role of the service provision as subsidiary in this regard where autonomy is constant, and choices are depending on the ability of the individual.

Firstly, the education is depending on the income of the family and the socio-economic background of the family, which is the result of the situation that the burden of service provision is on neither state nor market but the family. That results with transfer of the class risks through the generations. As I previously mentioned, the fact that when the parents' educational background is higher, the young people involved in education more is the validating fact of this argument. Consequently, the citizenship practices of young people and their citizenship status is endangered. When we consider from the four typologies (*denied, second-class, monitored, and enabling*) on citizenship, it can be said that according to the educational aspect in Spain, Spain falls into a category of denied youth citizenship. As the young people's involvement in education is based on family than the state or market, it hinders their participation and enjoyment of the other sets of rights such as civil and political. Additionally, this situation hinders young people's ability to take their decisions on their own per se influenced or dictated by their family members as the family is the main provider for the young person.

Employment

Youth employment is one of the main issues considered as important in most of the action plans of the autonomous regions and the central government. Although it is evident that there is a problem with youth employment and it is highest in Spain comparing to the other EU countries after Greece, it is not only today's problem but a continuing one since the 1970s. During each recession that the Spanish economy suffered, the youth unemployment is affected. That shows that the poor youth unemployment record in Spain is one of its kind structural problems in the overall labor market and affecting the all working population, not the young people. (Dolado, Jansen, Felgueroso, Fuentes, & Wölfl, 2013, pp. 6-7)

In 2010, the youth unemployment rate was 41.6%, and even though the last years it started to drop, it is still at alarming levels, but over 25s, it is similar to the EU average though the causes are profoundly different from the rest of the EU. The causes of unemployment can be considered as the early school leaving, and imbalance between the demand from the labor market and education opportunities. As mentioned above, Spain has one of the highest drop-outs from education comparing to the other countries, which affects the involvement of the

young people in the job market or the security of the jobs that they have. Between 2007 and 2011, the unemployment of young people with low education raised more than 30%, but in contrary, the unemployment of young people with a university degree rose 19.5%. (García, 2011, pp. 4-10)

Another mitigating fact related to the job market is job security. The majority of young people without higher education have changed two or more jobs during their work life. Despite the fact that education is one of the tools that can cut this cycle, this rotation is very similar among young people who have lower education levels. Among the EU countries, the highest rate of young people involved in temporary jobs is in Spain with 51.9%. Although youth job insecurity is a common issue among the European countries in Spain, it is worsened after the economic crisis and continuation of the structural problems in the job market. (INJUVE, 2016, p. 567) It created an impact on the issue of youth unemployment as well as their involvement in education as the young people could not find stable employment that they continue their education to acquire stable jobs or to have a refuge from the fragile job market in Spain.

Another main issue about the Spanish employment scene is NEETs (Not in Education, Employment or Training) or as a Spanish terminology *Ni-Nis*. In 2014, the *Ni-Nis* counted as 15.6% (EC, 2017, p. 39) and by 2019, it was counted as 12.1% among the young people aged 15-24 (Eurostat, 2020). It is argued that it is because of the incoherency between the job market and educational opportunities provided for young people. As there are no links between the worlds of education and employment, it hinders the involvement of young people in the job market. In some cases, the media and the society blamed the young people for this situation rather than the education and labor market structures by considering them as lazy and led a comfortable life by their families or the state as Spain is regarded as the “Southern Welfare System” where the public policies have the secondary role after the family (Soler, Planas, & Feixa, 2014, p. 66). Hence, youth unemployment exposes young people with the class risks inherited from their families, and they are continuing to be in the same social stratification, or when they cannot continue their studies, they are excluded from the society.

The low-income among young people is mainstream without the education level, qualification, or experience. It is sporadic to see the young people who have an income of more than 1,500 per month even among the university students. (INJUVE, 2016, p. 567) It is

as well unrelated to the business sector as Spain exhibits the lowest ratio among the employed young people in the industries, from manufacturing to construction. (Dolado, Jansen, Felgueroso, Fuentes, & Wölfl, 2013, p. 33)

Hiring a young person without experience for the companies is risky from a regulatory point of view as their product that they can offer has no prior guarantee. It is a common practice among young people when taking the consideration that young people have a thinking that temporary jobs are the steps to be taken to settle a stable job. Although, it is not always the case, as it shows that the consistency in those contracts turns that the young people become trapped in a vicious circle of temporary jobs, unemployment, and limited education opportunities. (García, 2011, p. 9) Therefore, young people end up financially dependent as they cannot cover their financial needs from the market full basis but they need additional support from their family. The income provided by the family becomes the main income resources due to temporary jobs which are not stable. As a result, the young people are not acquiring autonomy and emancipation from the family.

The young people's income resources are the one of issues in the Spanish youth scene as only 35% of young people consider themselves financially independent. Although, it was more than 50% in 2008. As young people are not involved in stable job opportunities, they are continuing to engage in education, which results as the overqualification of young people. The validating fact of this issue is that more than 25% of the university students are overqualified for the jobs that they hold after their studies, which continues through all their transition period even longer until the age of 35. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 559-569)

While unemployment is one of the main issues in Spain concerning the youth, the reasons behind are the structural issues of the labor market, which crisis intensified the situation in a harmful manner. Job security is one of the problems among young people by 2016, only 26% thought that their job is secure, and the risk perception is higher among women than men. More or less the all young people are helped by their parents as most of them live in the family home as the main shock absorber of the economic issues of the youth was the family. (ibid., 2016, pp. 559-569)

Due to the limitations and structural issues of the market and the welfare system, the burden of the young people becomes the burden of the families during this process. As the young

people are not able to enter the job market or they do not have a constant income because of the temporary jobs, they are holding, or the income is not enough for them to have an autonomy out from their parents. Even it continues during the job-search of young people. In Spain, family or personal networks are the essential networks for young people to find a job even though this practice is continuously declining, it is still one of the structural problems of the market.

García (2011, pp. 16-17) argues that the structural problems related to labor market can be solved with increasing the job-security of the young people and providing them with an opportunity for a long-term contract with an extension of a trial period to increase the involvement of young people with low or little experience to assess their productivity and make them able to land in a permanent job-contract. Furthermore, the Active Labor Market Policies (ALMPs) should include the plan of evaluation where that the practices can be evaluated. He emphasizes that the implementation of the new policies should be implemented with small groups before going with the all youth population.

Employment is the first stage of economic participation in society for young people. When employment is not secured that they cannot involve fully involve in other participation areas such as social and political as they do not have enough income to engage in the activities rather than sustaining their lives on their own. In the case of Spain, the structural problem in the labor market and the crisis hit in 2008 become the primary causes of the issue of the employment of young people. Young people are sought refuge in education from the vicious labor market where they cannot sustain jobs and become dependent on their families. Henceforth, the Spanish labor system is dependent on a selective strategy as the drop-outs are high, and the education opportunities lack to support the involvement in employment, which results in the exclusion of the young people or the prolonged youth.

Health

Comparing to the education, employment, and participation scene, Spain is one of the countries that the health of young people is in excellent state. Although the problems on health continue to be the issue as the primary threats to youth health are drug abuse, traffic accidents, and reproductive health. (Comas, 2008, p. 31) 89% of young people declared that

they have good health conditions, and more than 30% of the young people did not use medical services are the confirming facts of the situation. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 582-583)

It can be argued that one of the reasons that young people's health is in good condition is Spain's health system. The public health sector presents more than 5% of the GDP, and 60 billion euros are spent yearly on the health system in Spain. Furthermore, it is universal, and the level of access is easier compared to the many other countries in the EU, and practically not only the citizens but everyone in Spanish territory can reach to the public health system. (Melero, 2018) From this point of view, being youth or not does not affect to reach out the health system, but the right to health directly derives from being a citizen in Spain which is one of the facts that the Spanish welfare system is protecting the health of everyone regardless their involvement to the labor market, education or their socio-economic background.

Despite the fact that to reach out to the health system is universal for young people, the health problem continues to be the issue. The alcohol consumption continues to be the main issue among the Spanish youth, the 82% of men and 65% of women aged between the 25-34 declared that they had consumed alcohol in past 12 months period while the ratio is 66% among young males and 61% among the young females aged between 15-24 years old. Concerning tobacco usage that only 18.5% among the young people aged 15 to 24 years old. (INJUVE, 2016, pp. 582-583) When it is compared with cannabis usage, 29.1% of the young people consumed cannabis once in their life even though, through the years, it is declining; still, it is one of the issues in the Spanish scene of youth concerning health.

As most of the health policies are regulated related to health education, physical activity, sexual education, wellbeing, or emotional health by the autonomous communities, and there is not a similarity of the subjects that are thought during the educational cycle. Although, there are several mechanisms that exist to promote the wellbeing, physical activity and sexual education of young people nationally such as "*Comprehensive Plan for Physical exercise and Sport in the realm of School Sports*", "*Basic Sport Support Plan 2020 (Plan 2020 de apoyo al Deporte Base)*" , "*Perseus program (Programa Perseo)*", "*The Strategy For Health Promotion And Prevention (Estrategia de Promoción de la Salud y Prevención)*", "*Strategic Plan for School Coexistence (Plan Estratégico de Convivencia Escolar)*". Those plans are governed by the national government, though, the initial decision on the

implementation of those policies are in the hands of the autonomous communities. (EC, 2017, pp. 99-110) As the health system is universal and the strategies are put in motion to enhance the general populations well-being as well as the youth groups health conditions in place. The young people can reach to health services in full basis which is one of the achievements of the Spanish welfare system regardless its lack points on education and employment.

Housing

One of the primary hindering factors in front of the autonomy of young people is the housing arrangements in Spain. The young people are not able to leave their family homes due to a variety of reasons mentioned above, such as the low-income from the employment, lack of student aids, temporary jobs, job insecurity, hardship on reaching a housing allowance, and most distinctively rental market. In Spain, comparing to the other EU countries, young people have to spend more than half of the household income, which is 25.1% in the Netherlands, 35.3% in France. (Dolado, Jansen, Felgueroso, Fuentes, & Wölfl, 2013, p. 49) In 2019, it was counted that only 18.5% of young people aged between 16 to 29 years in Spain are living outside of their family homes that means that 81% of them are still residing in their family homes.

Furthermore, 77,9% of young people who are living outside of their family homes are living in different provinces than their families or born abroad. (Oller, 2019, pp. 9-11) The reasons behind are not only the labor market challenges or the issues that young people faces, but the policies focused on the provision of the rent mechanisms have never been successful in Spain as the main idea of having a house is not to rent but to buy it. (CDEJ, 1999, p. 13) The plans developed, initiated, and implemented has been focused on the rental policies rather than the mortgage or providing credits or taxes for the young people to own house.

In Spain, youth autonomy is mainly depending on two indicators, such as “*stable social position and a satisfactory material situation*”. Although, it is not the case for the Spanish youth as they do not have both until they are 35 or more due to the restrictions that put in front them (CDEJ, 1999, pp. 12-14) as the main welfare provider is the family and has a selective structure. It creates a negative impact on the life of the young people as the economic dependency puts restrictions on the decisions related to the life cycle and delays

their autonomy (Ayllón, 2009, p. 430) or prolongs their youth period in comparison to the other EU countries.

Despite the fact that the primary provider of housing for young people is family, there are state-aid for housing exists in the Spanish system. State Housing Plan was approved in 2018 to provide rental aid for young people with low-income resources with clear-cut criteria such as age, income level, and the cities where the population is not higher than 5000 inhabitants. (Arriba & Cabrero, 2018) That is another facet of the situation, which the state is the subsidiary to the families' opportunities as the aid mechanisms depend on the income of the household rather than solely the young people or the place that the young people live.

Methodology

This research aims to understand the discourse constructed within the electoral agendas of Spanish political parties that have been elected in November 2019 elections and focused on national policies on the human rights of youth. The objectives of the research are :

- To analyze the political discourse created upon the young people by Spanish political parties
- To analyze the education, employment, health, housing policies framed in electoral agendas of Spanish political parties focusing mainly the youth and the issues that the Spanish youth faces
- To discuss the implications of the policies planned to be implemented within the electoral programs and their connection with the reality of Spanish youth

To reach those objectives, I have used the discourse analysis methodology, which originates from examining the production processes of the knowledge within different discourses and performances. As the discourse production process is highly related with its context (Adolphus, 2020) and I have explained previously the national policies which helped me to understand and create a frame about the issues that the Spanish youth is facing in the problems of employment, education, health, and housing policies as well as how the youth is pictured and their citizenship is taken into account along with their human rights for building the context of the research.

Choice of Material and Limitations

Spain was used to be considered a role model in many years until a few years ago. After the 2019 electoral cycle when Spain had two general elections in a year and converged to a situation that resulted in a pluralist party system since 2015. Even with the distinctive polarization between the political parties, due to territorial conflicts, extreme right and left sides ended with trying out to find a room for agreement to set up a coalition. Finally, In November 2019, the coalition government was set between PSOE and Podemos with the help of the smaller regional parties. (Rodon, 2020, pp. 1-3) During this election, five main parties were stand out among the other parties entered the election as follows: **PSOE, PP, Vox, Unidas Podemos, Cs, and** Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Sobiranistes along with other regional parties.

As the main parties in the Spanish elections were stated mainly in the newspapers and documents related to the election results in Spain was the first five party (Mix, 2019; Rodon, 2020; Jones, 2019) which has following seats in the parliament: PSOE (102), Unidas Podemos (35), Vox (52), Cs (10), PP (89). (Politico, 2020) Therefore, those parties were selected over the other political parties to narrow down the focus of the research as mainly those parties are currently in power of legislation related to policy areas concerning young people and youth.

Therefore, I have first selected the electoral agendas published in the webpages of the political parties, and I have chosen the political parties which are currently elected in the November 2019 elections of Spain as following: *PsoE, PP, Vox, Unidas Podemos, Cs*. To implement the research while analyzing the situation in Spain and referring the policies implemented, I have omitted the policies implemented by the **autonomous communities** [*Comunidades autónomas*] as there are vast disparities between the policies related to youth, education, and employment from community to community. Henceforth, I didn't include the *ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Sobiranistes)* as their political agenda focused on the regional policies of Catalunya than Spain as a whole.

The main limitation of this research is that it focuses on national policies to create a common ground for analyzing the political agendas and omits the regional policies which are particularly distinctive from each other in different autonomous communities as each community allocates the budget differently due to their policies regarding young people. Therefore, the regional policies on youth could be a complete another research as the electoral agendas for the regional policies could be, and the intensity of implementing research on regional policies is continuing to be one of the challenges on youth research in Spain, which has not been done so far.

Before starting to analyze, I have chosen the documents provided in the official pages of political parties. The list of the documents related to electoral agendas with their original name is indicated below (Table.1). In some parties, particularly PSOE and Unidas Podemos have been more than one document related to the election and their party politics with different contexts.

Table 1 Overview of the Documents

Political Party	Name of the Document
PSOE	"Ahora progreso", programa electoral del PSOE para las elecciones generales del próximo 10 de noviembre
PSOE	Ahora, Gobierno. Ahora, España. 35 compromisos sociales.
Unidas Podemos	Programa de PODEMOS. Las razones siguen intactas
Unidas Podemos	Programa para un nuevo país. Elecciones generales de 2019. Programa electoral de Podemos.
Partido Popular	Programa Electoral del Partido Popular 2019 Por todo lo que nos une
Vox	100 medidas para la España Viva
Cs	Un gran acuerdo nacional para poner España en marcha

To reason behind the choice of discourse analysis methodology is that the elections are communicative events, and the discourse created within the electoral agendas are argumentative. Thus, The discourse analysis methodology is widely used to analyze policy documents. Adolphus (2020) argues that the policy documents are produced to be sold and to be dictated by complex factors in the context discourse created, which disentangles the agendas of the policy documents within its contexts. Furthermore, discourse analysis methodology comes with its benefits as it enables the researcher to analyze the critical discourses, to understand the impact of the particular discourse for shaping behavior, or understands the development process and shows the importance of the overall context.

Research Questions

During the research phase, I have answered the following research questions related to party policies by stating the information derived from the political parties electoral agendas:

- 1) How is the discourse of youth and youth cultures portrayed or mentioned in electoral programs?
- 2) How is the welfare state mentioned concerning the citizenship practices of denied youth citizenship?
- 3) What measures put in place to overcome the issues that Spanish youth is facing from employment to housing?

- 4) How is the policy areas related to the human rights of youth constructed?
- 5) Is the autonomy of the youth achievable in Spanish party politics, and the policies are put in place to promote it?

Table 2 List of words used for analyze

Spanish	English	Spanish	English
Joven	Young Person	Educación	Education
Juventud	Youth	Universidad	University/Collage
Juvenil	Youth	Formación	Training
Empleo	Job / Employment	Beca	Scholarship
Renta / Ingreso	Income	Vivienda	living place
Emancipación	Emancipation	Asociación / ONG	Association / NGO
Dependencia	Dependence	Participación	Participation
Familia	Family	Voluntariado	Volunteering
Lengua	Language	Alquiler	Rental
Ayuda	Help	Apoyo	Support for

During the analysis, I have focused on the policies on youth by searching the sets of words (Table.2.) through the texts and explained its relation with the theories and in connection with the current reality of the youth in Spain. After the implementation of the analysis, I have created a road map and compare the party politics accordingly to the methodologies related to the welfare state, youth citizenship, and youth discourse.

Analysis

The analysis is implemented in a manner to give a comparative understanding of the proposed policies by political parties on the issues that they are relevant to the lives of young people. As it is explained in the methodology chapter, the documents were selected from the webpages of the political parties, and the texts were analyzed accordingly to the framework explained and constructed previously on youth, welfare state, youth citizenship, human rights of youth and its connection with the Spanish reality on youth.

Concerning the sub-chapters, in the Youth Discourse chapter, I have analyzed how and the youth is mentioned in political agendas and which words are associated with the young people. In participation, I have analyzed the participation aspects such as the social and political participation of young people and how those policy areas addressed with the electoral agendas. In Education, Employment and chapters, I have explained, what are the proposed policies related to education and employment concerning the young people and how they are related with the issues of the Spanish youth and analyzed the theoretical aspect of the education and its relation with the education and employment of youth. In the Health chapter, I have explained the policies concerning the health of young people and how they are developed. Lastly, I have analyzed the policies related to the housing of young people in relation with the Spanish reality and the issues concerning the young people in relation to housing policies in Spain.

Youth Discourse

Every electoral agenda used during this research had consisted of the following words: *joven* [young person], *juventud* [youth], and *juvenil* [juvenile] by referring the young people. In the texts, youth has been associated with being disadvantaged, unemployed, dependent. Additionally, young people are considered as a commodity in particularly by commodifying young people through stating the fact as “*nuestros jóvenes* [our youth]” (PSOE, 2019a; Cs, 2019) through the text of the PSOE’s and Cs’s political agenda. The following examples concerning the youth are supporting this fact:

“...para redirigir recursos hacia una atención más personalizada con un especial enfoque en jóvenes, mujeres y parados de larga duración... [... to redirect resources

towards more personalized attention with a special focus on youth, women and the long-term unemployed....] ” (PSOE, 2019a, p. 18)

“Protección especial por desempleo para jóvenes. El periodo de cotización exigido para tener derecho a la prestación por desempleo se reducirá a la mitad para menores de 30 años..... [Special unemployment protection for youth. The term contribution required to be entitled to the benefit for unemployment will be cut in half for people under 30.....]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 78)

“El bloqueo político ha impedido abordar otras cuestiones que no pueden esperar como los problemas de vivienda que afectan a miles de jóvenes....[The political blockade has prevented address other issues that they can't wait like housing problems that affect thousands of young people....]” (PP, 2019, p. 7)

Furthermore; in the political agenda of Ciudadanos (2019) , specific place for the young people were allocated concerning the issues of employment, education, mobility, and housing while the youth was only mentioned once in the electoral agenda of Vox by referring the problem of unemployment for the young people aged under 25. (Vox, 2019, p. 12) In another side, for Unidas Podemos, the young people associated with the protesting behavior in the street by stating the fact that *“Lo ha dicho la juventud en la calle mientras los políticos y opinadores profesionales se dedicaban al politiquero y al ruido: no tenemos un planeta B, no tenemos un planeta de repuesto.[Youth on the street have said it while politicians and professional opinion-makers engaged in politics and noise: we do not have a planet B, we do not have a spare planet.]”* (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 9). Additionally, the young people in a case considered in this text as a subject of the future than today as the young people are portrayed as a future subject but at the same time a resource, in other words, as a striving force for the change.

The most consistent approach of all political parties unrelated to their political agendas is the employment when it comes to the youth except than the left-wing parties such as PSOE and Unidas Podemos. (PSOE, 2019a; PSOE, 2019b; PP, 2019; Vox, 2019; Unidas Podemos, 2019a; Unidas Podemos, 2019b)Both have a focus on empowerment of youth in more disadvantaged positions such as rural youth which PSOE and Unidas Podemos promotes the economic participation of rural youth by stating the fact *“Promoveremos el acceso de la*

juventud a las actividades agrarias.... [promote youth access to agricultural activities....]” (PSOE, 2019a, p. 37) and *“Ofreceremos acceso prioritario a la tierra para la juventud...[We will offer priority access to land for youth]*”. (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 116) The second main topic mentioned with the young people is emancipation and housing by PSOE and Unidas Podemos in their electoral agendas (PSOE, 2019a, p. 15) (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, pp. 90-91) which are the main issues concerning the youth as mentioned in the theoretical framework.

Concerning the age transition, all political parties used international standards as the age between 18-30 except Vox which associated young people aged under 25 than 30 (Vox, 2019, p. 12). The main approach to youth in all electoral programs is that young people are considered as the future rather than today, and the focus of the analyzed documents are mainly to promote the youth’s transition to become adult. Hence, the policies are focused on young people’s transition to becoming adults than concerning the youth as a particular cultural group.

Regarding youth sub-cultures, the most obvious reference was in the political agenda of Ciudadanos. Ciudadanos has proposed a political solution for the LGBTI youth group, such as LGBTI youth culture, by stating: *“Facilitaremos el acceso a un alojamiento transitorio a las personas LGTBI, especialmente los jóvenes que se ven forzados a irse de su casa por el rechazo familiar a su orientación sexual.[We will facilitate access to temporary accommodation for LGTBI people, especially young people who are forced to leave home due to family rejection of their sexual orientation.]”*. (Cs, 2019) This statement indicates the approval of the LGBTI youth culture and as a discriminated position whose housing should be provided as they are not being accepted by their family. Concerning the fact that Spain’s welfare structure is depending on the family, that approach could be emancipating for the youth people who are the members of LGBTI youth culture.

Secondly, the cultural involvement and community involvement of young people as citizens were only considered by Unidas Podemos. Regarding that, the Podemos proposed to open social centers to the promotion of the youth cultures in the neighborhoods by stating the following: *“...diseñaremos una política para abrir centros sociales para jóvenes en esos barrios.... puedan desarrollar actividades culturales y de ocio.....[We will design a policy to open social centers for young people in those neighborhoods, they can develop cultural*

and leisure activities, and also generate youth employment in the neighborhoods.]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 62). Furthermore, This approach is in favor of the youth autonomy as previously mentioned in the theoretical framework, the youth’s transition period depends on the social and cultural capital of youth and establishment of such centers will promote the emancipation of the youth as they will gain skills in those centers through cultural and social activities. Additionally, it will promote the creation of different youth cultures at the societal level.

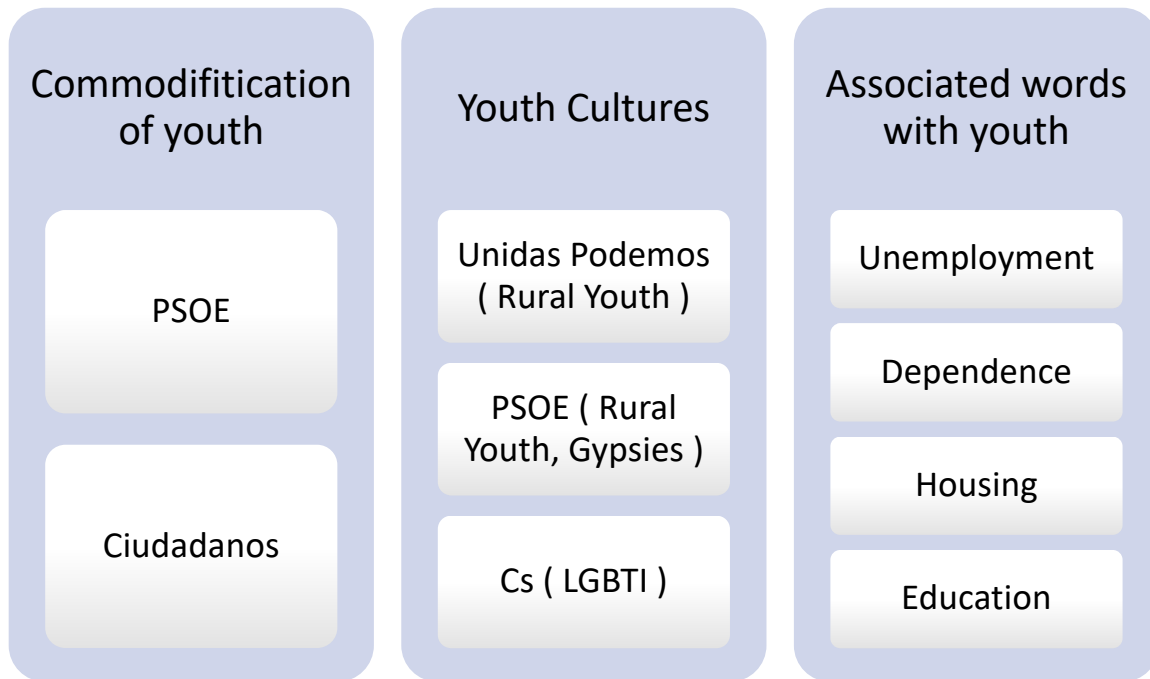


Figure 1 Image of Youth in Electoral Agendas

Finally, from these statements relation with the youth, it can be said that being the state of the youth considered as a stage to be fulfilled, and the portrait of the young people is disadvantaged in society. In comparison with the theoretical framework, the approach of the Spanish state is in line with the political parties, such as putting the family in the mainstream than the youth itself as the Spanish welfare typology promotes the family and the transition period of young people. Even though the young people are associated with the disadvantaged groups in the society, that is reflecting the case of Spain. Regarding citizenship politics, the young people’s differentiated citizenship status is mentioned related to their cultural aspects within the documents concerning LGBTIs, young people living in rural areas, students but *Ni-Nis* which is one of the vital issues to be worked on in Spain is not mentioned, or the policy areas are left out concerning this particular youth group.

Participation

Regarding the political participation of young people in relation with age, only Unidas Podemos proposed a solution by reducing the age of eligibility to vote to 16 than 18 years old by criticizing the situation by stating the following :

“Reconocer el derecho de sufragio a partir de los 16 años. Frente al discurso conservador que dice que la juventud no se interesa por la política.... La juventud quiere un país mejor y debe poder participar. [Recognize the right to vote from the age of 16. Faced with the conservative discourse that says that youth is not interested in politics, ... Youth want a better country and must be able to participate.]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 60)

That statement is clearly in line with the guidelines of the UN Human Rights of Youth concerning the participation, and it as well sees the young people as the agencies of today than tomorrow and promotes positively on the conventional participation of young people to the decision-making processes.

Furthermore, concerning the participation of youth to the social life, most distinctive policies were proposed by Unidas Podemos such as the development of cultural centers, networks for young people to implement activities by themselves (Unidas Podemos, 2019a) and shows the promotion of the involvement of young people to the social and cultural life and promotes their unconventional participation. Furthermore, the young people are involved in politics in unconventional ways, and as it is mentioned in the Youth Discourse section, Podemos has been in favor as well as encouraging the unconventional ways of participation by stating the fact that youth has been protesting relation with the climate change issues.

Even though the youth is not directly mentioned by Partido Popular(PP), the following statement shows the fact the participation of the general population is planned to be promoted by the development of a national strategy to achieve this:*Impulsaremos una Estrategia Nacional ... que promoverá la participación en la vida social, política y económica de sus comunidades y ciudades....[We will promote a National Strategy will promote participation in social, political life and economy of their communities and cities.....]* (PP, 2019, p. 30). It can be argued that PP’s policy is promoting participation throughout this strategy, though, there is no detailed explanation through the electoral agenda regarding this strategy.

Furthermore, there is a distinctive feature of Vox comparing to all other political parties regarding participation or the right to associate. In the Spanish constitution, the right to associate is secured, Vox is against to diversity of the associations which is operating in other languages or supporting to the autonomous governments in the regions. (Vox, 2019, p. 2) Furthermore, there is an attribute in all right-wing political party agendas that the Spanish should be considered as the primary language in public and private space to reach out the education or the different activities (PP, 2019; Vox, 2019; Cs, 2019) which might be considered as a hindering factor for the people who are the member of the different communities speaking Catalan, Galician and Basque than Castilian Spanish.

Lastly, concerning the PSOE's strategy on the electoral program, they have developed an approach related to disadvantaged groups not particularly to youth but different groups such as gypsies, trans people as follows:

Fomentaremos la integración sociolaboral de las personas trans y su plena participación en la vida política, social y cultural....[We will promote integration social work of trans people and their full participation in life political, social and cultural....]

Adoptaremos políticas públicas orientadas a mejorar el acceso y la permanencia en la educación y en el empleo de la población gitana. [We will adopt public policies aimed at improving access and permanence in education and employment of the gypsy population.] (PSOE, 2019a, p. 34)

Additionally, PSOE addresses the inequalities in the society through its political agenda by identifying the critical issues on the participation such as socioeconomic status and provides a wide range of opportunities in relation with the participation of the disadvantaged populations such as rural youth by emphasizing that they will promote a new agenda for easing the participation of young people in rural areas concerning employment as well as women.

Ciudadanos promotes the mobility of young people, which is in line with the social and cultural participation of young people by promising to provide young people free tickets make them able to discover Spain by traveling to different regions. Furthermore, it promotes young people's economic participation by providing aids to companies who are willing to

hire young people. (Cs, 2019) Comparing to PSOE, Podemos, and PP, Ciudadanos approach might be less focused on the social and political participation of young people though it promotes the cultural participation of young people.

Those statements and the strategies of PSOE, Podemos, PP, and Cs particularly demonstrate that the participation of the disadvantaged groups and young people is promoted though it has never been the case for Vox. Even though PP and Cs are contrary to the creation and operation of another language, for the case of Vox, it illustrates that it is in its extreme levels by demolishing the right to associate of particular groups who are democratically organized and did not involve any violent activities, in particular ethnic groups and women (Vox, 2019) which might result with the marginalization of the groups and exclusion of those groups from the society.

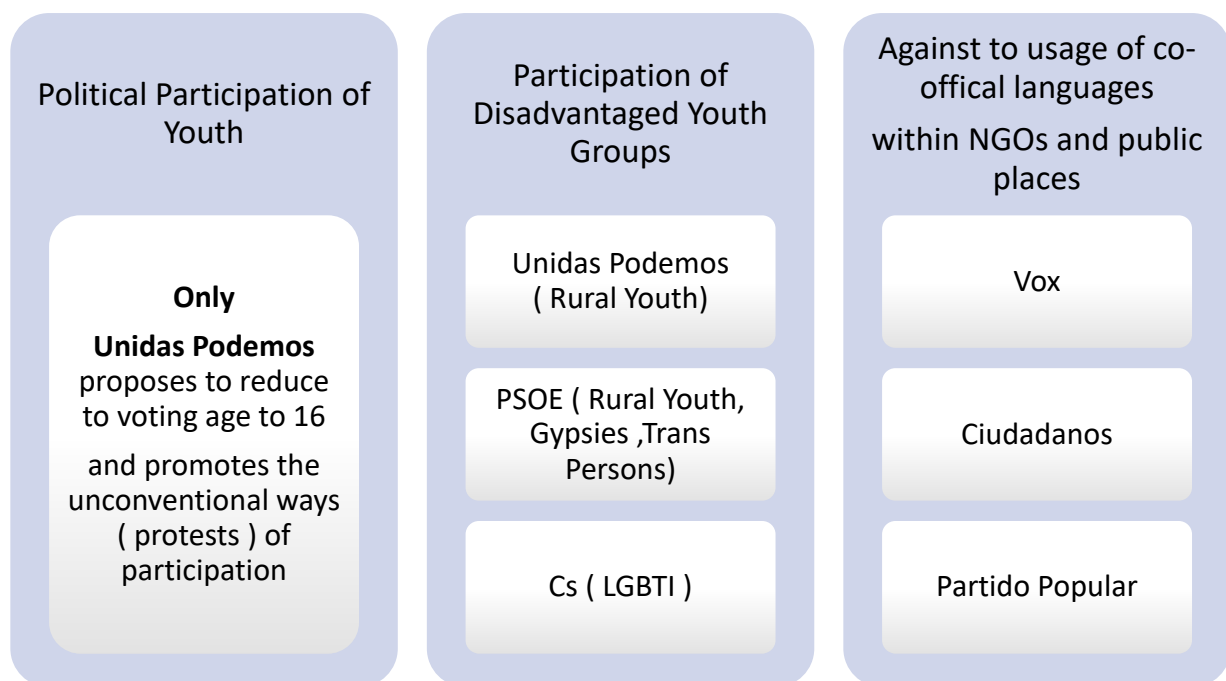


Figure 2 Policies related to Participation

In relation with the participation, as the statements in political agendas verifies that all political parties except Vox are in favor of participation within their electoral programs concerning to the involvement of the young people to the social, political and economic life by the instruments such reducing the age to be eligible to vote, providing spaces for the young people do activities, promoting their cultural involvement and promoting the mobility programs between different communities in Spain. For elaborating the fact that the most touched topic for the young people in the field of participation was mainly related to the

employment policies rather than their political or social participation or focusing on the issue of particular youth culture groups such as LGBTIs, women, or rural youth culture groups.

Education

Education is the main policy areas that mentioned by all political parties concerning the youth as the young people are mainly in the universities in Spain, the most policies concerning the education are focused on the education after the compulsory education process. The familialized citizenship continues to be an issue in all education policies of the parties as mainly the scholarship options are based on the income of the family rather than the individual himself. Moreover, the strategies regarding education are focused on reducing inequalities, which might be argued as reducing the class-risks between the generations through it is argued that the familialized citizenship aspect is not a way to do so. Furthermore, when the family is the first-hand welfare provider as the relation with the education, the social inequalities continue to exist through the generations as it cannot be eliminated only with the tailor-made policies for the disadvantaged groups as they will not be able to receive the same quality education as the families with low-income resources are not able to provide for the expenses coming with the education.

As it is previously mentioned, the Spanish education system is promoting the inequalities, individualism, and competition, that reality can be seen clearly within the electoral agendas which are focused on promoting the idea of “*best students*,” “*families with less resources*,” “*family income*” (PSOE, 2019a; PP, 2019; Unidas Podemos, 2019b; Vox, 2019; Cs, 2019). That results with the selective strategy on reaching the education concerning the involvement of the students to further education and makes it harder to reach to education for the students in low-income families.

..... que permitan a los mejores estudiantes estudiar donde escojan. [.....allow the best students to study where they choose.] (PSOE, 2019a, p. 26)

...el nuevo sistema de becas que dependerá en exclusiva de la posición económica. [... the new scholarship system,but will depend exclusively on the economic position.] (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 98)

Premiaremos a los alumnos que saquen buenas notas con matrículas más baratas en el siguiente curso. [We will reward students who get good grades with cheaper tuition in the following course.] (Cs, 2019)

Implantar un generoso y exigente sistema de becas para las familias con menos recursos.[Implement a generous and demanding scholarship system for families with less resources.] (Vox, 2019, p. 16)

The statements above within the electoral agendas of the parties are validating this fact that mainly the education policies and concerning the financial aspect of the education were and will be on the shoulders of the family and young people's autonomy would be in danger as their autonomy is depending on their economic independence which is not provided until they are involved in employment. Although education is considered as one of the fundamental rights for the people to involve in a meaningful life towards their life process, it can be argued that the right is hindered by making its reach depending on the income of the families and makes the young people make their choices according to their interest or wishes as an adult would do, then blocking their abilities to make decisions.

Furthermore, consideration might be given the fact that the intergenerational risks are the result of the Southern-welfare system, or it is a result of the long tradition of family, but in both cases is right in the Spanish scene. Education has its structural problems within the Spanish welfare system as it is argued before, but the electoral agendas with promises are not aligned to solve this issue, but it is aligned with putting the burden on the families and in favor of the continuation of the Southern welfare system as it is than before. Making the university education free, as Unidas Podemos stated (Unidas Podemos, 2019b, p. 22) might be a step forward to the solution to this problem. However, it is not a comprehensive long-term strategy as it is only focused on reducing the tuition fees but not abolishing them for the overall population.

For increasing the involvement to education, one of the indicators can be seen as the public expenditure on education policies which is touched upon by Unidas Podemos and PSOE within their political agendas by promoting the increase on the public expenditure on education from 4% to 5% concerning the GDP which will allow the educational institutions to promote and implement quality education for the young people, children even for the

adults. (PSOE, 2019a; Unidas Podemos, 2019a) This has not been stated in any other electoral agendas. The main agenda for all political parties is based on subsidiary mechanisms to the family's income.

Even though the education policies are shaped around to make young people dependent on their families, obligatory education is not. Concerning obligatory education, which is until the age of 16, PSOE supported the idea of providing the expenses that come with education such as free books, school supplies, canteen expenses, etc. along with Unidas Podemos (PSOE, 2019a; Unidas Podemos, 2019b). That shows the fact that education for the children is supported freely and accessible for the whole population rather than the people with income and on an equal basis in comparison to the policies in university education.

Overall, when we consider a young person whose ideas, beliefs, or values are not aligned with their families, they are in danger, as previously mentioned about the LGBTI youth. For example, when we consider a young people who want to study art, though that individual has outstanding grades from science and literature and family of this young person is wealthy and having a business and has a plan on individuals future such as making him related to business management otherwise threatens individual to cut-off individuals' expenses if that young person studies art. In this case, the scholarship opportunities, the housing aid are out of the equation as the family has wealth, and this individual cannot reach any of those aids. Because the decision-making on the autonomy of this individual is endangered as he/she cannot choose what studies he/she wants to involve autonomously. It can be argued that this is one of the issues in the Spanish welfare system as it depends on the family. The privileges of the state are coming as a subsidy to the family's socioeconomic status. Unless the young people are willing to involve the studies which his/her family is supporting him/her, then the young people is lack of the safety net and has to continue his/her life without the support of state or the family unless he/she decides to do the way that his/her family proposes to. Henceforth, the autonomy of the individual on reaching to education as a social right is endangered as like the other rights as all political party agendas are in line with this approach by putting the family on mainstream rather than the individual him/herself.

Even though, Unidas Podemos is proposing a universal income for each individual as 600 EURs by stating; *“Dinero suficiente para que nadie se quede atrás. [Enough money, so no one is left behind.”]* (Unidas Podemos, 2019b, p. 20) , it can be arguable that it might not be

enough for one individual to cover his/her expenses during the studies unless the university education is completely free. The universal income methodology can be a long-term solution to this problem to promote the autonomy of the individual and increase the reach of him/her to the opportunities and make his/her own decision regardless of the economic background. Furthermore, it can be a tool to promote and address the inequalities rose from the family-based welfare system in Spain.

Moreover, even though there is a small number of drop-outs after 16 years of age, PP states that the education after 16 years of age such as Baccalaureate and Professional Training mechanisms should be financed by state by stating: “Ampliaremos a todas las comunidades autónomas la educación concertada al Bachillerato y la Formación Profesional básica para que esta no sea una etapa que queda fuera del sistema de financiación actual. *[We will expand to all the autonomous communities concerted education for the Baccalaureate and Training Basic professional so that this is not a stage that falls outside the current financing system.]* (PP, 2019, p. 23) This policy can be considered as a tool to reduce the drop-out of the young people after the compulsory secondary education (ESO) in Spain. It promotes equal opportunities for young people aged between 16-18 who cannot involve in further education due to financial issues of their families.

PP, Cs, and Vox state that the choice of the schools should depend on the choices of the families where the students should take the education and promotes the concerted school system, which requires the involvement of the parent into the schooling system financially. (PP, 2019, p. 23; Vox, 2019; Cs, 2019) Concerted schooling system depends on the funding from the state and third-party such as the church or the family of the student, etc. (Andrés, 2016) In this case, contrary to the proposed policies in relation with the educational opportunities of the individuals, the inequality is inevitable between the parents who have low-socioeconomic status and higher socioeconomic status and the quality of the education received is as well one of the reasons that would create a long-lasting impact on the life of the young person while entering the university or involving in further education or even in employment. Therefore, it can be argued that this policy will hinder the participation of young people who are coming from low-income backgrounds into education in the long-run or not at the same level as the high-income socio-economic backgrounds.

One of the issues in the Spanish education scene is the language studies, as it is previously mentioned in Spanish Reality on Youth Education Chapter, only 39.9% of the young people are bilingual, which is 53.7% as the EU average. Concerning this issue, PP promotes the bilingual teaching qualifications in public universities by referring to the English-Spanish language pair by promoting the scholarship program for facilitating those studies in university education. (PP, 2019, p. 24) In addition to that, the homologation of foreign degrees in Spain is as well only proposed by PP to increase the involvement and promote the studies abroad. (PP, 2019, p. 25) Both policies are focused on up-skilling the students and in favor of increasing the quality of education as well as creating competitiveness for the unemployed young people in the job market.

Furthermore, the mobility between the Ibero-American education scene with Spain by promoting the mobility programs “*Reforzaremos el Espacio Iberoamericano de Educación Superior promoviendo programas de movilidad con incentivos para la atracción del alumnado.[We will strengthen the Ibero-American Space of Higher Education, promoting programs mobility with incentives to attract students. The years of study in Spain will be recognized when to obtain nationality.]*” (PP, 2019, p. 25) It can be argued positively that the mobility between the universities in Ibero-American scale will increase the quality education as well as increase the skills of the young people in this regard.

The inequality and selectivity are the concerning issues in each electoral agenda’s point by referring to the “best students” regardless that they have fewer opportunities or fewer possibilities until the university education due to factors. The most distinctive policy on that is put on place by PP as following: *Aprobaremos un Programa Internacional de Becas de Excelencia para que ningún joven español admitido en una de las 25 principales universidades del mundo pierda la oportunidad de formarse en esos centros.[We will approve an International Scholarship Program for Excellence so that no young Spaniard admitted at one of the top 25 universities in the world miss the opportunity to train at these centers.]*” (PP, 2019, p. 25) This policy supports the idea of the CDEJ (1999) stated as the one of the issues related to selectivity feature of the Spanish education scene.

Lastly, but most important issue in the education scene of Spain is related to the vocational education issues when it is considered that 41.6% of the young people are not involved in education after compulsory education activities. Regarding that, each political party promotes

vocational education opportunities and in favor of their linkage with the labor market needs. The following statements are the validating facts related to the topic of Vocational Education and involvement of young people to the vocational education opportunities :

“.....será gratuita. Tambien la formación profesional de cualquier nivel y los másteres necesarios para tener una profesión.. [will be free. Also vocational training of any level and the necessary masters to have a profession.]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019b, p. 22)

“Impulsaremos la Formación Profesional, tanto la Dual como la Básica y la Superior, como instrumentos clave para la inserción laboral de los jóvenes Promoveremos una adaptación continuada y flexible de estos estudios a las necesidades de un mercado laboral....”[We will promote Vocational Training, both the Dual as Basic and Superior, as instruments key to youth job placement continuous and flexible adaptation of these studies to the needs of a labor market...] (PP, 2019, p. 24)

A través del desarrollo del Plan Estratégico de Formación Profesional, fomentaremos una Formación Profesional adaptada a las necesidades del mercado laboral actual. [Through the development of the Strategic Plan for Vocational Training, We will promote vocational training adapted to the needs of the current labor market.] (PSOE, 2019a, p. 36)

The statements as mentioned earlier show the fact that the issues such as labor market and education consistency, the need on the provision of vocational education for the individuals who are coming from the low-socioeconomic background is going to be promoted in contrary to the selective and competitive nature of the Spanish education system. Though, the lack point is that the processes of the reach is not clearly defined within those electoral agendas but mentioned in general.

Besides the VET opportunities, PSOE proposes additional measures the young people living in rural areas to reach to the education opportunities by promoting a “*Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) [Política Agraria Común (PAC)]*” which mainly focuses on the agricultural training for young people and their employment in the rural areas by promoting the

agricultural production. (PSOE, 2019a, p. 41) Furthermore, CS promotes the additional aids (“*Complemento Naranja de 430 EURs [Orange Supplement of 430 EURs]*”) for the young people who are willing to involve further training on the professional formation (Cs, 2019), which promotes the involvement of the young people who have drop-out from the school due to economic or familial reasons.

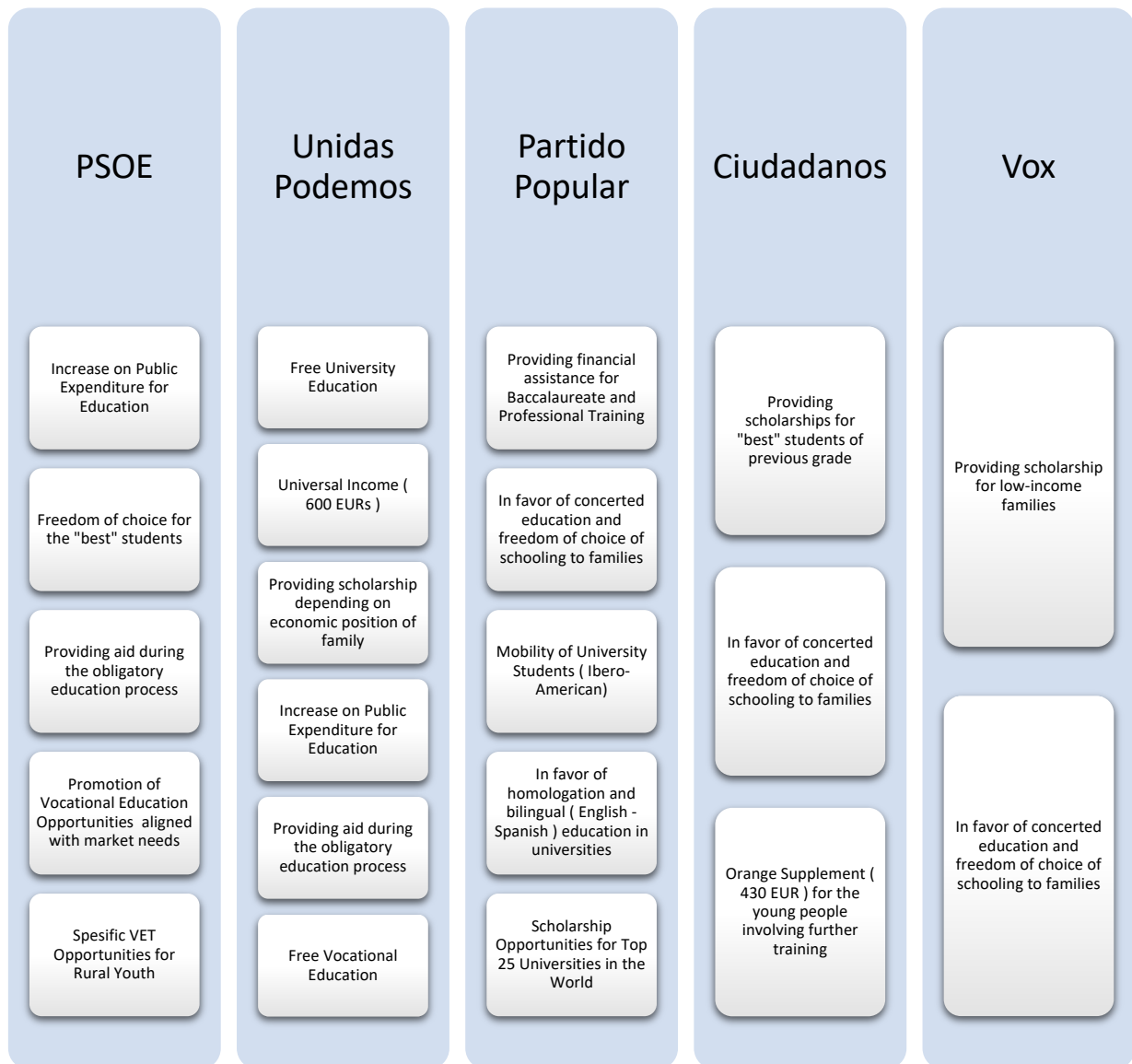


Figure 3 Education Policies in Electoral Agendas

The education scene for youth from the analysis of the electoral agendas shows the fact that the competition and the dependency on the family are persistent through the discourse of all political parties. Furthermore, the competition which results with the selective strategy rather than encompassing and empowering might be arguable that results with the long-term unemployment of young people as they are not able to reach the education opportunities in an

equal manner even before not only in university education. Henceforth, the autonomy of young people is in danger in all processes of education from the first day of their youth transition process until the end of it.

Employment

Employment has been one of the most significant issues in Spain as all parties are touched upon the issue of employment in their electoral agendas, though the selectiveness and competitiveness issue continues to be the central theme. Although, the job-insecurity, structural problems within the labor market, the first job opportunities of the young people promoted by the all political parties which are the crucial issues to be addressed for the young people as previously explained under the Spanish Reality on Youth, Employment section. When we consider the autonomy of the young people, employment is the first step of the emancipation of the young people from their family house, though the policies are not comprehensively addressing this issue. However, the involvement of the disadvantaged groups such as rural youth, gypsy, and LGBTI youth are promoted within the electoral agendas. On the contrary, all political parties, as previously mentioned in the Education section, again overlooked the *Ni-Nis*, which is the most excluded area when it comes to education, training, and employment.

Each political party has plans for the unemployment of young people by emphasizing the issue of the long-term unemployment and preparing young people to the market by increasing their skills through vocational education, dual training and increasing the public resources. It can be argued clearly that the problem of youth unemployment is taken into account by all political parties. The following statements show the fact that the already plans exist, which are highly criticized by scholars, as mentioned in Spanish Reality on Youth section in the employment chapter.

[Se reforzará el ya existente Plan de Choque para el Empleo Joven⁴, incrementando los recursos públicos en políticas activas de empleo, en educación y formación profesional y fomentando la formación dual.] The already existing Shock Plan for

⁴ The detailed information on Plan de Choque para el Empleo Joven[Shock Plan for Youth Employment] can be found here in Spanish: <https://www.sepe.es/HomeSepe/Personas/encontrar-trabajo/plan-de-choque-empleo-joven-2019-2021.html>

Youth Employment will be reinforced, increasing public resources in active employment policies, in education and vocational training, and promoting dual training. (PSOE, 2019a, p. 19)

Culminaremos la ejecución del Plan de Choque por el Empleo Juvenil acordado en 2017 entre el gobierno y los interlocutores sociales. [We will complete the execution of the Shock Plan by Youth Employment agreed in 2017 between the government and the social partners.] (PP, 2019, p. 20)

The plan as mentioned earlier is developed to increase the young people skills' and creation of a new economic model to promote productivity in the workplace as well as touches upon the issue which is the discouragement effect of the Spanish employment scene (SEPE, 2018) where the young people tend to give up work or involve in the studies more as they have a belief that they would not be able to find employment due to their age, studies, etc. That is why the Shock Plan for Youth Employment can be considered as a meaningful strategy for young people to increase their participation in economic life although it does not address the issue of the job-security of young people or the temporary work placements, which is quite mainstream among young people in Spain.

Protección especial por desempleo para jóvenes. El periodo de cotización exigido para tener derecho a la prestación por desempleo se reducirá a la mitad para menores de 30 años, al mismo tiempo que la duración de la prestación subirá de un tercio del tiempo trabajado a la mitad. Special unemployment protection for youth. The term contribution required to be entitled to the benefit for unemployment will be cut in half for people under 30, by same time that the duration of the benefit will rise from third of the time worked in half. (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 78)

As the job insecurity is one of the issues argued previously, it can be argued that the young people need particular policies to protect them from the vulnerabilities of the labor market of Spain as it is considered that the issue of youth unemployment is not only the fault of the young people, per se the fault of the labor market which is unstable. Therefore, the strategy put for young people's unemployment process by Unidas Podemos will increase their autonomy and emancipation from the family home as they will not have a fear of losing their

income even, when they do, they will have time to figure out new job opportunities in between.

Another strategy put in place about the youth unemployment issue is promoting the first involvement of young people in the job market. The following statements from Vox and Cs promote the involvement of the youth to the first employment by providing additional financial measures for the companies that hire young people.

Crear un dispositivo de “primer empleo” que exonere de las cargas sociales en la primera contratación de jóvenes menores de 24 años y por un período máximo de dos años. [Create a “first job” tool that exempts from social charges in the first hiring of young people under 24 and for a maximum period of two years.] (Vox, 2019, s. 12)

Garantizaremos una primera oportunidad laboral para todos nuestros jóvenes con un primer contrato de trabajo 100% bonificado durante el primer año. [We will guarantee a first job opportunity for all our young people with a first 100% subsidized employment contract during the first year.] (Cs, 2019)

It can be argued that those strategies might have a meaningful impact on the job-market as previously mentioned, that the young people in Spain are not able to find a job with the long-term contract as the companies consider that hiring a young person is risky. Furthermore, not only the companies have that point of view, but the young people see temporary job opportunities as a way to settle down a permanent job placement. From this point of view, to increase the young people's insertion to the job-market can be achieved with the policies as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, concerning the massive unemployment among young people, the financial aspect of these strategies might not be feasible to put in motion.

Another issue of young people in the employment scene is low-income. As young people are not receiving sufficient income to pay their rent and means to live for themselves, the low-income aspect of the labor market is hindering the autonomy of young people in Spain.

“Incremento del Salario Mínimo Interprofesional. Los sueldos dignos permiten tener futuros estables, permiten a nuestros jóvenes apostar por su emancipación y a nuestros adultos mantener a sus familias. [Increase in the Minimum Interprofessional

Salary. Living wages allow us to have stable futures, allow our young people to bet on their emancipation and our adults to support their families.]” (PSOE, 2019b, p. 4)

The statement above indicates the fact that the low-income issue is recognized and its relationship with the autonomy of young people as the income of the young people is lower than the other groups in the Spanish labor market. Unidas Podemos proposes another approach to this issue by putting the universal income for everyone regardless of their age or familial status for 600 EUR to reach more than 10 million people (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 93). Even though the main aim of this policy is to reduce the inequalities within the society, it might be argued that that has no impact on increasing the involvement of young people in the labor market.

After the crisis hit in 2008, the job security and stable employment issues are affecting not only the youth but the overall population. Thus, the issues of the labor market are structural, and the welfare system is focused on the dependency on the family, the policies are shaped around this reality. As PP states, “*Contribuiremos a la creación de empleo estable... todas aquellas personas que han dedicado su esfuerzo y su tiempo al cuidado de sus familiares dependientes [We will contribute to the creation of stable employment, of all those people who have dedicated their effort and their time in the care of their dependent relatives.]” (PP, 2019, p. 31). It can be argued that stable employment is necessary for the people who are taking care of their dependents such as young people. In this case, the focus of the policy is family than the young people who are left out relation with stable employment creation within this aspect.*

Education and employment are always complementary to each other, and their strategies are mostly aligned with each other per se the selectiveness and competitiveness of the education system of Spain reflect itself to the labor market by talent acquisition programs put in place. The opportunities focused on youth entrepreneurship than creating jobs are the signs of this approach. The young people who are left out from the job-market without sufficient skills are being put into the vulnerable position with these structures as the issues that they have in employment scene continues or like Unidas Podemos states as following by considering the right to employment, not a right but a thing to have luck on: “*con independencia de su suerte con el empleo o de su pensión.[....., regardless of their luck with employment or their*

pension.]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 93). This approach reflects the main structural problem in the employment scene related to youth.

Even though the policies put relation with unemployment and entrepreneurship are promoting competitiveness and selectiveness in the labor market, concerning the rural youth and the women, it is not the case. PSOE, PP, Cs, and Unidas Podemos have proposed policies concerning increasing the employment opportunities of young people living in rural areas by referring the young people who are leaving the villages.

Incentivaremos el emprendimiento y el trabajo autónomo de las y los jóvenes, con especial atención a las zonas más despobladas. Promoveremos el acceso de la juventud a las actividades agrarias que sufran especialmente por el vaciamiento poblacional. [We will encourage entrepreneurship and autonomous work of the young people, with special attention to the most unpopulated areas. We will promote youth access to agricultural activities which suffer especially by population emptying.] (PSOE, 2019a, pp. 36-37)

Apoyaremos el emprendimiento en el mundo rural: los autónomos que se den de alta en municipios de menos de 5.000 habitantes tendrán derecho una cuota superreducida de 30 € durante 2 años. [We will support entrepreneurship in the rural world: the self-employed who register in municipalities of less than 5,000 inhabitants will be entitled to a super - reduced fee of € 30 for 2 years.] (Cs, 2019)

As the young people in rural areas are often excluded from the job market and education due to their low socio-economic background, the policies concerning to them and increasing their skills are in favor of their participation in the economic, social, and political scene. Therefore, it can be argued that the promotion of the policies on employment and entrepreneurship in this regard by a specific focus on young people is in favor of increasing the young people's involvement as PSOE and Cs proposes.

Another aspect is focusing on not only the youth living in rural areas as well as the women whose involvement in employment is less than the involvement of the male population. Therefore, Unidas Podemos promotes the agricultural plan to address this disparity, not only the geographical disparity, as well as the disparity between the involvement of women to the

labor market by increasing the public expenditure to provide sufficient support for young people. (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 17)

The gender aspect of the employment is a world-wide issue related, and it is more visible on the countries where the service provision in the welfare state depends on the involvement of the family as the female member of the family assumes the role of caretaker of the other family members. For tackling this issue, PP, Podemos, and PSOE provide additional means for the families where the woman cannot involve in education or employment as she has to take care of the needs of the family members. (PP, 2019; PSOE, 2019b; Unidas Podemos, 2019b) Furthermore, Cs takes this issue by providing financial aid to the women and young people under 30 and the families who are self-employed by not requiring the payment of necessary taxes and fees for three years period after the birth of their children. (Cs, 2019) Both aspects are in favor of autonomy and increasing the involvement of young people, specifically young women, to the labor market.

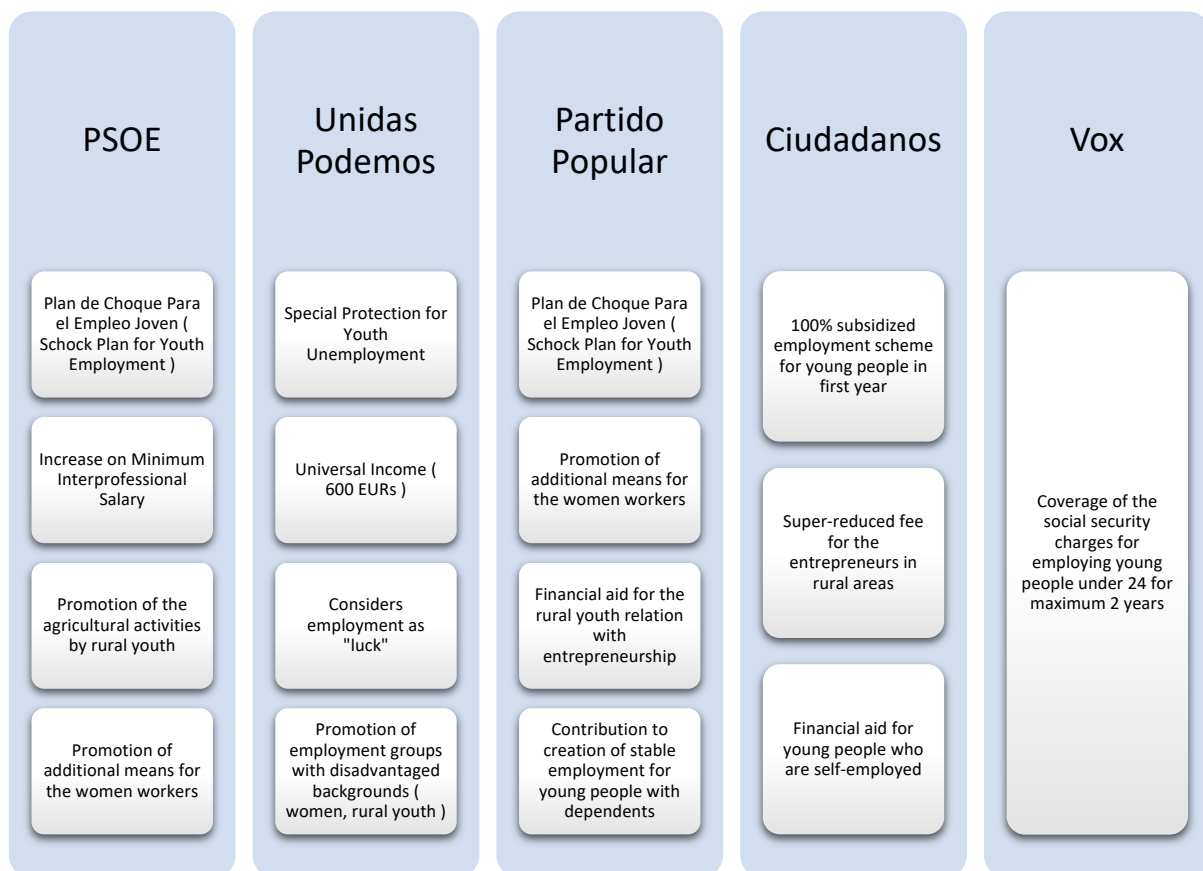


Figure 4 Employment Policies in Electoral Agendas

In the employment scene related to the youth, it can be argued that the electoral agendas are not answering the issues in a comprehensive manner related to the issues in the Spanish

employment scene. The discourse shows that the issue of youth unemployment is persistent in all electoral agendas. However, they do not provide long-term solutions and puts the burden still on the young people or promoting the involvement of the family to the process and not addressing the structural problems such as temporary jobs or job insecurity or the selectiveness of the market in relation with the involvement of the young people.

Despite the fact that the structural issues exist, the disparity between the education market and involvement in education as a refuge to not to involve in the job market is not addressed within the electoral agendas. It is worthy to say that those problems should be addressed comprehensively to increase the involvement of young people rather than providing financial aids to young people or companies to hire young people. It is arguable that the policies on a place such as “*Plan de Choque para el Empleo Joven*” are addressing those issues and are enough as they do not have any evaluation mechanisms to be evaluated about their efficiency while the problems on youth unemployment continue.

Health

Concerning to the education, employment, and participation, health issues on young people are mainly focused on tobacco, alcohol and drug abuse, traffic accidents and reproductive health as the Spanish health care system is universal for the citizens and the reach of young people to the health system is without any restrictions or depending on their involvement to the labor market or their family.

In relation with the tobacco and alcohol usage, Unidas Podemos, PSOE and Cs states as follows to tackle with the usage of tobacco, drugs, and alcohol by promoting the anti-smoking policies, expansion of smokeless environments (PSOE, 2019a, p. 28; Unidas Podemos, 2019a) and creating new strategies to create awareness on the issues of the smoking, alcoholism, drug abuse, and other addictions. (Cs, 2019) Those strategies are in line with the issues that the Spanish youth faces daily concerning health issues. Furthermore, Cs proposes a new strategy for promoting healthy eating habits among young people as well as promotes the involvement of young people in sports activities. (Cs, 2019) While those policies are put in place, Unidas Podemos (2019a, p. 62), promotes the decriminalization of cannabis to decriminalize the cannabis usage and control the usage and production of cannabis.

Another issue related to health focused on the electoral agendas is reproductive health. PSOE and Podemos focus on this issue by increasing the access of young people, especially young women, to reproductive health measures free basis (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, p. 34) (PSOE, 2019a, p. 22). On the other hand, it promotes the educational programs focused on reproductive health in the schools as it is in line with the current strategies and the policies implemented by the state. Concerning health, young people can reach the health system equal basis and issues that young people are facing in relation to health continues and addressed by the political parties in an equal manner. Especially when it is considered as “*Access to health services, in particular sexual and reproductive health and rights*” put as a priority area on Human Rights of Youth proposed by UN concerning the youth is adequately covered by political parties as mentioned above.

Housing

When it is considered that 81% of young people in Spain are still residing in their family homes, it is one of the mitigating factors of the young people to be autonomous as their right to housing depends on their families and it is widely covered by the political in their electoral agendas. PSOE, Podemos, and Cs focus on the housing issue of young people, particularly by stating as follows, not by referring to the issue of the young people living in family homes:

“..... viviendas asequibles que permitan la emancipación de nuestros jóvenes. [..... affordable housing that allows the emancipation of our young people.]” (PSOE, 2019a, p. 15)

“Impulsaremos nuevas figuras de cesión de uso de vivienda a la Administración, a cambio de una garantía suficiente de cobro y conservación de la vivienda, junto con formas alternativas de tenencia. La juventud tendrá un acceso prioritario a este parque de viviendas. [We will promote new figures of assignment of use of housing to the Administration, in exchange for a sufficient guarantee of collection and conservation of the housing, along with alternative forms of tenure. Youth will have priority access to this housing stock.]” (Unidas Podemos, 2019a, s. 90-91)

“Fijaremos las condiciones de acceso a un préstamo sin intereses para que los jóvenes puedan comprarse una vivienda en propiedad cubriendo parte del coste de la entrada del piso. [We will set the conditions of access to an interest-free loan so that young people can buy a home owned by covering part of the cost of the entrance to the apartment. It can be returned little by little through personal income tax.]” (Cs, 2019)

Despite the fact that those policies focus on the right to housing of young people in a particular manner by providing aid or creating new affordable opportunities or providing loans for the young people, they lack the perspective of reality or coherence with the needs of Spanish youth. As it is previously mentioned that the housing scene in Spain mainly depends on the family’s income rather than the young people, and the other issue is that the young people are not willing to pay rent but to buy the house as it is previously mentioned. Therefore, the policies of PSOE and Unidas Podemos are not reflecting the reality of Spain, and, arguably, the solutions that they have proposed regarding housing would have an impact. On the contrary, Cs policy has more feasibility as it is focused on interest-free loans for young people to buy a house up to 15.000 EURs (Cs, 2019) , and it is relevant to the Spanish reality.

On the other hand, the structural issue of the rental scene in Spain, as it is highly expensive, the rental market has too many free houses, and the price rises are abusive. (PSOE, 2019a; Unidas Podemos, 2019b)When it considered that young people have low-income resources, renting a house, or buying it becomes a dream in their life.

Therefore, social housing, in other words, public housing or using the current houses which are empty and used, become solutions to overcome this issue. (PSOE, 2019a; Unidas Podemos, 2019a; Cs, 2019) In contrary to that strategies, PP does not consider young people but consider the young people with the children as a primary beneficiary comparing to PSOE, Unidas Podemos by stating as follows:

Impulsaremos la oferta de vivienda de nueva construcción para alquiler asequible destinando suelo Las viviendas irán destinadas prioritariamente a familias con hijos. [We will promote the offer of new housing construction for affordable rent

using land The houses will go aimed primarily at families with children.] (PP, 2019, p. 42)

Arguably, the autonomy of young people depends on their leave from their family home, the policy that PP proposes supports the idea of young people living in their family homes which is one of the primary mitigating factors in front of the emancipation of young people. It can be considered that housing is one of the main issues concerning the young people in Spain, and the political parties widely consider it.

Conclusion

Young people are like acrobats walking on a tightrope where they have a safety net, which will save their lives if they fall from the rope. The safety net is sometimes the market, the family, or the state. These safety nets provide young people with the necessary means to get up and continue their road in the rope as equal citizens. However, when it comes to the nature of the safety net, such as family or market, the decommodification process of young people becomes in the hand of others than the young person himself. Due to the nature of the Spanish welfare system, this safety net, in other words, welfare provider, becomes family than the state or market. As a result of that, the young person suffers from different issues during the youth period, such as unemployment, long-lasting education, temporary jobs, and low-income as their citizenship or their rights depend on the socio-economic status of their families.

The policies concerning youth are developed and implemented to tackle those issues as the electoral agendas are the first step of this development process where the political parties sell their product/ideologies or their plans for the resolution of the issues to be elected. By giving the particular focus to youth, I have analyzed how these policies might create an impact on the issues of young people and their relationship with the current status quo of the Spanish reality. During the analysis, I have created links between the discourse created in electoral agendas and the youth discourse as well as the issues regarding youth. The most interesting finding among others was the role of the family in the Spanish welfare system and the provision of services. Even though it requires more in-depth research on the relation with political ideologies and reasons of choice on those policies, it can be said that regardless of political ideology, the family takes the central role on the service provision from education to housing and state acts as a subsidiary to the family.

The young people are, in essence, considered commodified objects instead of individual adults by all political parties. Moreover, the youth is considered as a transition process to become an adult through the electoral agendas by making references to the issues associated with the youth. Despite the aforementioned approaches to youth, the particular youth cultures such as rural youth, LGBTI youth, gypsy youth took their place in the electoral agendas. Thus, their issues such as employment and housing were addressed by PSOE, PP, Unidas Podemos, and Cs. Regarding the age strata, even though the majority of parties provided

those policies in different areas, they have considered the youth aged under 30 without a reference to the minimum age except Vox. It is as well remarkable that, there are several policy areas put for the young people by PSOE, PP, Unidas Podemos or Cs, though, in all over electoral agenda of Vox, youth was only mentioned once in relation with employment by referring to young people under 25, and the housing or health issues such as reproductive health were never mentioned within the electoral agenda.

Moreover, regarding the social citizenship of young people, according to T.H. Marshall's social citizenship ideal, the health issue is covered universally and provided as a right to be enjoyed by the Spanish state. Though, it has not been the case for housing for young people which is one of the issues as the housing right of young people in Spain depends on the provision of the family. While PSOE, Unidas Podemos, and Cs considered this issue as the issue of youth, PP considered to be provided for the family, and Vox did not mention it at all.

Furthermore, concerning the youth citizenship aspect by considering the fact that the provision of education is based on the family income than the individual and the labor market has competitive and selective nature in Spain, the youth citizenship in Spain falls into the category of denied youth citizenship according to Chavalier's typology. The astonishing fact that the electoral agendas of political parties are aligned with this status quo and do not address comprehensively the issues comes from it. Although Unidas Podemos, PSOE, and Cs have distinctive policies for youth cultures to change this situation, whilst looking at the overall picture, the issue remains.

In addition to that, due to structure based on the denied youth citizenship typology and the role of the family as welfare provider makes the class risks inevitable in society. As a young person inherits these risks, this welfare system consists of inter-generational risks as well. It is evident that the policies on overcoming these risks are necessary though, the proposed policies within the electoral agendas are subsidiary to the income of the family, but not the individual. Providing aids for education and housing for the young people coming from low-income families, subsidiary mechanisms for companies to hire young people in labor market can be considerable tools to eliminate these risks in society. Hence, it is arguable that this does not subsidize the needs of the young person who are under these class risks as young people are not able to involve in education or employment as freely as they are willing or participate any political party concerning to their own beliefs or the values due to dependency

to family. Thus, the policies provided are not promoting the autonomy of young people but the dependency on their families.

In conclusion, the policies are discussed concerning young people are continuing to be failing the young people due to their abandonment of youth and putting the burden of service provision to the shoulders of the family as a long-lasting tradition of the Spanish welfare system. I found it highly essential to analyze the possible reasons such as culture, the tradition of family, and the role of the market behind this long-lasting tradition, though it can be a topic of another research. The shortcoming of this research is that the discourse analysis could be done deeply by analyzing the webpages, press coverages of political parties, social media posts, or more elaboratively the speeches in the parliament with quantitative analysis software such as NVivo. I believe that this research might give a clear picture of the issues of youth in Spain concerning the human rights of youth and the approach of political parties to those issues.

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