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Concept Paper

CONTEMPORARY YOUTH RESEARCH IN ARAB MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES: MIXING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGIES

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SUMMARY

PRESENTATION

The main aim of this Concept Paper (CP) for the Project "Researching Mediterranean Arab Youth: Towards a new social contract" (SAHWA) is to show a conceptual guide for research as a whole. More than an established *map*, we conceive it as a *compass* in order to help us in the trip that we launch; or better as an *astrolabe* to ensure we do not sink, change the course for the different disciplines implicated in the research, and reach port. To do this we begin with the four basic questions that any scientific project must take into account. **Why we research** (academic, social and political reasons that warrant this study); **what we research** (the delimitation of our object of study in their thematic framework, and geographic context); **how we deal with** the complexities (the methods and techniques that we are going to use to collect representative data); and **for what reason** (the results that we expect, especially those of an innovative character or which shed light on theoretical, applied and contributory knowledge). These four basic questions serves as starting points to produce a 'know-how' perspective, which facilitates combining qualitative and quantitative methods, to shape a polyphonic 'mosaic' of youth population in Arab Mediterranean countries to contribute to providing primary data and outputs for researchers, the youth themselves and policy-makers in the region.

We should say at the outset that this is a research whose design, according to the selected project in the call of the 7FP, is based on what we deem as a **mixed methodology**. This is a methodology which merges quantitative (statistical data) with qualitative (ethnographic fieldwork), the macro (five Arab Mediterranean countries in their specific regional context) with the micro (their respective local and national contexts). Nevertheless, the data collection will be done separately, as the aim of the project is that the theoretical-methodological framework that produces the research questions (joint with background papers), and the subsequent comparative analyses, will be done in a coordinated and combined method. In this sense, it should be recalled that, irrespective of starting analyses of concrete realities, the project has a comparative purpose (because partners are involved in the five North African countries implicated in the research and also of several European countries), as well as having an interdisciplinary dimension (with the participation of research with different social science backgrounds: communication, economy, political sciences, sociology, anthropology, geography…).

We show the CP which is structured from the four scopes marked above (why, what, how and for what purpose), with different subsections which are thematically organized. In the first two sections, we introduce a state of art that outlines the main concepts, studies and tendencies in Youth Studies on a global scale (youth in a global era) and on a regional scale (Arab Mediterranean youth). The state of the art gazes, at the same time, the classical contributions and the recent discoveries about the topic (i. e. those which had been realized prior to and following the so-called "Arab Spring"). The third section introduces the main research questions and a question related to the different thematic axis as a collaborative work developed during the discussions on the different background papers in Rabat meeting. The fourth section shows the general methodological framework of the project, which should allow us to coordinate the quantitative and qualitative approach of the research. The fifth

section presents what is expected from the project in relation to the different issues involved. As a final point, we gather the references which cover the cited authors in the text and other complementary references, thematically organized (Youth Studies, Arab youth before and after the "Arab Spring" and Methodology).

Finally, it is necessary to note that some questions discussed in the Background Papers have been left out, such as the crosscutting issues (gender, mobility and policies) and, above all, with regard to the methodologies of the survey (treated in a general modus, integrated with the rest of the techniques of data collection, but without entering the specific design).

This Concept Paper can be understood as a starting point of the SAHWA project as result of the discussion of the first draft of the text in the Rabat Seminar (June 2014) and will later be used after the Tunis Seminar (November 2014) in the survey and ethnographic fieldwork as conceptual guidelines. Our appreciation to all partners and members of the Scientific Advisory Panel and Task Force members for their contributions to develop this paper and especially to National Ethnographic Fieldwork Coordinators - in particular to Fadma Aït Mous-, Iván Martín, Elena Sánchez and Moussa Bourekba for their comments and suggestions on the first draft, and Sykva Kovacheva for their clarifications on mixed methods.

CONCEPT PAPER

1. WHY? RESEARCHING YOUTH IN THE GLOBAL AGE

If youth as a social group has become the undisputable emerging actor in Arab-Majority Societies after the so-called 'Arab Spring', youth as a research category has increasingly called the attention of researchers of all disciplines specialized in the area (Deeb and Winegar, 2012).[1] However, research categories and concepts, research methodologies and the fitting of these into the wider field of youth studies worldwide are far from settled. Indeed, as research on Arab youth is increasing, there is a subsequent growing need for conceptual clarification to specify the terms that are often mobilized for research purposes.

With these two keys in mind –youth as a social research category and young protagonist in recent social changes in Arab Mediterranean Societies- the SAHWA project seeks to explore norms and social values, public policies on youth, economic circumstances and the role of youth cultures in the Arab Mediterranean countries from a comparative and critical perspective. Its intention is to build upon previous research, employing a pro-active approach that views youth's values and cultures as a potential tool for the exercise of their agency, a general perspective of youth everyday life in five Arab countries. In this way, the norms, social values, economic challenges and political participation phenomena can be assessed according to the critical nodes emerging from encounters of the local with the global, conceptualized as "the increasing interconnections between youth across the world and their awareness of such connections" (Schafer, cited in Hansen 2008). It aims to apply theoretical approaches and methodologies with regard to youth concept built in other geographies and subsequently applied to Arab Mediterranean societies in order to precisely establish their specificities and particular characteristics so that it will be helpful to develop more precise theoretical tools in youth research. Hence, here is one of the main research questions: What factors, conditions, productions or values are specificities of social construction of youth in Arab Mediterranean societies? What are the differences and similarities of being young in Arab Mediterranean countries in relation to other parts of the world?

Accordingly, it has become clear that the current challenge for social science research is to map the new contours of these changing times and the roles being played by various social

[1] Following Deeb and Winnegar: "given the thorny issues of defining a "field," we decided to focus on Arab-majority societies to chart shifts in scholarship since Abu-Lughod's (1989) piece on the "Arab world." We use the term "Arab-majority societies" because it avoids associations of insularity and homogeneity: Which other groups have a regional "world" ascribed to them? Nonetheless, this focus acknowledges the importance of "Arab" as a meaningful social and political construction in such societies (note the salience of the category "Arab" in the ongoing revolutions), one that affects social life for Arabs as well as for ethnic, [religious] or linguistic minorities" (Deeb and Winnegar, 2012: 538). Moreover, the selected countries for research –Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Egypt and Lebanon- contains the major social, economic, political, demographic and cultural diversities present of this geographical area as a whole. Nevertheless, at the same time, we cannot forget the internal socio-cultural differences between Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria and Tunis) and Mashreq countries (Lebanon and Egypt). Taking into account all these disparities, these five countries are located on the shore of Mediterranean Sea; as a result, we can define our selected nations as Arab Mediterranean Majority-Societies; in short, we define them as Arab Mediterranean countries, as a designation that facilitates the dissemination and communication outreach of the project.

agents such as youth in Arab Mediterranean societies. Consequently, our aim here is to establish some main points about theoretical perspectives and transversal uncertainties that make up youth's diverse realities in Arab Mediterranean countries, which will be intertwined with survey and ethnographic fieldwork, and subsequent analysis. Therefore, we will first clarify some methodological issues and the urgings to research young people in Arab Mediterranean countries, beyond their protagonist in the so-called Arab Spring. In spite of this, we are taking into account that Algeria and Lebanon as selected research countries have not witnessed massive uprisings.

1.1. Main reasons to research young people in Arab Mediterranean societies

A few months subsequent to the Egyptian uprising, the anthropologist Salim Shahine recognized the decisive role of the contemporary generation of youths played in the event with this phrase: "Egyptians of all ages express their admiration for young people and their revolution, and we are defined in relation to those kids" (Shahine, 2011:2). Hence, the first uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt caught European governments and institutions by surprise. There was a temptation to assimilate some movements with those that had taken place in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s or those that were erupting in Southern Europe since the year 2008, in a new variety of old orientalism described by Said (1978). Yet, while in these two cases, youth from the urban middle classes were leading the demonstrations, in Arab Societies the leadership came from mixed-origins in both the social dimension and the generational dimension (Abouelleil Rashed, 2011; Bayat, 2011; Haenni, 2011; Alwazir, 2012).

In Egypt, Tunis and Yemen, the protest did not emerge from any institutional framework, however, it had a socio-economic dimension and the participants with an individual basis made up a civil disobedience (Knickmeyer, 2011; Abdalla, 2012). This young generation, during the past decade, was using old and new social networks to demand better living conditions, fair and democratic governance, respect, dignity and individual freedom (Haenni, 2005; Al Sayyid, 2009; Onodera, 2011; Floris 2012; Singerman, 2013; Sánchez García, 2014a).[2] Therefore, the young men and women protagonists in the ongoing uprisings have sparked and increased research into Arab youth; however, it will need to develop strong approaches to youth so as to avoid the thinness which characterizes media attention on the subject. As a result, young people become an agent in social change that, in many cases, they have not had their aspirations fulfilled, and some of them ask themselves "where is the Revolution?" (Agrama, 2011; Abdalla, 2012; Floris, 2012; British Council and American University in Cairo, 2013). In consequence, after three years of the so-called Arab Spring[3], it

[2] As Sylvie Floris remarks: "These new means [electronic social networks] exist in parallel to older networks that have long structured social interaction in Arab countries despite the control and pressure exerted by the regime in power" (Floris, 2012: 108). These social networks –physical and virtual at same time- represent a counter discourse against regimes that extend it transversally to diverse social groups, and age cohorts (Sánchez García, 2014).

[3] We are aware of the controversy raised by the term 'Arab Spring' to refer to the period of political change that opened, paradoxically, in the winter of 2010 in Tunisia. However, its use is justified in a communicative purpose. Academic institutions and mass media have established this term, which refers to a historical period that we do not consider closed. Moreover, two –Algeria and Lebanon- of the five selected countries for research purposes have not endured riots or uprisings.

is necessary to investigate the social consequences and transformations in Arab societies, especially those designated and deemed as being the main protagonist: the youth.

If we take into account the Arab Societies' demographics, as a consequence of rapid transition, a great portion of the population is located in the social space and cohorts defined as 'youth': this produces a so-called "youth bulge" (Population Council, 2011; Schielke, 2011; Austin, 2011; Zagaglia, 2012; LaGraffe, 2012). Nevertheless, beyond this demographic evidence and despite their diverse social, economic, religious, political and ideological dimensions of youth population, it is necessary to clarify the metonymical representation of Arab youth from the so-called 'activist youth' or 'revolutionary youth' as being a key factor in the emergence of such popular revolts. As some researchers have pointed out, not all young people are embracing and taking part in demonstrations and riots. Consequently, these tags cannot define an important part of the Arab young populations. The youth participation and no participation in revolts presents the diversity that youth populations have in the region. As an example, Alwazir describes the young protesters in Sana' as 'independent youth'. These are non-political militants and majoritarian residents in poor and slum areas (Alwazir, 2012). In Cairo, street kids, ambulant vendors and hooligan fans had a special role in the mobilizations and clashes with riot police (Sánchez García, 2014; Poupore, 2014) In Tunis, the "youth army" also came from poor urban and rural areas moving towards the capital (Knickmeyer, 2011). However, the mainstream representations are silencing and invisibilizing these and other ways of being young in Arab Mediterranean Societies. How can we go on from this media metonymical representation of 'Arab youth', which forget other young realities in Arab Mediterranean countries? In addition, following Mannheim (1959), can we talk of the so-called 'Arab Spring' as a 'situation' that breaks with the historical continuity and marks a 'before' and 'after' in community life which shapes a 'generation' in the entire region including Algeria and Lebanon?

In this sense, it is necessary to contextualize the Arab Mediterranean Youth within a generational paradigm of youth as a continuity or rupture between generations when their expectations are not met (Beck and Beck-Gersheim, 2010 [2003]). Moreover, and more significantly, members of an age group experience these discontinuities at a stage in their lives where the socialization process is not complete according to the adult-centrist discourse. Following Murphy, we can attempt to compose a complex view of Arab youth understanding that young people in the region "move in and out of this generational narrative fluidity – experiences like unemployment, delayed marriage or political frustration draw people in, but the patchwork composition of contemporary youth identities means that nothing is set in stone" (Murphy, 2012: 15). For this purpose, it is inexcusably necessary to apply what anthropologist Donna Haraway (1988) called 'situated knowledge': an approach that allows us a decolonization of the established knowledge about realities differentiated from Western realities. This means that we cannot approach the Arab Mediterranean youth without to use conceptual categories saturated with local meanings. These significances are constructed in social realities that contain, besides their own ingredients, their own secular elements derived from a modernization process that contributes to give sense to both individual and collective actions (Asad, 1990).

1.2. Youth Studies as interdisciplinary focus on young people lives

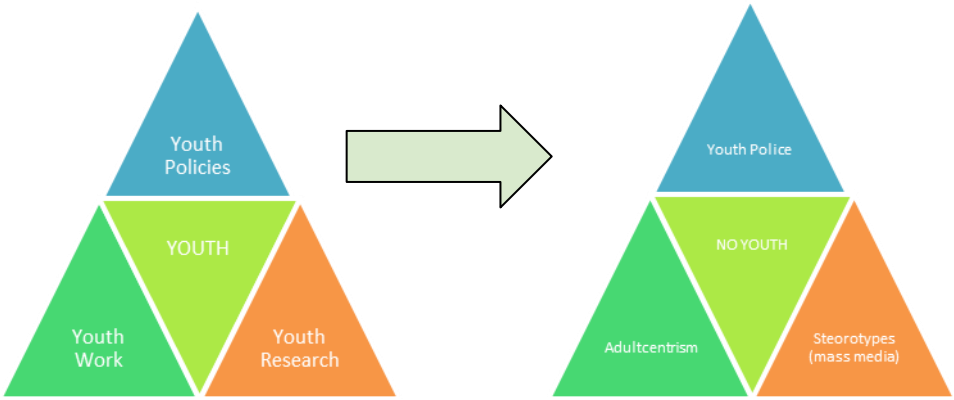
Youth Studies has been developing as "an emerging integrated field of youth research, youth policy and youth work" (Chisholm et al., 2012: 11); according to our point-of-view, coming through a critical perspective of youth as a social category by way of Youth Studies have established in Europe. In this sense, the emergence of the concept of youth can be situated on the course from the preindustrial to the industrial society, with the introduction of modernisation as a research category, especially after World War II (Gillis, 1974; Kovacheva and Wallace, 1998; Bauman, 1991; Beck and Beck-Gersheim, 2010; Furlong, 2009, 2013; Furlong, Woodman and Wyn, 2011; Chisholm et al., 2011).

This research category is imbedded in a process of the creation of a dialectic order through which a thinking framework is established. This framework makes up shared knowledge according to the particular 'truth' from the social consensus imposed upon this social category. Consequently, an interpretation system of social categories is settled which determines the modes of apprehending the category (as youth could represent) in a given space and time that operates unconsciously. This interpretation system is the 'unthinkable' from which 'it' –youth- is thought (Foucault, 1968). These frameworks influence the experience of knowledge production, ways of thinking and discursive production on youth. Moreover, all these productions support the emergence of an associated 'tekné' formed by all the social institutions and mechanisms that help to govern the 'youth' triangle.[4]

The theoretical foundation of this framework is the notion of the "Magic triangle", or the necessary synergies established between governments; civil society and academia, a notion developed by authors such as Lynne Chisholm, Filip Coussée and Howard Williamson (see Chisholm, Kovacheva and Merico, 2011). At the centre of the triangle are the young people, individually or organised in groups. In the first vertex, are public authorities, responsible for formulating, legislating and implementing youth policies. In the second vertex is academia, whose main function is to generate knowledge regarding young people; it has ceased to be an external actor and become a subject with direct involvement. In the third vertex is civil society, responsible for intervention in the world of young people, via youth organisations and professionals whose role is to implement youth action. Exchanges take place between the three vertices; they are not always symmetrical, but are necessarily multidirectional, in which everyone learns from everyone else. When these exchanges are numerous, fertile or positive, the result is to strengthen areas for youth participation and to strengthen youth public policies. When these exchanges are scarce, sterile or negative, the magic triangle can become a Bermuda Triangle, where young people go from being the subject to the object; becoming invisible or disappearing symbolically and physically from centre stage. Therefore, youth policies suffer cutbacks or are subordinated to security policies; research is reduced to or feeds on media stereotypes; social work with young people depends on the basis of volunteering and austerity (Oliart and Feixa, 2012; Soler, Planas and Feixa, 2014).

[4] Foucault defines "tekne, i.e., a rationality with a practical intention governed by a conscious objective" (Foucault, 2009: 110)

Figure 1. The magic triangle of Youth Studies could transform into a Bermuda Triangle



Source: Feixa, In Soler, Planas & Feixa (2014)

Thus, the perspective of Youth Studies develops an interdisciplinary approach to the realities of the young. The link between the policy agenda, media concerns and the research agenda enables the implementation of theoretical debates within different subject areas (Furlong, 2009: 2013). This broad and dynamic perspective, as cutting edge, might be established in certain methodological approaches. Firstly, a perspective on youth is necessary which considers it a **stage on life cycle** fixed in certain cultural models and discourses about youth in a particular space and time, which shape youth as a social category established in some social markers.

Secondly, as a **research category**, youth contains several dimensions related to different topics that it is necessary to integrate them into a holistic perspective (Furlong, Woodman, and Wyn 2011). In this sense, class, gender and space –as crosscutting topics in the SAHWA project- are essential to understand the youth diversity in every society (Griffin, 2011). Related to youth dimensions, several authors stress the significance in transitions to adulthood of three focuses: education, employment and political participation (Wallace and Kovacheva; Kovacheva, 2008; Furlong, 2009; Tholen, 2012; Leccardi and Feixa, 2012). This triple transition aftermath of the famous tripartite division of the life cycle: preparation for personal life, professional life, and citizenship (Kohli, 1985).

Similar hypothesis, adapted to the characteristics of the region, can be tested regarding the Arab Mediterranean countries. Hence, we attempt to integrate the understanding of European experiences of youth employment, political participation and gender equality with similar scenarios in the Arab Mediterranean societies, remembering that, unlike the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe, in countries of Maghreb and Machreq the number of people under 25 years old account for over 60% of the population. Nevertheless, when comparing the strategies and aims of youth in Europe and in the Arab Mediterranean region one should take into account the important differences in economic resources, education, values, cultural and social contexts. The generational differences in the model of transition to adulthood in each country, takes different rhythms. In the region, public investment in education, percentage of young people with higher education, unemployment rates according to levels of education, urban rural differences, the possibility of emigration, the role of the family, the penetration of the Internet and social networks, the scenario of precarious jobs in the informal economy among others are differential factors that must be taken into consideration.

Moreover, these differences can be observed in three different domains. First, there is the role played by new and old social networks and new information technologies. Second, both the urban middle classes and the lower social strata of urban societies in Arab Mediterranean countries have begun to suffer comprehensive "downgrading". Hence, insecurity and risk (financial, labour, housing, emotional, health, etc.) and the fear of a scenario of "no-future" are new factors that have penetrated into the daily lives of young people, and not only them. Finally, the role of the under-privileged groups in the protest movements has revealed a knowledge gap in research conducted in the region, traditionally engaged in seeking social situations comparable to the realities of other societies with traditions far from the societies of Arab Mediterranean region, forgetting some of their crucial specific features.

In connection to the triple transition and exclusion/inclusion process, a significant question arises. What is the capability of Arab youths to decide about the orientation of their transitions? In social sciences, coming from social work, the capability of the individual and groups to make decisions which have an impact on their own lives have been entitled to empowerment. The definition and the orientation of the project related with this concept have been an important debate in SAHWA community. The main discussions have been correlated to the role of the project in the hypothetical process of empowering young people in Arab Mediterranean countries. Hence, it seems necessary to make some remarks on empowerment concept. Empowerment, in its most general sense, refers to the ability of people to gain understanding and control over personal, social, economic and political forces in order to take action to improve their life situations (Israel et al., 1994). It is the process by which individuals and communities are enabled to take power and act effectively in gaining greater control, efficacy, and social justice in changing their lives and their environment (Solomon, 1976; Rappaport, 1981, 1985; Minkler, 1992; Fawcett et al., 1994; Israel et al., 1994). Central to empowerment process are actions which both build individual and collective assets, and improve the efficiency and fairness of the organizational and institutional context which govern the use of these assets.

Czuba (1999) suggest that three components of empowerment definition are basic to any understanding of the concept: empowerment is multi-dimensional, social, and is a process. It is multi-dimensional in that it occurs within sociological, psychological, economic, and other dimensions. Empowerment also occurs at various levels, such as individual, group, and community. Empowerment is a social process, since it occurs in relationship to others, and it is a process along the continuum. Other aspects of empowerment may vary according to the Arab context and young people, but these three remain constant. Nevertheless, these three general dimensions cannot conceal the specific social, economic, political and gender conditions for young empowerment in Arab Mediterranean countries. Consequently, in the aim of the SAHWA project there is the objective of assessing the regional conditions of the youth empowerment process related to our triple transition definition in both individual and collective conditions without transforming the project into an empowerment agent.

Thirdly, this perspective will be completed through the **policy view on youth**. In this sense, traditionally, young people have been conceptualized as being a special kind of population and the notion that young people constituted a “problem” and were a cause of social disruption because of their distance and independence from established cultural patterns and

norms (Hareven, 1976).[5] This is a consequence of the modernity development, which involves the capacity to control, punish and put under surveillance those defined as a special kind of population as young could be (Foucault, 2004). In short, the category of youth is a product of modernity, which depends on the development of the professional bureaucratic power, industrial society and enlightenment rationality. First, youth is a calibrated numerical age and a series of particularly defined features. As a population, young people appear as a 'normativized' group of people that some modern social theories have helped to create defining their characteristics, including the divisions between male and female youth as natural and functional categories. Furthermore, as a consequence, youth is a 'biological life stage' assuming that youth is a necessary universal stage to build complete adults; this is a problematic age stage, which is necessary to control in order to become an adult according to the hegemonic social values in a particular time and space (Corrigan, 1979; Furlong, 2009; Griffin, 2011). Research on living conditions and labour opportunities for young people in Arab Mediterranean countries is a priority for policy-makers involved in establishing transnational cooperation between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Comprehensive youth policies appear as one of the most important strategic challenges to stabilize the region.

Finally yet importantly, it is necessary to take into account **youth work**. In Europe, youth work is understood to be the set of professional and voluntary activities to attend youth, especially those who are members of vulnerable segments (Coussée, Williamson and Verscheldel, 2012). The traditional orientation, from an adult-centric approach, is centred on the activities and means offered by civil society (NGOs, religious groups, youth associations, and so on) and professionals (social workers, youth workers and so on). The contemporary orientation, from a youth-centric approach, also includes the creative and voluntary (also informal) activities that make up young people themselves; this is to say what has been called youth cultures (Feixa, 2012).[6]

As Melucci says, 'young people are experts on themselves, the only ones who can tell us about what is happening and what is changing in their culture, their way of being and their relations with life and reality' (Melucci, 2001). Consequently, as several authors remark, the analysis of education, economic and political dimensions that shape the lives of young people is not sufficient in building up a full understanding of the characters and tendencies of youth condition in every socio-cultural and geographical context (Miles, 2000; Hansen, 2008). Because of this, it is significant to pay attention on youth works and cultural productions, if not, the youth mosaic could possibly result in a Bermuda Triangle, see above. "It is through the study of youth culture that we build an awareness of the ways young people interpret, construct and shape their lives within a given set of circumstances" (Furlong, Woodman and

[5] Both side of this conceptualization is embedded in the draft of 2013 Egyptian Constitution in the article 82 and 244. The Article 82 understand young as special population with their own necessities and explain: "the state guarantees the care of youth and young children, in addition to helping them discover their talents and developing their cultural, scientific, psychological, creative and physical abilities, encouraging them to engage in group and volunteer activity and enabling them to take part in public life. In the Article 244, youth is associated with another 'problematic' kind of person: "The state grants *youth, Christians, persons with disability and expatriate Egyptians* appropriate representation in the first House of Representatives to be elected after this Constitution is adopted in the manner specified by law"

[6] While in Europe youth work is placed in the third sector activities (NGOs) and in the consumption market (youth subcultures), in the Arab Mediterranean countries it is probably more related to religious organizations, kinship nets and to the informal everyday life in the urban popular neighbourhoods.

Wyn, 2011: 357). This means to recognize that the diversity of youth groups are rooted in different variables and dimensions: economic, social, parental, gender, ethnic, religious. Therefore, it is difficult to give a definition of youth without falling into an essentialist schema. Thus, this is not the objective of this concept paper. More than this, our objective has problematized "youth" as a social category in Arab Mediterranean countries as a starting point to the research. Contemporary researchers on youth cannot be "like medieval Ptolemaic astronomers; spend our time trying to fit the facts of the objective world within a conceptual framework created a priori, rather than from observation" (Leach, 1971: 48).

For SAHWA purposes, the young condition could be understood within a framework of intersections between class, gender and location that improve the opportunities for young people (Griffin, 2011). The context of opportunities is extremely important as this can influence how education, employment, training, political participation and social inclusion are accessed in order to assess young empowerment. Pointed out, post-colonial theorists have made an important contribution to our understanding of young people's emerging forms of identity, subjectivity and forms of belonging at a time of rapid social and cultural change in western societies (Kearney, 1988; Bhabha, 1990; Gilroy, 1993; Spivak, 1988). These new frameworks enable us to move beyond the reductive paradigm to make sense of new identities, decentred subjectivities and hybrid cultures. Bringing together youth studies, gender studies and post-colonial analysis enables us to conceptualize the responses to the processes of changing definitions of young people by viewing them as a set of narratives of 'self-production' that are dispersed through a multiplicity of power relations.

2. WHAT? YOUTH STUDIES AND THE CATEGORY OF YOUTH IN ARAB MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

In this section, our discussion moves on to the construction of youth in Arab Mediterranean countries as social and research category. Firstly, our focus will be on the construction of hegemonic discourses and, especially, on how these narratives affect the social production of youth. Subsequently, we discuss youth as a life stage taking into account the social markers and cultural images that make up the social category; and finally we introduce some social dimensions which influence the everyday life of young people in the area of research.

In Arab Mediterranean Societies, until the first decade of XXI century, youth was a key variable in the analyses of education, employment, politics, gender, policies and mobility for several disciplines (El Messini, 1974; Rough, 1987; Singerman, 1994; Early, 1997; Bayat, and Denis, 2000; Hirschkind, 2001; Haenni, 2005; Jacob, 2007; Scheele, 2007; Newcomb, 2009) but few works were produced about youth as an explicit research category in Arab Mediterranean countries. In recent years, coming from different disciplines within the social sciences, several scholars maintain a critical standpoint toward the construction of youth as a category in scholarly and political discourses and projects. They demand attention on youth material culture, negotiation of youth space, gender relations, economic and political participation, and youth's social construction of reality (Assaad and Roudi-Fahimi, 2007; Meneley 2007, Schielke 2009, Konig, 2009, Peterson 2010, Sukarieh & Tannok 2008; Salehi-Isfahani, and Dhillon, 2008; Haenni, 2010; Al-Momani, 2011; Ibrahim and Hunt-Hendrix 2011; Roudi, 2011; Deeb & Harb 2012; Swedenberg, 2012, Singerman, 2013). In this sense, The Arab Spring and interest in the young population provide a unique opportunity to apply discoveries and perspectives on youth in Arab Mediterranean societies. As we had seen before, Youth Studies addresses the complex dynamics of the social construction of youth and it could therefore be an excellent strategy for researching the young people of Arab Mediterranean countries.

In arguing the legitimacy of Youth Studies perspective, it is necessary; to take into account that modernisation followed different routes across Arab Mediterranean countries. This means that when analysing the concrete experiences lived by young populations, we must also pay attention to differences between other countries as well as, even within the same country, between gender, social classes, places, ethnicities and their hybrid cultural production and representations. Necessarily, therefore, our method will be to compare and contrast. In the following pages, we will discuss the situation of youth research in the area related with 'Youth Studies' perspective trying to point out the main debates on models and discourses, youth as a life cycle (including social markers) and social dimensions that is building youth as a research category.

2.1. Modernities of Arab Mediterranean countries

As stated above, following several authors, youth as a social category emerges at the transition from preindustrial to industrial society. In this sense, in the second decade of the 21st Century, Arab Mediterranean societies are no longer entirely pre-modern, modern or post-modern (Ambrust, 2000; Gole, 2006; Scheele, 2007; Haenni, 2009; Singerman and

Amar, 2009; Peterson, 2011; Agrama, 2012). The trend in the social structures of the Arab countries seems to consolidate differences by economic criteria, occupations and authority similar to those established in Western societies. Nevertheless, in European society individualization was a consequence of the modernization process and provoked a loss of class solidarity and the traditional support networks as kinship and community. On the other hand, in Arab Mediterranean countries the consequences of modernization process coexists with social groups in which individual interests were subordinated to group interests and the scope for independent decision-making is fewer for young populations (Bayat and Denis, 2000; Assad, 2003; Agrama, 2012; Floris, 2012).

Rooted in a perspective that emerges in a transcultural and post-colonialist orientation, to analyse modernity and the modern have emerged in conjunction with non-Western contexts such as the Arab Mediterranean countries embody. The disciplinary interest is to de-construct the discourses, meanings, and projects of the modern across cultural and historical backgrounds. The significance of this theoretical and empirical research has been to challenge the conceptualization that "modernity and 'secularism' both originate in and are determined by 'the West', while recognizing the inescapability of entanglements with the West in shaping engagements with the modern for people in this region. These examinations of modernity have drawn from a range of theoretical perspectives" (Deeb and Winegar, 2012: 541). In this sense, mainly postcolonial theorists' move off narratives about history, discourses and subject-making processes. Their criticisms of Western colonialism have been especially persuasive (Babha, 1999; Asad, 2003; Agrama; 2012).

Pointed in this direction, a suggestive orientation to understand the construction of discourses on youth would be the de-colonisation theoretical perspective developed by Anibal Quijano for the Latin American context. Following their theoretical perspective, it seems necessary to understand the Arab Mediterranean countries as a historical structural formation with their own heterogeneity in a regional perspective, in order to be able to understand the production process of the youth. Quijano defines this framework as 'historical-structural heterogeneity': "a model of power with discontinuous relations and conflicts among its components" (Quijano, 1989: 122). This concept could be useful in order to focus on the characteristic mode of consensus formation in a specific society around a social category that youth might represent. Moreover, it appears as a structure that helps to construct a discursive process of hegemonization understood as a combination of specific structural and contrasting patterns whose origins and nature are very different from each other. Thus, a 'historical structural heterogeneity' refers to "all social existence, or 'society' or 'culture' or 'civilization' as a configuration of elements that come from very different histories and geographies, or 'space/time' and relate to each other, even in a conflicting way, but forming an active structure" in a particular context (Quijano, 1989: 132).

In short, from an adult-centrist perspective we can describe three main discourses in this structure.[7] Firstly, a secular discourse formed specifically in Arab Mediterranean countries as Talal Asad suggests for Egypt (Asad, 2003: 205-256). This is a colonial system adopted by elite classes, who seek to control public and private life in the same way as the Nation-State

[7] As Michel Foucault remarks a discourse is "a system of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972).

does in Western societies. It implies exiling the religious way of life to private life. We could include here all the ideological secular orientations: from right to left wind. Secondly, since the late nineteenth century, a new sense of Islam has been formed with new interpretations of religious heritage. This is a reaction against the colonial domination with two main orientations –reformist and radical- but both try to domesticate secularism according to religious principles –*usu'd al din*- (Asad, 2003; Gole, 2006; Chih, 2007).

Ahead of these two forms to understand the social organization, there is a third discourse generated for the popular –*Shabi*- groups. The concept of 'popular defines' a social group with an ample range of native practices, tastes, styles and behavioural patterns that are used in their everyday life and at same time designates a colloquially-bound community**.** In political terms, the popular cultures extending certain values, standards, tastes and practices opposed to moral values and the lifestyles of the upper classes which had attempted to dominate the public discourses. However, it is not possible to describe them exclusively related to a determined economic group, when there exists a great disparity of their members in spite of including behaviours of the lower classes. The members of this group occupy a social position with blurred frontiers and no distinguishability. Its fluidity has to do with occupational mobility, informs us of the fact that its members have more than a job while simultaneously being predominate in the informal activities.[8] Then, this social group can include construction workers, artisans, small shopkeepers, and low-level workers of third industrial sector. Moreover, the popular classes are also distinguishable from another social strata in cultural terms related directly with authenticity –*asil*'- of their cultural practices as the own group define it. As a result, we can observe the appearing of a myriad of expressions and symbolic messages between these groups that were going from the movies to music through street practices full of double meanings and ironic products, which resulted in a rejection of discourse. Throughout it, the popular classes place themselves in a public sphere with their own hegemonic discourse arrayed in traditional and cultural patterns (Singerman, 1995; Ambrust 2000, 2002; Assad, 2003; Chih, 2007; Roudi, 2011).

At the same time, all of this shares a common Islamic counterpublic, which permits the different discourses and practices to enter public space. "The form of contemporary Islamic public [discourse]... exhibits a conceptual architecture that cuts across the modern distinctions between state and society, public and private, that are central to the Habermasian notion of public sphere" as a space for the formation of opinion through intersubjective reason. The deliberative practices that constitute this arena are grounded in evolving Islamic traditions of civic duty as there were revived and reformulated within by Egyptian reformists in the context of an engagement with institutions, concepts and technologies of modern political life" (Hirschkind, 2001 a:4). This pervasive religious referent crosses all social groups and their relations, and it is converted in an essential discourse as a source of legitimacy, habitually used in everyday life and cross the social relations as a whole, including the youth consumption tendencies to ensure an "Islamic Consumption" (Haenni, 2009; Abaza, 2009)

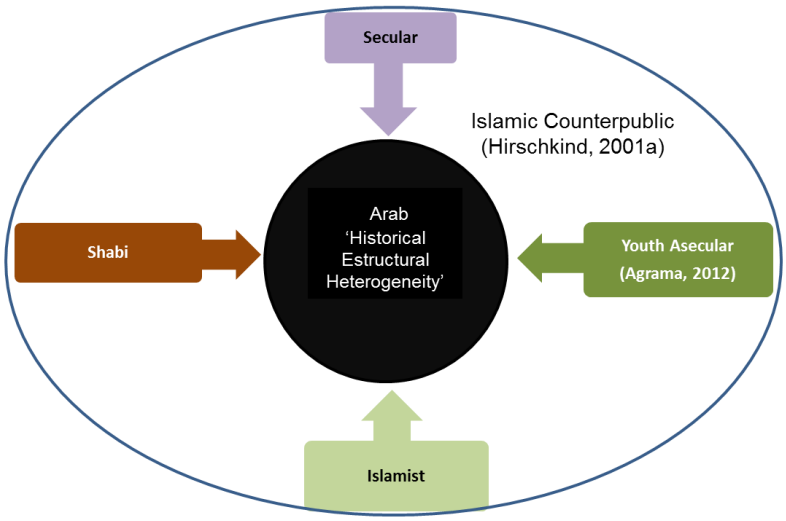
[8] According to the national survey on intergenerational social mobility in Morocco, 53% of the population are in the middle class, 34% are the lower class and the upper class is 13% (HCP, 2011). The young populations earn between 2,800 and 6,736 dirhams per month and spend more than their income. This is a good example of the significate importance of informal economy for youth in Arab Mediterranean countris.

Therefore, the process of formation of this 'historical structural heterogeneity', understood as a modernization process is a product of colonial powers including the Ottoman Empire as a colonial power in the region. It brought about a new social contract, which was different from the traditional and pre-modern one that had existed previously in Maghreb and Mashreq. Arab Mediterranean countries were modernized rapidly and forcefully under the different colonial powers: industrialization, urbanization and the creation of centralized state hierarchies helped to build a new social structure, which often entailed quite different consequences for family, gender, roles and work. Therefore, the category of youth as a kind of population was built in a specific way in Arab Mediterranean countries. Several questions remain; how does globalization (and local-global relations) affect the young people? What hybrid cultural grammars and meanings are building the young populations in Arab Mediterranean countries?

Accordingly, it is necessary to move from a monolithically established ideological formation, as Gramsci sees hegemony, to an understanding of hegemony as a problematic and disputed political process of domination and struggle. In Gramsci's words, "hegemony is the spontaneous consent that the popular populations give to the ways to the social life which is imposed for the dominant groups" (1971:12). It is an essential element in power relations in modern societies, where this consent operates in a more significant way than force. The adhesion turns out with the instrumental, moulding of the common sense of the intervening features which are culturally naturalized forms directed by the interests of the dominant groups instrumentally. However, for the Italian hegemony is fragile, forever answered by alternative ideologies, and for that reason has the constant need of reaffirmation and renewal. The imposition of a hegemonic culture is more than an ideological fight but rather an ideological domination. Consent is a general term that can comprise an ample range of possible situations in the ideological fight that they form a passive approval or lack of political opposition kindled and organized in order to submerge self-resistance to the forms of dissidence in reality. In this way, it helps us to understand the struggle of young people in changing their everyday life and the means they use to talk, confront, accommodate or resist which, at same time, are modelled by the domination process itself. Thus, hegemony constructs "a common material and meaningful framework living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by [male adult] domination" as Arab society could embody (Roseberry, 1994).

In this sense, the construction of the category 'young Arab' represented by certain academic and communication media forgets that it is articulated by diverse and heterogeneous structural patterns, among which liberal secularism and Islam are not the only patterns, although this dichotomy is the central axis sustained by those instances. Thus, the logic of confrontation between these two elements allows us to understand the youth agency in Arab Mediterranean countries, but not only in the manner in which it operates in this heterogeneous entirety. More than this, it is necessary to understand that it operates in the politics of representation of the Arab Mediterranean Youth and, more importantly, in how young people themselves use this representation in their everyday lives. Therefore, the objective intends to clarify the representation of youth both from an external perspective and in an internal one and to recognise how this influences young people. In this sense, some images of youth after the 'Arab Spring' describing them as being electronically connected, pro-active and politically compromised have become a metonymical portrait of young people in the area.

Figure 2. Hegemonic discourses in Arab 'historical structural heterogeneity'



Source: Sánchez García (2014b)

Within this active structure, that produces hegemonic discourses in conflict, it is essential to understand the juvenile agency not as a natural category, or an age characteristic. On this point, after the "Arab Spring" Agrama, among others, has drawn attention to the capability of youths to break the secularist/religious dichotomy. In their work on language in the protests, they noted that the vindications of the demonstrators were expressed with secular or religious terms, but embraced none of them. "In the sense that it stood prior to religion and politics and that it was indifferent to the question of their distinction, the bare sovereignty manifested by the initial protests stood outside the problem-space of secularism. In that sense, it represented as asecular power" (Agrama 2012: 29)[9]. This young counter 'asecular" discourse should be included in the Arab 'historical structural heterogeneity' to complete the contextual discursive framework. Around this, several questions arise: Could 'asecular discourses' provide a signal of new forms of understanding and seeing the global world coming from young people? On the same basis, can the forms that protests and manifestations have acquired –using *iftar*, collective prayers simultaneously with music and theatrical performances or graffiti-, be seen as the tools by which to express these 'asecular narratives'? Finally, how does such manifest itself after the Arab Spring?

Young agency is rooted in sociocultural structures that they interpret temporarily -and this is crucial in understanding the Arab youth agency-, in a complex manner in which the dichotomy secular or religious is only one possible orientation among others, including hybrid practices, representations, perceptions and meanings (Asad, 2003). As a result, the

[9] Agrama justify their designation in this manner: "Why have I chosen the term asecular and not, say, non secular or post-secular to describe the power manifested by these protests? The term nonsecular is too easily confused with the notion of the "religious." In addition, unlike postsecular, asecular is not a temporal marker. It allows for the possibility that asecularity has, in different forms, always been part of contemporary life, even from within the traditions on which state secularity is based" (Agrama 2012: 29).

construction of the Arab Mediterranean young would stand on a structure, which contains a process of homogenization that directly affects the different orientations dominated by adult-centrist discourses but which, simultaneously, escapes them. In this sense, it is necessary to think of the imposed colonial modernization, the traditional styles of local populations and the specific historical socio-structure –including diversity constructed by youth themselves- in which the category of 'youth' is being produced as different layers of this production.

2.2. Life cycle, cultural images and social markers

It is well-known that the intention of Youth Studies is to understand the research category as a 'socio-cultural construction' relative to time and space. Every group organises the transition from childhood to adult life, although the forms and contents of this transition can be very varied. This means a relational perspective of age. The significance that this has in any society depends upon the social, economic and political order in this society. Any individual experience is shaped by these beliefs and assumptions, and by the rights and duties, which a society or a state expects of a person. Thus, it is important to collect information on the availability of opportunities at a local level and on how these are experienced by young men and women. Moreover, the existence of youth is rooted in a discourse about youth on the one hand, and a series of cultural images (values, attributes and rites specifically associated to young people) on the other hand. Both things depend on the social structure as a whole, that is to say, on the forms of subsistence, political institutions and an ideological worldview predominant in every society, rooted in a specific –and never ended- 'process of hegemonization' of youth as a social category (Feixa, 1998; Roseberry, 1994).

The contents attributed to youth as cultural image are also depending on the values associated to this age group and on the rites marking their limits. The Tunisian sociologist Bouhdiba - among others- said long ago that Arab societies were characterized as "a world based on the division between sexes, a world based on the dichotomy of ages" (Bouhdiba, 1975). These two divisions traditionally determined the social construction of reality. The generational dichotomy allowed discrimination against youth cultural constructions and the political, cultural, religious and economic subordination of boys and girls to the will of the adult generation. Meanwhile, the gender dichotomy is aimed at controlling female behaviour. Women and young people were subordinated in their respective social spaces to the ruling adult male condition (Fitouri 1994; Mensch 2003). The hegemonic impositions together with economic and political instability, have limited the possibilities of social and cultural change with regard to values and social behaviour as well as to the types of social relationships among young people 'allowed' by 'adults'. In Arab Mediterranean societies the cultural image of youth (*shabab*), from an adult centrist and patriarchal perspective, is rooted in a cultural model for biological reproduction based on the concept of *fitrah*, understood as the organization of God's creation in all its aspects, including, obviously, the life cycle (Gobillot, 2000; Nigst and Sánchez García, 2010; Nigst, 2014).[10] The characteristics of this concept propose models of social construction in a decisive way, deciding what young people are

[10] This term means creation a (natural) disposition, constitution, temperament, innate character, instinct (Source: Wehr, Hans. 1974. A dictionary of modern written Arabic. Beirut: Librairie du Liban). The significance of the concept of *fitra* to attribute deviant conducts to young people has been discussed in Gulf countries for the case of Boya't (Nigst and Sanchez García, 2010; and Nigst, 2014 forthcoming).

allowed and not allowed to do. Men and women experience this situation in a different manner.

The *futuwa*[11], a set of ideal values assigned to the young man and is always presented against an essentially moral adult life, the *muruwa*[12]. Somehow, the pair *muruwa*/*futuwa* assign valuations to individual actions according to the age and the social group of the person who performs them. Thus, young men must possess certain unique virtues assigned to their age group to be positively recognized as such. Thus is considered in the Article 12 of Tunis' 2013 Constitution that recognizes that "youth are an active force in building the homeland". Among the male features are strength, courage, gallantry, bravery, honesty, intelligence, generosity, grace, verve, insight, etc. Skills and virtues that would be included in the term *futuwa*, contrasting with *muruwa* -understood as a model of control by the intellect of irrational passions and lusts (El Messini 1974; Singermann 1995; Haenni 2005; Jacob 2007). The patriarchal model emphasizes the lack of reason *–aql'-* of young people, which paradoxically allows for the expression of certain attitudes that are strongly discouraged in other age groups and are classified as gross errors of judgment, including disobedience to the political system.
For young women, in accordance with the patriarchal perspective, this stage is established as crossing a border, which is able to fulfil the traditional primary role of women in Arab societies, that is, to form a family and have children. A question arises, are no married young adult women placed in an exaggerated liminal situation? Prior to her marriage, her mere presence in public space can be perceived as dangerous to the community (El Messini, 1974; Rough, 1987; Singerman 1995; Jacob 2007). However, new social conditions permit and indeed require the growing presence of young unmarried women who go to college, work and occupy the same spaces as men in malls and central areas of the city. Accordingly, the traditional marker –marriage- between youth and adulthood in terms of a job and an independent household are postponed or remote for large numbers of young people, although 'young' is a relative concept and makes sense only in contrast to other age groups.

In consequence, maturity is regarded as the stage when the individual has completed their cycle of socialization. This should be the main goal of youth: the desirable destination prescribed by the different hegemonic discourses in dispute. This ideal should place unmarried individuals in a liminal position within the social order: a transitory state aimed at reaching the adult stage of the life cycle through marriage and the birth of the first child. The single state is considered temporary, and must be exchanged for married status. This is 'the desirable normal status', while 'not yet married' refers to "a state of preparation and anticipation of a status still not realised". Young people should at least tacitly accept this situation; otherwise, they are socially stigmatized (Rough, 1987; Singerman, 2007; Koning, 2009). However, the difficulty of entering marriage due to job market deficits, among other things, puts the "young bachelor" in a prolonged "marginal" social position. As Singerman remarks young people remains in a "wait-adulthood" liminal situation. The question now is if young people are altering and subverting this hierarchical structure, model and discourse, and

[11] Youth, adolescence; the totality of the noble, chivalrous qualities, magnanimity, generosity, nobleheartedness, chivalry; designation of Islamic brotherhoods of the Middle ages, governed by chivalrous precepts; name of several youth organizations in Arabic countries; pl. futuwwat: bully, brawler, rowdy, tough; racketeer (Source: Wehr, Hans. 1974. A dictionary of modern written Arabic. Beirut: Librairie du Liban).
[12] The ideal of manhood, comprising all knightly virtues, esp. manliness, valor, chivalry, generosity, sense of honor (Source: Wehr, Hans. 1974. A dictionary of modern written Arabic. Beirut: Librairie du Liban).

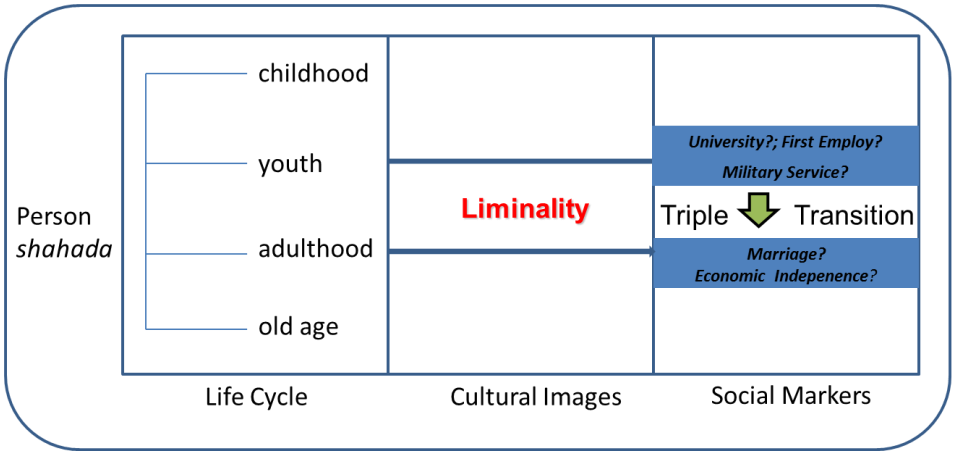
if so through what narratives and practices challenge this habitus and embody new manners of "being young".

In addition, for young men, military service is probably the most significant distinction between young and young-adult in Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia. Military service maintains an essentialist concept of gender roles and contains a purpose of social control and discipline. At the same time, traditionally it marks the end of 'youth'. Military service is an important mechanism of 'normativization' (Foucault, 2004) that works through hard discipline for young men in order to be appropriately socialized.[13] As an example, in Egypt, military service is a key issue for young men who would continue studying until they have passed the age for military service or would spend a great deal of time finding a doctor who is prepared to classify them as physically unfit (Sánchez García, 2009). A hypothesis for this rejection of military service is that it represents a homogenised, standardized construction of male youth, which is incompatible with young people's search for their self-identity in the post-modern world. In short, marriage and military service –especially in Egypt- have been identified as markers of a new condition of youth. Have these social markers remained significant in Algeria, Tunis and Egypt? What markers are significant in Morocco and Lebanon where the conscript military service does not exist?

To sum up, marriage and military service as social markers, alters the social categorization of individuals and their relationships from youth to adult-youth according to this adult-centrist and patriarchal cultural image of youth. These processes 'naturalize' the youth life stage and depending on the particular social and cultural differences, allow it to achieve its goal: the production of socially and politically acceptable individuals. This cultural model establishes some continuity in the attitudes of young people in this region. The mediation of this cultural model in the construction of social reality has traditionally defined the position of youth in Arab Mediterranean countries. An age hierarchy in political, economic, parental and spare time relationships could be established.

[13] Exist some differences in the military service in the countries where we will conduct the research. In Algeria, the service is conscript obligation with a duration of eighteen months (6 months basic training, 12 months civil projects) for young people between 19 to 30 years old. In Egypt, the young between 18 and 30 years of age have a service obligation of 18 to 36 months, which depends on what level of studies they have completed, followed by a 9-year reserve obligation. In Lebanon and Morocco, the conscript military service does not exist. Finally, in Tunisia the young people between 20 and 23 years of age must realize a one year of service.

Figure 3. Life Cycle, Cultural Images and Social Markers in Arab Mediterranean Countries



Source: Sánchez García (2014)

As a result, as a cultural imaginary, similar to 'the foreigner' as described by Georg Simmel (1971 [1908]: 143-149) the young Arab is not fully integrated into his or her society: they are intermediaries between different ways of understanding the world. Is it possible that, kept in this situation, being the "other", deprived of humanity and freed from social burdens, they can challenge the system that represses demonstrations, corporeal expressions, and symbols? In this sense, it certainly seems necessary to consider the social consequences of transgression of social dichotomies, which are characteristic of the traditional orientations of certain factions in Arab societies. The inclusion or exclusion, this is the empowerment, of young people of the social welfare depends upon their gender, their ethnicity, their religion, their social origin and educational advantages. These conditions are in turn exaggerated by the differences between Maghreb and and Mashreq societies. A conception of youth, which does not allow it to disappear but rather considers the significance of age in determining exclusion and inclusion in different regions, is necessary.

Anyway, 'youth' is constructed with materials coming from gender, class, religious, ethnic and territorial identities. Instead, these issues are more relevant social variables than age to build social divisions. Hence, some regional characteristics must be taken into consideration so as to compose a contemporary generational view in the region. We can summarize public investment in education, the percentage of young people with higher education, unemployment rates according to the levels of education, urban-rural differences, the possibility of emigration, the role of the family, the penetration of the Internet and social networks, and the scenario of precarious jobs and an informal economy.

2.3. Dimensions of research: public sphere, social structure class and place

It is essential to understand that the idea of the public sphere based on individualism, equality and political participation in these societies depends on local practices and specific cultural fields (Göle, 2006). In such contexts, the adoption of modernity comes with diverse meanings and particular conjunctions between the universal definition of the public sphere and the local particularities in which it is built (Murphy, 2009). In Arab societies, tensions between several

distinct cultural, modern and indigenous codes are involved in the construction and definition of the private and public spheres. The given description of the social space reveals a multiplicity of references and social ambiguity in which the social universe of the research takes place (Schielke, 2009).

In spite of this, youth populations in Arab Mediterranean societies experience post-modernity at the point at which state secularism and modern consumption overlap with old and new patterns of social organization on the one hand, and a reality of limited resources and unequal powers on the other (Assad and Roudi, 2007; Isfahani and Dhillon, 2008; Sukarieh and Tannok, 2008; Peterson, 2011). They are entangled within pre-modernity, modernity and postmodernity. Some characteristics of modernity (industrialization, urbanization, social groups related with production or labour market, political parties representing the interest of large social groups or essentially gender roles) coexist with other characteristics of postmodernity. Among these, we can consider more flexible locations connected with communication networks, social groups based upon consumption and taste, "socially excluded" groups, extended education less linked to a fragmented labour market, and contracted welfare services.

At the same time, some stratus of the Arab Mediterranean Societies are organized by pre-modern formations with a rural character, but their voices can be inserted into new urban political movements and related ideologies of collective action (modern nationalism, labour movements, etc.), while changes occur in the understanding of family, religion, gender and identity (Abdallah, 2007.). This gradual process of urbanization and the progressive marginalisation of the popular classes started in the cities of the colonial era, and have expanded in the post-colonial era with the diffusion of modernity to reach all areas of social life, also transforming the private sphere. Therefore, understanding the new social values and the new cultural forms of youth should be framed in the debate over their inclusion in modernity and social change models in the Arab Mediterranean region.

Some social conditions regarding young populations have changed during recent years within Arab societies. Firstly, we can affirm the expansion of education and training from the nineties until now, especially for young females. Consequently, increased participation of young women in labour markets, together with a rise in youth unemployment have taken place. A portion of this generation has been trained in college and professional establishments for leadership positions in the political and economic life from which they are continually denied by monolithic systems, which prevent the regeneration of the rulers. However, the majority of young people do not go to university, as evidenced by the fall in the number of students enrolled in secondary education (76%) and in higher education (17%), yet in these two cases, lower percentages of females are enrolled. In this way, the examination to gain access to university education becomes a source of anxiety. The upper classes are the ones who have access to higher education, facilitating them and hindering others upward mobility. However, youth unemployment represents 77% of the total unemployed, with 52% of these, seeking their first job. These are mostly high school graduates and college graduates who, forced by job insecurity into the informal economy, become dependent on networks established around the family and the neighbourhood and other social networks. Therefore, after high school, working in precarious jobs becomes the sole option for low-income populations.

Ethnographic works mainly in urban areas remarks that youth from middle and favoured classes have mostly built communities through social networking (Ghanam, 2009; Peterson, 2011). They are young adults upwardly mobile as a result of the modernization process which ensures a shattering of the traditional marriage model, the extension of the liminal period of partial adulthood, and the independence that many single upper-class professionals experienced. This independence is based on a particular situation given by the fact that many young people lived for prolonged periods with their parents; but having average to high purchasing power allows them to have some sort of personal independence (Konig, 2009). Their cultural references are cosmopolitan and they often use foreign languages. These groups of youngsters are attracted by different symbolic global referents such as films, comic books or pop music (Sánchez García, 2012). They enter the job-market in innovative professions, and their socialization is based on Western models (movies, magazines, music) and they consume imported goods, all of which have facilitated the emergence of local forms of the so-called "new social movements" (Feixa, Pereira and Juris 2009).

Limited works have taken into account youth from slum areas (Debb and Winegar, 2012). In these works, several authors, in accordance with the ethnographic context, remark that youths in this area spend their leisure time talking with friends in the cafes, sharing computers and reinforcing their primary ties in backstreets or in the neighbourhood (Schielke, 2009; Sánchez García, 2009). Reciprocity, class solidarity and communitarianism are the fundamental mechanisms of youth groups based on residence. Thus, the peer group is one of the main determinants of their identity and class affiliations. The dynamism of the networks constructed in this way allows the inclusion of young people into informal economic frameworks. However, they will access jobs that never reach a wage level that facilitates emancipation (Singerman, 1995; Bayat and Denis, 2000; Denis, 2000; Chih, 2000; Haenni, 2005). Understandably, these discoveries, predominately, have an ethnographic significance, in this case coming from cities like Cairo, Dubai or Tripoli, but these remarks could be an excellent starting point to contrast and compare with other places where ethnographic fieldwork is not habitual (Abaza, 2009; Elshestawy, 2009). This is a good example of the challenge that SAHWA supposes. The opportunity to realize ethnographic fieldwork and survey in rural and slum urban areas related to disfavoured classes could open a window for this traditional lack in youth studies in Arab Mediterranean countries (Debb and Winnegar, 2012).

Finally, it is essential to relate the class differences with place. Further investigations attend to social groups residing in informal housing communities make up the expanded popular classes. As we have seen above, popular groups are defined in opposition to the hegemonic discourses, both secularist and religious. Significantly, there is a residential aspect to the identification of the popular classes. Until recently, the category referred to residents of the old quarters. It would seem appropriate now to include the new neighbourhoods. The latter are distinguished in a number of ways. The physical characteristics of the new neighbourhoods are different from the old, but, as Singerman points out, the popular classes "take the *hara* culture with them" (Singerman, 1995). According to Eric Denis (2000), these neighbourhoods are "veritable cities: popular districts with commerce, markets, and a multitude of private services that make up for the absence of the state and its schools, clinics and bus lines. It is here that one now finds the people of Cairo". The inhabitants, in their strategies of engagement and disengagement, developed practices that challenge state authority. Through community organization and the establishment of informal networks, the

groundwork for autonomy was laid. Therefore, over the last two decades, the emergence of socio-spatial dimensions to articulate some political activism and dissidence in Cairo area is evident (Bayat, 2003, Schielke, 2011). In this sense, a particular social geography of the city and the historical modes of urban organization permit us to situate the participation of 'popular classes' in the 2011 riots as a visibilization of certain forms of political participation rooted in traditional and historical frameworks. In this sense, it seems necessary to draw attention to political activism in the popular quarters of the different cities, underlining the role of popular classes in politics, the grounding of their activism in the social structures of the neighbourhoods and their patterns of organization, and their actual modes after the 2011 revolution.

This observation has relevance to the contemporary context. Indeed, political activism should not be viewed as the actions of a marginal and alienated group, but rather through the prism of the social geography and the urban landscape in which it has taken root. These groups anchor themselves in oppositional spaces already formed or in the process of formation. The terms of this opposition are spatial, social, cultural, economic, and political. As noted by Denis (2000), these neighbourhoods "propose a reformulation of the popular city, recovering the social role of the street" (1997). In summary, informal housing communities have developed, during the last twenty years, as spaces of urban contestation and have come to represent an important arena of political dissidence. The anchoring of dissidents in these communities could be understood in terms of the physical characteristics of the spaces and the forms of social organization, which are inscribed in them. In spatial terms, these communities exist on the periphery of the city and are not easily accessible (Elyachar, 2011; Ghanam, 2011). The process of development of these urban spaces has given the communities a certain degree of autonomy from the government, the latter having been completely absent during the communities founding stages of planning and construction. Community solidarity and forms of collective action have developed through the different processes of implantation. In such locations, the importance of community partnerships ensures the emergence of informal legitimacy and loyalties. To be member of the community is the key mechanism for the creation of networks of political participation, resulting from the social centrality of institutions like the market, mosque, coffee shop or religious –mainly Sufi brotherhoods-, and informal economic associations. These communities are risen in the social spaces located in neighbourhoods where have been established alliances and allegiances combine common interests against a system that difficult the social mobility of the popular classes (Chih, 2007; Bayat, 2003).

In consequence, for SAHWA's objectives, understanding the traditionally articulated local forms of resource management, economic entrepreneurship and political participation, is essential. In this regard, the neighbourhood as a social unit has endured in the popular traditional neighbourhoods of the Arab Mediterranean cities, along with many of the rules and regulations which make the local neighbourhood operate as an extension of the family. In the twentieth-century context of rapid social transformation, which brought about new economic, social, and cultural developments for the popular classes to contend with the old social practices grounded in space were reworked (Abu-Lughod, 1973; El Messini, 1974; Raymond A.; 1989; Singerman, D. 1995;). However, popular and slum areas have been an important centre of social innovation and political dissent that challenge the youth exclusion of formal politics and economics (Denis, E.; 2000; Bayat, A. and Denis, E. 2000; Haenni, 2005; Koenig, 2009; Sánchez García, 2014).

After reviewing class and place relations, some questions are raised in relation to this theme. The hypothesis here is that political activism has found a home in these communities because their spatial, social, cultural, and economic characteristics have contributed to their emergence as "spheres of dissidence" (Bayat, 2000; Denis, 2000; Haenni, 2005; Sánchez García, 2014). Nevertheless, what is the relevance of the social-spatial factors in the constitution of the popular classes as a political force? What is the significance of the popular neighbourhood and its political framework in local and national formal politics?

As Kovacheva and Wallace remarks for East Europe (1998), SAHWA expects to take in account the different social models of how youth is constructed in Arab Mediterranean countries from political instances, stakeholders, scientists and youth themselves. We must begin for understand “youth” as diverse and multi identified with different social categories. As a result, the way that young people conceive their own identity is moving forward: it is more a matter of multiple identities that ignore social structures and even go beyond their traditional and familial identity. Being young means managing a whole range of complex identities, and rather than transition, it is about navigating through social and personal circumstances. In today’s young generation peer recognition is often more important than parents recognition; the feeling of personal freedom coexists with the awareness of social control and the relation to hegemonic discourses is diverse. However, not everything is always changing and moving in Arab Mediterranean countries. The patterns and values of the social institutions –religion, kinship, gender, political and economic inequalities- related to young people are not changing so fast. Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind all these considerations to try to compose an approach to youth populations of Arab Mediterranean countries and the three main topics selected in SAHWA Project.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this section, we are going to synthesize ten key research questions arisen from the previous discussion in this Concept Paper and from the Background Papers. The first three are general to the whole project, the rest correspond to the different thematic areas of the project.

3.1 General Research Questions:

Youth Concept: *What are the differences and similarities of being young in Arab Mediterranean countries in relation to other parts of the world?*

Youth Diversities: *Which factors shape individual perspectives and experiences of the young people's multiple transitions (biographical, cultural, political…)?*

Youth Empowerment: *What is the impact of the ongoing political changes in the Arab Mediterranean countries on young people's lives and on the construction of a generational consciousness and intergenerational dialogue as a new social contract?*

3.2. Specific Thematic Questions

Each of the following thematic questions was collectively formulated in Rabat meeting and right after that. The wider ranges of research questions as well as theoretical and conceptual backgrounds are provided in background papers. Here only a short outline of the background paper and the main research questions are displayed.

Youth Opportunities: (See background paper on "Employment, Education and Social Inclusion"). The background paper starts with general socio-economic information about the five countries (demographic, urbanization and economic trends) as a base of the three paper's topics, followed with facts and data of these topics focusing on young people, but considering their embedding in the general society. Authors discuss Hirshman's theoretical construct of "Exit and Voice" with the opportunities of (young) people in this region to be socially included within the society. Furthermore, the paper discusses more broadly the governments' performance to launch the necessary transition processes. Referring to global indices (Corruption Index, Status Index and Governmental Management Index) we consider the poor level of the administrations' willing and ability to reform the five Arab Mediterranean countries. There is an Annex to this background paper shedding light to the institutional reforms on employment, education and social inclusion of youth in Morocco.

Main research questions: *To which extent education systems and access to employment contribute to empower young people in Arab Mediterranean countries or do they rather reinforce existing social exclusion patterns? If the latter is the case, what other institutions or education or labour market reforms (might) compensate this effect?*

Youth Participation: (See background paper on "Youth Mobilisation and Political Participation in Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Lebanon"). The background paper consists of three parts. In the first part, the concepts of youth mobilization and political

participation are introduced with a proposal to replace these two concepts with the concept of youth engagement. The first part gives an overall frame of youth engagements by introducing a cross-table of institutionalized and non-institutionalised youth engagements in local, national and transnational/global levels. This framework is proposed to support awareness of the wide diversity of youth political engagement in the Arab Mediterranean countries. Further research questions are provided under different types of youth engagement. The second part focuses more carefully on the history and present of youth mobilisations, i.e. youth activism and political change movements. The third part refers earlier studies on youth political engagement conducted in the countries the SAHWA Project will study.

Main research questions: *What are the underlying conditions of youth engagement and mobilization in Arab Mediterranean countries? What are the forms, factors, causes and means of youth participation? Who are the politically active youth and whom do they represent?*

Youth Cultures: (See background paper on "Youth Cultures: Values, Representations and Social Conditions"). As is explained in detail in the paper, the interest for youth and youth cultural practice by both social sciences and in public debate can reflect two different approaches. The first one conceives youth as a potential danger to social order, the second looks at young people as social actors who are potentially involved in processes of social and cultural innovation. In other words, the attention paid to the cultural practices of young people can proceed from two opposite premises: it can respond to a concern for juvenile deviance and the problem of social order, to an interest in the processes of social change and innovation. The SAHWA project embraces the second approach, and relies on the recognition of social, political and cultural agency of young people. It conceives young people as active agents who contribute to the production, reproduction and innovation of cultural values, norms, orientations and meanings of the society in which they live. Therefore, it manifests a specific interest in the practices of cultural consumption and production enacted by young people, for the forms of identity construction and the processes of subjectification that involve young men and women.

Main research questions: *What are the main trends reflecting cultural constructions and changes within Arab youth through representations, self-presentation and practices?*

Gender: (See background paper on "Institutions, Laws and Practices Hampering Woman Engagement"). Gender politics and, among them, politics for women's empowerment, are very much 'on the move' in the SEM countries, particularly after the so-called Arab Spring. There are a number of 'new' findings pointing out that there is a shift in the women's rights question from state-defined action to atomised and autonomous forms of activism. This is in line with the finding from the study of activism, informal politics and social non-movement as inherently political, despite their apparently non-political characteristics. The call for gender dignity and justice, in this new period, echoes the style, media and dynamics of Arab Spring politics more broadly. Despite being recognised by the scholar, these dynamics of autonomy of activism and women's activism in particular deserve further examination.

Main research questions: *How do gender relations in Arab youth daily life affect and are affected by the outcomes of education, employment, cultural values and practices and*

political participation? To what extent do civic action and public policies take into account these dynamics?

Migration and mobility (See background paper on "International Migration and Mobility). This background paper first provides the main trends in international migration and mobility in the Mediterranean, including internal migration (focus on young people), turning then to aspirations and motivation to migrate among Arab Mediterranean Youth (surveys). Next, the paper describes from the earlier studies the impact of international migration on youth values, living conditions and decisions – as well as international (virtual and physical) mobility of Arab young people: their aspirations and reality.

Main research questions: *What impact does international migration of nationals have on Arab youth values, lives and decisions?*

Experiences in Transition: (See background paper on "Young People's Roles and Experiences during Transitions and Transformations in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Researching and Interpreting the Arab Spring and its Aftermath"). The paper is framed by Karl Mannheim's theory about political generations. The paper opens with how Mannheim's ideas have been built upon since his lifetime, and uses the post-1945, post-scarcity generation and its student movements of the 1960s as an example of the formation and maturation of a political generation. The text follows with a discussion on the series of revolutions (successful and just attempted) in Eastern Europe beginning in 1989. These are divided into the ''velvet' (peaceful) revolutions, change in Serbia and the West Balkans, and the 'colour revolutions' and other uprisings since 2000. Young people's roles in these events, the effects among young people of any ensuing changes, and the character of new political generations that have been formed are carefully examined. The paper concludes with a series of points to be addressed in future research. These include the need to distinguish between young people who were politically aware and active before, during and soon after a revolutionary event, and the young people who have become politically aware and (in some cases) active subsequently.

Main research questions: *What can we learn from the role young people played in revolutions and mass protests in Europe and Central Asia in past decades? What are the effects of the societal transitions and transformations on young people's living world and on the construction of a generational consciousness?*

Public Policies and International Cooperation: (See background paper on "Public Policy and International Cooperation"). In the first part of the text the conceptual framework is drawn from four different but complementary aspects. The first aspect is intended to set the perspectives on the relationship between public policy and youth depending on the literatures of public policy analysis and youth policy. Secondly, the development and priorities of the international cooperation schemes at the European level, and those in relation to the Mediterranean Partner Countries are briefly summarised, and the approach to youth within the specific policy instruments are discussed. Third aspect relates to the place of youth in the public/social/youth policy schemes at the domestic level in the five SAHWA research countries. The first part of the paper concludes with a discussion on the main trends, main links and main conclusions relevant to the research. The second part of the paper is allocated

to research design in a way to set the research questions, elaborate on the research methods and reiterate the deliverables to be produced as a result of the research.

Main research questions: *Why do public institutions develop programmes and policies for young people (real policy aim)? How do they affect young people's lives in Arab Mediterranean countries? Is the EU Cooperation relevant for the youth in the region? In addition, how can that relevance be improved?*

4. HOW? RESEARCHING YOUTH CULTURES IN THE ARAB MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT

Recently there has been a trend towards an increasing use of mixed methods in social research leading to including such dedicated chapters in research methods textbooks, publishing specialized handbooks (Tashakori and Teddlie 2010; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011) and issuing a specialist journal –the Journal of Mixed Methods Research. Despite this growing interest, combining qualitative and quantitative methods in one study is not uncontested. The arguments against mixed methods research are based on the 'embeddedness' of the different research tools in incompatible epistemological perspectives (positivism or interpretativism) or on treating the two methods as separate paradigms and the impossibility of their integration (Bryman, 2012). The spreading practice of combining qualitative and quantitative methods is not yet accompanied with terminological clarity or even less procedural integrity.

Helve (2005) uses the term mixed methods to indicate the plurality of research methods (and theoretical frameworks) in youth research and not necessarily to their application in one research. Singleton (1993: 391) prefers the term 'multiple methods' and argues that they can be used within the same study or across different studies addressing the sane research question. For him the need to combine methodological approaches arises from the "limitations and biases inherent in each of the main approaches". By combining them, we can enrich our study and overcome the limitations. According to Singleton the main advantage of such an exercise is the opportunity for triangulation of results. Triangulation becomes possible when using different methods to measure a concept and test a hypothesis. It refers to applying several indicators in one survey (creating scales) or to testing hypotheses across different studies (repetitive studies or studies with a slight change), as well as to using different methods in one study. Testing hypotheses with different methods increases the internal and external validity of the study. The logic is that when we use methods with different weaknesses and if these methods produce similar results, our confidence in the results increases. He gives no answer in his book to the question what happens if we get diverging or contrasting results from the different methods. This section intends to provide a mixing methodology using qualitative and quantitative research techniques, in order to respond to the main research questions arising from the previous state-of-the-art. We will then follow by a general presentation of the methodology (the extended case method).

4.1. Methodological approach

The research project will apply a mixed method approach, using a survey, and a variety of qualitative methods (narrative interviews, focus groups, participant observations, and online virtual methods) to respond to our research questions. By using a mixed method approach, the aim is both capture some more general patterns, in order to provide ideas and proposals to redirect active youth policies at the micro level, and to be able to get closer to the young people's lives, voices and ways of coping with their everyday lives. This means a complementarity between generation and representative individual trajectories. Thus, in our approach, both youth trajectories and generational narrative will be studied with qualitative and quantitative methods.

Using a mixed method implies certain opportunities when it comes to methodology and material analysis. The quantitative part of the investigation will give us a firm foundation

when talking about more general results and tendencies. These results will also be used when thinking through and forming the national case studies. In this way, the statistical results will be used at different levels of precision to validate the research process and results of the qualitative studies and vice versa. The aim is both to compare the national studies, and to identify variations and findings which can be used to analyse different possible strategies and ways of handling gendered social and cultural pressures at different levels. At the end of the project –after having accessed all the empirical material– we will also have the possibility to draw a more general as well as holistic picture of the situation of youth in Arab Mediterranean countries. The advantage of using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is, on the one hand, we will be able to answer the classical quantitative questions *'how much'* and *'how common'*; and on the other hand, we will be able to delve into specific questions related with the young people's perception of their own reality. By mixing quantitative and qualitative analysis, we will be able to estimate how socio-economic, rural/urban, gender and ethnicity variables affect and correlate with attitudes towards plans, unemployment, education and lifestyle.

Therefore, it is important to make some remarks in order to establish the age cohorts and facilitate the selection of localizations to develop the survey and ethnographic fieldwork and ensure the representativeness of the data collected. Regarding age cohorts, in the SYPE (2010) results, we can see that 16.1% of Egypt's young population is between the ages of 15 and 17; 36.1% between 18 and 24; and 19.3% between 25 and 29. Accordingly, to reach our objectives it seems necessary to do fieldwork (both survey and ethnographic) with the young population aged between 15 and 29 years. To ensure the diversity in the sample for life stories, we therefore propose an equal number of males and females with the necessary age diversity. At same time, we cannot forget that youth as life stage is a social construction that depends in cultural specificities, kinship orientations, and social conditions and economic constrains. As a result, to determine the key informants in ethnographic fieldwork, more than age, the perception of the individual as youth will be significant. At same time, both in survey and ethnographic fieldwork would be interesting to involve relatives and other person that are in direct relation with young people.

About localizations to collect ethnographic primary data, it is necessary to select an urban area, an informal urban area –following the definition of SYPE of Egyptian slums in the IDSC sample- and a rural area to reach a representative sample.[14] This selection takes into account the figures in the different countries, which make it clear that the young population is primarily rural. About two-thirds of young people (58.9%) live in rural areas (desert areas and other geographical specificities is necessary to take in account in every country), whereas one-third lives in urban areas (31.6%) or informal urban areas (5.6%). We are well aware that it is not the same to do fieldwork in some places that in other ones. The ideological, economic and cultural trends are so different that the results will depend on this selection and it is necessary to try to respond to the diversity factors in the different countries where research will be conducted.

[14] "As like many previous research and government reports this is based on the legal characteristics of these places, which need not correspond with the buildings' conditions and the households' wealth status (as highlighted in the following section). Accordingly, in this report, instead of using the term slums which is often associated with extreme poverty, we refer to such areas as informal urban areas" (SYPE, 4: 2011):

Gender is another fundamental dimension to take into account in the selection of the research subjects and the construction of meaningful samples. It is necessary to include an equal number of male and female respondents in the survey, to pursue a gender balance in the selection of informants and interviewees in the fieldwork and, more broadly, in the definition of the ethnographic case studies (e.g. defining the youth groups for the focused ethnography, the settings for participant observation). Our aim is to include the different points of view of young women and young men, when building our picture of the changing youth condition and youth narratives in the region. This will help to construct a less biased, more complete picture that takes into account and reflects the great diversity existing within the "Arab youths" and, in particular, gender differences. This will allow exploring a key research question of our project, related to how the social position, life trajectories, opportunities and expectations of young women and men are changing, in the context of the social, political and cultural transition of the region.

In our epistemological frame, gender enters in the research process not just as a "variable" but as a transversal dimension, that transforms both our concepts and methodological tools. The adoption of this perspective entails far-reaching consequences: the aim is to construct gendered knowledge and data, rather than simply producing data that are broken down by gender (even thought, this is a fundamental indicator of the quality of data). This orientation towards a gender sensitive research is part of our more general commitment to produce innovative knowledge and sound results.

Gender is a relational concept that leads to focus on the issue of power and unequal relations between men and women. It has to do with the construction of different social roles and cultural models for women and men in a given context, as well as with the dynamics of reproduction and changes of these models. As such, far away from being confined in the "private sphere" or related just to those realms of life that are defined as "private", the gender dimension cross-cuts every spheres of social experience and all levels of social interaction: it encompasses also the political sphere, the cultural sphere, the economic sphere. It follows that our analysis will focus on the changes and continuities that young men (on the one side) and young women (on the other) are facing today in the Arab Mediterranean countries; and it will be transversal to all the thematic working packages of our research project. We are going to investigate the gendered dynamics that involve and affect – although in different ways - both boys and girls in the local contexts we are going to study. In other words, we are going to investigate "gender" not just in relation to issues that are regarded as "women's issues" (e.g. reproductive health, family, violence), nor just in relation to the female population or our female research subjects.

From a methodological point of view, it is also important to add some remarks on how gender enters into the research process, together with other key dimensions that mark the social location and identity of the researchers, such as class position, educational level, cultural background, age, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, among others. The social location and identity of both the researchers and the research subjects have a role in shaping and influencing the interactions that emerge in the field. Ethnography and, more broadly, qualitative research is a dialogic process of knowledge production in which the subjectivity of the researcher matters, as well as his/her social location and standpoint (that means, the position from where the researcher speaks, interacts with the subjects of the research and gives her/his interpretations). For this reason, the gender of the researcher, as well as his/her

class, ethnicity etcetera, strongly influence the relations he/she will establish with young people in the ethnographic fieldwork, and shape the interpretative activity that lies at the core of the ethnographic research. All these elements, therefore, should be taken into account as relevant and active elements of the process of knowledge construction.

We can provide some examples of these dynamics, focusing on gender. Male and female researchers will face different problems and facilities in their access to different social groups in the field (e.g. young women in rural or urban environments, young or adult men, etc.). They will also have different opportunities to take part to specific aspects of the everyday life of the subjects of the study. In relation to this, we should consider the social norms that regulate the relationships between the sexes in different social spaces, in each local contexts under study. The researchers should evaluate the relevance and permeation of gender segregation in the different contexts and situations they are taking part to, and should consider the implications of this norm in the ethnographic fieldwork activity (e.g. is it a valid norm regulating the behaviour of young people in the local contexts? To what extent and in which circumstances is it accepted/contested/escaped and so on?).

However, it is worth mentioning that the methodological questions related to the gender, class and ethnic dimensions in the research process should not be reduced to simplified recipes (e.g. men studying men, women studying women). These methodological issues cannot be operationalized through a set of established and fixed rules, valid for any research contexts. The "effect" of gender depends on the situated and specific dynamics of each local field and setting; it should be the object of attentive methodological consideration.

Because of this combined methodology, there are plenty of possibilities on how to combine these two in different phases of the research project (gathering data, analysing, writing research reports). One sure thing is these two methods will provide different, complementary and supplementary knowledge on youth in the Arab Mediterranean context. You can take into account this example. In the Survey on youth population in Egypt realized by the Population Council, young males stated that they have seven hours' 'spare time' per day and young females around six hours (Population Council, 2011: 146). In these terms, ethnographic fieldwork could represent the complementarity of this figure and fill the meaning 'spare time'. Yet, macro-sociological analyses of everyday life explain little about different individual youth trajectories. Enrollment figures in secondary education, for example, do not reflect that in most cases absenteeism occurs when trying to find ways to get additional income.

4.2. Mixing Quantitative and Qualitative Methodologies

This methodological orientation is guided by the extended case method proposed by Burawoy (1998). Burawoy understands survey as positive science (a suspension of the participation of the researcher in the field) and ethnographic work as reflexive science (an engaged and embodied task to ensure reflexive knowledge). He points out how the qualitative and quantitative approaches have similar and different methodological problems. Burawoy (1998, 12) describes four types of problematic context effects for positive science and four kinds of power effects on reflexive sciences that need to be reflected both in surveys and in the qualitative research.

Interview effect stands for interviewer characteristics (for example nationality, ethnic background, gender, age, language skills etc.). Respondent effect underlines the fact that different words have different meanings to different people. Informants may understand even standardized questions differently. Field effect pays attention to the fact that the interviews cannot be isolated from the time and space – "from the political, social, and economic contexts within which they take place" (Burawoy, 1998, 12). Finally, Burawoy (ibid.) states how situation effects threaten the principle of representativeness: "insofar as meaning, attitudes, and even knowledge do not reside with individuals but are constituted in social situations, then we should be sampling from a population of social situations and not a population of individuals" (Stinchcombe, 1980). If the interviewer cannot establish common ground with the respondent, misunderstandings and mistakes cannot be avoided. This is why Burawoy (ibid. 13) suggests a "narrative" interview where the interviewer allows respondents to tell their own story –to offer their own narrative. The interview proceeds through dialogue (Burawoy, 1998, 14): "where positive science proposes to insulate subject from object, reflexive science elevates dialogue as its defining principle and intersubjectivity between participant and observer as its premise"

For its part, the extended case method emulates a reflective model of science based on the premise of inter-subjectivity between the scientist and their study object. This is applied to reflexive ethnography and other forms of qualitative fieldwork to extract the general issues from particular ones, to shift from micro to macro, to connect the present with the past in anticipation of the future and to construct theory from what is pre-existing. From an empirical point of view, it has five main characteristics. Firstly, it assumes the dialogic character of the research, not as a limitation, but rather as a potential. Secondly, it integrates the context as part of the study, and not as a distorting element. As a third characteristic, it combines the participating observation with reflexive interviews capable of capturing the voice of the protagonist characters. Moreover, it ranges from a segregating model (cases are connected in an accumulative way) to an integrating one (cases are connected in a causal way). Finally, though importantly, it moves from an industrial model of social science to an artisanal model, reflexive but not any less rigorous or efficient. Nevertheless, this kind of perspective may take into account the power effects on reflexivity. This is the domination effect over the intervention on participant observation; the silencing effect caused by an oblivion of processes extended over time and space; the objectification of the subjects; and, finally, the normalization through an extension and over-imposition of theory over empirical approach (Buroway, 1998, 26)

A problematic matter is the sequence between Youth Survey and Ethnographic Fieldwork. Some experts stating that the later should be carried out as a preparatory stage for the Youth Survey, to identify the questions to be researched, whereas others argued the contrary, the agreement was to carry out the survey and the ethnographic fieldwork at the same time to collect evidence for the second part of the project. In SAHWA we are going to apply the two methodologies in parallel and we are giving them equal weight as data producing tools. There is a danger that our results from the different methodologies might also turn into a Bermuda triangle if not analysed and integrated in a single comprehensive picture even if this picture will look more as a mosaic than as a high-pixels photo. Our research questions cannot be fully answered by using data from separate methods. The objectives of our project will not be achieved if we finish with writing separate papers based on one or the other methodology. A good approach could be a two-stage analysis. In the first stage, the teams would give account

of the process and the results in separate reports and then on the second stage, a meta-analysis would be conducted comparing the results from the two methods in order to check, enrich and explain the outcomes of one methodology with the outcomes of the other. What is hidden behind the numbers, shares, correlations found in the quantitative study? Similarly, how common is one or the other way of thinking, or the meanings found in the qualitative study when compared with the results from the survey?

This is a main challenge of the methodology designed in SAHWA project and an exciting scientific dare. After the formulation of main research enquiries and thematic questions, the survey and ethnographic fieldwork will effort in obtain data collections to resolve them in posterior analysis. Therefore, SAHWA could represent a challenge to do these two kinds of approach to the youth of Arab Mediterranean countries at the same time. Our aim is to produce a parallel and complementary methodology between survey and ethnographic techniques as a new tool for the social sciences.

4.3. Research and data analyses

The SAHWA methodological approach is rooted in an interactive research process, which is structured in three main phases according to the Research Management summary (Figure 4).

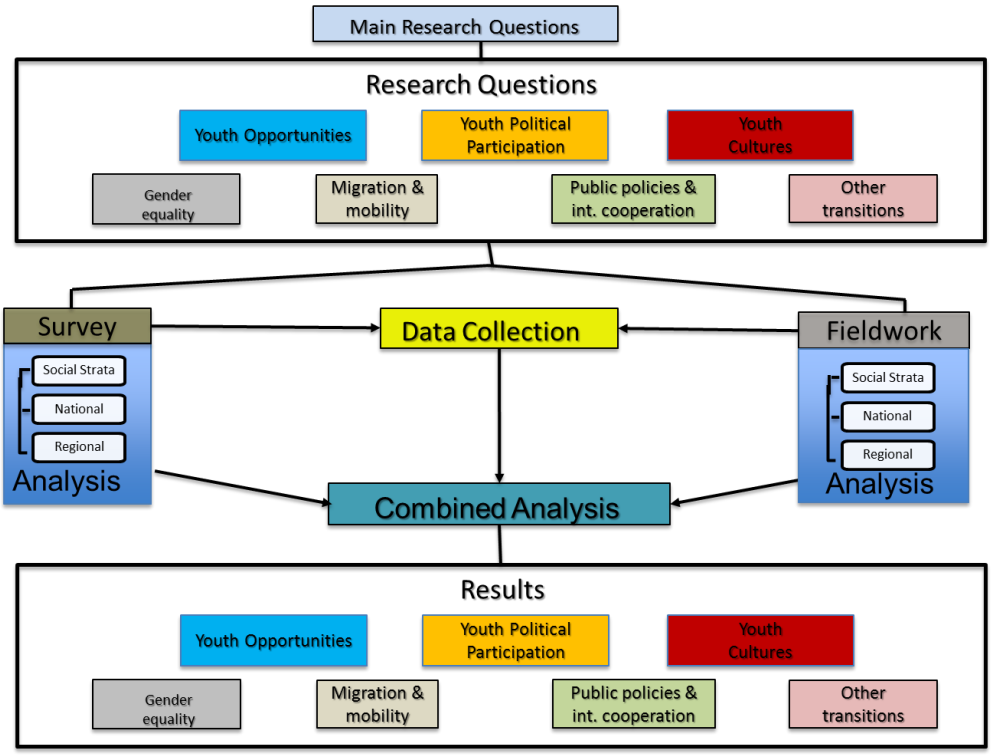
1. **In the first stage,** with a theoretical and methodological orientation, the aim is to define the **main research questions.** This stage was started with the design of initial Project, followed by their concretisation in this text, taking into account the partners' feedback. The concept paper is rooted in previous scientific approximations and is structured from their three central dimensions (youth opportunities, youth political participation and youth culture), as well the four crosscutting dimensions (gender, mobility, public policies and transitions). Their result is the ten main research questions formulated at the beginning of this section. This stage is a collaboration of all partners and researchers involved in the Project, through the initial impulse of CIDOB as coordinator and UdL as being in charge of the methodological design.

2. The **second stage**, with an empirical orientation, **consists in the collection of quantitative and qualitative data**, in order to produce new discoveries. These are the bases for responding to our research question and the formulation of new scientific questions. It begins with the Seminar in Tunis, follows with the survey and ethnographic fieldwork and finish with the interpretation of the results. If in the first stage and last stage the project is integrated, during fieldwork, the most complex and extensive phase, a bifurcation occurs according to the two methods of data collection used: survey and ethnography. These two methods are based on different procedures and staff, although there remains the usage of convergent analysis techniques from three main levels of analysis: social strata, national, and transnational. This phase ends with a combined analysis at a national level, in which the data obtained by the survey and ethnography are put in front of the mirror, in order to draw a picture of the lives of young people in the five countries surveyed. The protagonists of this phase are the research teams of the five Mediterranean Arab countries (Morocco, Egypt, Tunis, Algeria and Lebanon), with the support of the respective Task Force.

3. The **third phase**, with a comparative and applied nature, **returns to the research questions**, from the three central and the four crosscutting dimensions. At this stage a dialogue between theoretical questions and fieldwork data (survey and ethnography), trying to go beyond the local and national level to make comparisons at the regional (Arab Mediterranean countries) and transnational (Euro-Mediterranean relations) is established. This benchmarking process can result in theoretical findings and mainly conclusions related to social and youth public policies. In this case, the main protagonist of this stage are the coordinators of thematic and transversal Workpackages.

The aim of SAHWA is a comparative perspective rooted in three stages of secondary analyses of data collected in order to achieve the objective of the project in accordance with the methodological approach. Thus, three main levels of analyses are proposed. This analytical device will provide the research team with the capacity to group meanings, statements and practices into broader social and cultural configurations of class, gender and ethnicity (McWhorter, 1999). This process is particularly important in showing subjectivities not as something possessed, but rather a complex and multifaceted process of becoming. In summary, this means to study Arab young people's own views on exclusion (and inclusion), identity and life-plans in general as inspired by available discourses and other narrative sources, as we are interested to detect how Arab youth construct and advance their social reality through categories and narratives. The different methods cover different aspects and their results should be added to create a more nuanced image of young people's lives. We should be able to combine the results in a single picture of social relations seen not only as structures of opportunities and constraints but also as a result of processes of negotiations, meaning making and agency of Arab Mediterranean youth.

Figure 4. SAHWA Methodological Approach



Elaborated by Jsùe Sánchez García and Iván Martín

5. For What? Expectations in Research

In this final section we intend to point out some anticipated research results, both as a scientific dimension (new knowledge) and applied (proposals and recommendations for public policy and third sector organizations). We will base our argument on the three major themes of the project hitherto explicated (Youth Opportunities, Youth participation and Youth culture), therein incorporating the various transverse dimensions (gender, mobility, and policies).

With regard to **youth opportunities** (employment, education and social inclusion), we try to evaluate the employment conditions and expectations of young people and especially young women in Arab Mediterranean countries, and to analyse how the governance systems and institutional structures can provide responses in order to impede or limit such mismatch. To achieve these objectives, it is necessary to know the factors that create and shape the expectations of young people in their transition from school to work and the effects of political and socioeconomic transition on such expectations. It is also important to know, the main features of informal economy -the main ways young population in Arab Mediterranean countries subsist- and their impact on social and working conditions of young people and the challenge of integrating these into the formal economy. Among the policy recommendations, we can look towards innovative experiences of comprehensive education, youth entrepreneurship and inclusive forms of cooperation.

Regarding **youth participation** (political and voluntary activities), SAHWA aims to generate new, more comprehensive and contextualized knowledge on patterns of mobilization, social organization, political engagement, and the use of social media, contextualized by socio-economic and political conditions and historical evolution. In this sense, the revolutions of 2011 are one of the focuses of the research but not solely, as our focus on political engagement of youth are more oriented towards processes and forms of activism rather than empirical explanations of specific mobilizations. Our interest is to investigate how the patterns of mobilization vary between genders. What are the specific forms and contents of mobilization developed by young women and young men (participation practices, organisational structures, goals, rhetoric, use of social media) or how gender interacts with other social dimensions (e.g. urban/rural context, class, ethnic or religious affiliation) in molding different patterns of mobilization among young people. Among the policy recommendations, we can look towards innovative experiences of youth activism, social networking, local participation and global youth exchanges.

From our view of **youth cultures**, we aim to identify, describe and analyse the different cultural practices of young people of the Arab Mediterranean countries in relation to the articulation of different social conditions. We are interested in exploring the changes of youth social values that are happening currently (especially in relation to family, gender relations, politics and civic participation, religion and work, among other issues). We are also interested in the strategies that young men and women deploy for constructing their identity and shaping their biographical projects under conditions of increasing uncertainty and in the context of political, cultural and social transition of today Arab Mediterranean countries. We will focus on young people's practices of consumption as well on the creation of new lifestyles, as indicators of socio-political transitions, if it occurs. We will analyse the use and meanings of

media and ICT, and their impact on young people's everyday life. We feel compelled to analyse young people's representations and use of time and space. In this sense, we are interested in understanding young people's subjective perceptions of time and, in particular, of the future. Moreover, urban spaces are becoming a central place for youth practices, so we are interested in understanding how young people appropriate and use urban spaces for expressing new practices, and in knowing how the production of urban lower classes contribute to the circulation of popular knowledge in the way of conceiving, producing and living the city as a public agora. Among the policy recommendations, we can look towards innovative experiences of youth lifestyles, new consumption patterns, emergent social values and intergenerational exchanges.

In each topic, it is essential to take into account a gender perspective as a transversal perspective. Gender is indeed one of the key crosscutting dimensions that inform both data collection and data analysis is in our research project (beside migration processes, and policy-making processes). The aim is to develop a gender-attentive analysis of the changing youth condition in the Arab Mediterranean countries. This perspective can be articulated through three more detailed analytical objectives. First, we aim at integrating a gender approach in the analysis of the structural factors that shape youth condition in the SEM countries. Concentrating on the different gender regimes - and thus on gender relations between men and women that generate and perpetuate gender inequalities - we will focus on the socio-economic and cultural factors that shape the living conditions and opportunities of young women, compared to young men. Second, we want to understand the subjective reflections of these structural changes: on the construction of identity, on the reflexive activity, on the coping and negotiating strategies carried out by girls and boys in order to make sense of their lives and social realities, and to construct their own biographical projects. The third objective is to identify the different pathways towards fostering equality between women and men and to assess the existing or raising conditions for establishing social justice in gender relations.

In this line, the analysis of the transformation of the gender relations and models for younger generations represents a strategic research dimension. In order to fulfil the objectives above mentioned, we should explore the changes in the gender relations that young men and women are experiencing in their everyday life in the specific local contexts we are going to study. We should also try to figure out to what extent and how the social representations, norms and cultural models around masculinity and femininity are changing in younger generations compared with adult generations.

Youth is deeply changing in the Arab Mediterranean countries –and the analysis of each working package will provide insights on the main tendencies and modes of this transformation: we would like to explore some of the consequences on a broader cultural level, considering whether and how new gender models are emerging for young people.

When we undertake this kind of analysis, we should avoid projecting narratives of automatic progression and emancipation. Changes in gender structures and ideologies are not always progressive; they do not always entail an improvement of the living conditions of men and women, and they do not always go in the direction of greater equality. On the contrary, the dynamics of social change in this field often encompass conflicting tendencies. For instance, we can assist on the one hand to the opening of new possibilities of action for young women (and men) in the public sphere and in the private life, the formation of more equal and more

conciliatory roles for men and women. On the other hand, we can assist to the formation of negative models, the outbreak of gender violence, or to processes of cultural backlash and the attack against women's rights, etcetera. Many studies describe how gender inequalities can be exacerbated under certain conditions, such as structural adjustments and neoliberal policies, war, in the aftermaths of the revolutions and rapid political transition, the gaining of power by conservative or fundamentalist forces, etcetera. Part of our research tasks will consist in dealing with these conflicting tendencies, looking at their consequences in the lives of young men and women, and trying to sustain the positive process of transformation.

Finally, we recall that the SAHWA project is conceived as **participatory and collaborative research**, in which young people are not mere objects and informants but are also subjects of the process of knowledge construction (and subsequently can be agents to share that knowledge). This means that young people who participate as informants in the process of data collection (in the survey and especially in the field) can become active agents in the process of dissemination of project results. To do this, in addition to reports and academic publications, the project includes two special features whose primary purpose is the dissemination of research results: the Shababpedia and Documentary (see Annexes). In addition, the project includes a SAHWA Community, which is conceived as a meeting place for researchers, stakeholders, youth activists and youth in general. If we keep that community alive after the completion of the project, it will have succeeded, because we think that the lack of mediating spaces and intergenerational communication is one of the fundamental problems of the Arab-Majority Mediterranean societies, which determines its economic take-off, hinders their social cohesion and prevents cultural progress.

CONCLUSION

Lastly, though not less in importance, the objective of the SAHWA project is to compose an Arab Mediterranean **youth portrait**. In the kick-off seminar someone talked about the image of the **mosaic** as a metaphor for this research: a very Mediterranean image that looks towards small pieces of coloured social artefacts (young boys' and girls' voices, images and knowledge), pieces which, viewed from outside, can depict a general panorama of the social and cultural conditions of the region. However, the mosaic is fixed and cumulative: it is difficult to change.

The **kaleidoscope** could be another good metaphor for this task because the images of the kaleidoscope change with the movement of the artefact. Every question in the survey, every answer in a narrative interview could be seen as the pebbles and bits of glass in the kaleidoscope. As with the kaleidoscope, the viewer looks into it with their own interests in mind, and creates a pattern of youth on a specific issue, from the reflection of the questions, interviews, videos and other material collected. What's more, similar to a kaleidoscope, our methodological perspective operates on the principle of multiple reflections, where the voices of various young people, researchers and stakeholders are included. Our kaleidoscope is made up of research questions, theoretical perspectives; diverse materials collected from youths and produced by them, or of almost any other material that a researcher can use.

In dialogue with this image, in the Rabat Seminar, Ummuhan Bardak noted that not everything is always changing and moving in the kaleidoscope of Arab Mediterranean countries. What may change is the views from outside (or from inside). However, the real patterns and values of the institutions and of young people are not changing so fast. The key point is diversity: in Western countries, the Nation-building processes (based on education, the welfare state, markets, and so on) have created the conditions for a homogeneization of social life and for the globalizing of youth cultures (Nilan and Feixa, 2006). This is still not the case in the Arab Mediterranean Countries, where diversity in terms of class, gender, age and territory remains a determinant factor. Nevertheless, the aim of this research is to evaluate to what extent recent social and political changes have reversed the scene for the younger generations.

From this point of view, the SHAWA project needs to take into account the continuities and discontinuities of the realities that shape young people's lives, the differences between insider and outsider perspectives, and the diversity of social actors. Of course, the kaleidoscope is a metaphor of our methodological approach for interpreting the reality, not the reality itself. On the other hand, it has to be said that in the kaleidoscope there are three lens each of which filter and reflect the light. Our lenses could be the three major topics of the project (youth opportunities, participation and cultures), but also the three transversal dimensions (gender, mobility and policies), and even the three key actors (the young people, the researchers and the stakeholders). The success of the project will depend on a balance between these triangular kaleidoscopes.

We embarked on this journey by way of images of the compass and the astrolabe and we finish with the images of the kaleidoscope. Only wish 'bon voyage' to all who sail in the same boat for the next two years.

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الصحوة
Sahwa

Researching
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The SAHWA Project ("Researching Arab Mediterranean Youth: Towards a New Social Contract") is a FP-7 interdisciplinary cooperative research project led by the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB) and funded by the European Commission. It brings together fifteen partners from Europe and Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries to research youth prospects and perspectives in a context of multiple social, economic and political transitions in five Arab countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and Lebanon). The project expands over 2014-2016 and has a total budget of €3.1 million. The thematic axis around which the project will revolve are education, employment and social inclusion, political mobilization and participation, culture and values, international migration and mobility, gender, comparative experiences in other transition contexts and public policies and international cooperation.

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