Transitions towards employment from non-formal education: a biographical-narrative view

Transiciones hacia la inserción laboral desde entidades de educación no formal: una mirada biográfico-narrativa

*Cristina **Bayarri López** y Soraya **Calvo González***
Universidad de Oviedo
E-mail: bayarricristina@uniovi.es; calvosoraya@uniovi.es
ORCID ID:
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4497-8364;
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9596-3007

Abstract:

Non-formal, second chance, or alternative educational institutions provide training and education programs for young people who have previously experienced disaffection and dropped out of school. These organizations are places where those people can find a sense of belonging, bonding, and personal reengagement outside of the academic or training context, and they become an important supporting element for young people in the transition to employment. This article is part of a national RDi project focused on analyzing the characteristics and contexts of implementing dropout prevention and re-engagement programs aimed at adolescents in vulnerable situations which are producing positive results. The project also examines the life stories of participants on that path who have successfully completed the process. In this article we describe the biographical history of a young participant in a socio-educational institution in the city of Gijón (Asturias, Spain) based on a qualitative methodological approach that presents a narrative analysis. Specifically, it presents a young woman's experiences and interpretations from different points on her journey

towards re-engaging with employment in the context of the current crisis. After presenting the results, we analyze structural and systemic constraints and discuss implications for improving educational and training programs that affect the transition to employment of young people living in complex sociocultural contexts.

Key Words: education work relationship; academic failure; non-formal education; educational policy; case studies.

Resumen:

Las instituciones de educación no formal, segunda oportunidad o alternativas desarrollan programas formativos y/o sociolaborales para personas jóvenes con vivencias previas de desafección y abandono escolar. Estas organizaciones se convierten en escenarios de pertenencia, vinculación identitaria y reenganche personal más allá de lo académico-formativo, suponiendo un elemento influyente y de apoyo para los y las jóvenes en la transición hacia un empleo. El presente artículo se enmarca dentro un proyecto nacional de I+D+i centrado en conocer características y contextos de implementación de programas de prevención del abandono y re-enganche dirigidos a adolescentes en situación vulnerable que están obteniendo resultados positivos y en indagar en historias de vida de participantes en dichos itinerarios que superaron el proceso con éxito. En este artículo desarrollaremos la historia autobiográfica de una joven participante en una entidad socioeducativa de la ciudad de Gijón (Asturias) a partir de un enfoque metodológico cualitativo que presenta un análisis narrativo. En concreto, se describen experiencias e interpretaciones de la joven sobre diferentes momentos de su trayectoria de reenganche sociolaboral en el contexto de crisis actual. Tras la presentación de resultados, se ofrece una discusión destinada a analizar los condicionantes estructurales y sistémicos y a derivar implicaciones para la mejora de los programas educativos/formativos que inciden en las transiciones hacia el empleo de personas jóvenes que viven en contextos socioculturales complejos.

Palabras clave: estudio de caso; educación no formal; fracaso escolar; política educacional; relación educación – empleo.

1. Presentation of the problem

1.1. Experiences of disengagement, drop-out, and re-engagement in educational contexts for young people in vulnerable social situations.

Research about the process of educational disengagement, in a broad sense, continues to raise academic unease and political concern, particularly because of the close relationship with school dropout and the profound consequences there may be for young people. This is particularly so in the context of the current crisis and something that international organizations seek to address urgently (UNICEF, 2021).

The importance of students moving through the school system with assurances educational success clashes directly with the reality of young people who do not pass compulsory secondary education (ESO) and drop out—called school failure in our educational system—following cumulative disengagement or dissatisfaction with their school experience (González, 2021). These are students who may also consider not participating in post-compulsory training pathways because of negative beliefs resulting from their previous experiences and feeling that they lack direction after dropping out (Nieto et al., 2018; San Fabián, 2020).

Recent research tends to agree that when students become disconnected in their schooling, they do so because of a range of both individual and institutional factors—these may be inherent to the organizational and teaching conditions in the schools—as well as broader structural and systemic conditions in their surroundings (González y Cutanda, 2020). There is also evidence about the variety of types of non-linear educational pathways taken by young people at risk of dropping out of school, which highlights the range of different scenarios, academic routes, and experiences of conflict. Tomaszewska-Pękała et al. (2017) labelled them as: Unanticipated crisis, Downward spiral, Parabola, Boomerang, Resilient route, and Shading out. The existence of the different routes significantly widens the approach to this problem, inviting an analysis of the phenomenon by looking at multiple events and offering various ways of preventing school drop-out.

Nonetheless, the school context plays an important role, placing stress on young people's agency. The way they relate to each other, their forms of learning, and how they behave, progressively separate certain students with complex personal and socio-family circumstances. This may be from the young people actively rejecting school or from learned helplessness (and resignation) that they assimilate on many occasions as a failure that threatens their own identity (Vázquez-Recio, 2021). One influential element within engagement is the sense of belonging to the educational context, which is key in the processes of constructing identity. However, we have found static approaches to the component which do not critically analyze whether the school setting is a welcoming place where all of the young people want to construct their identities (McInerney et al., 2011; Saraví et al., 2020).

Socio-educational dynamics and interactions, and the tendency to maintain both structural order and academic achievement have an impact on the identity of those adolescents who experience episodes of failure in their schooling. For Vázquez-Recio (2021), this brings up power games and domination that fracture the sense of belonging to the school and make students aware of their deficits in order to survive in the system. Although this awareness may produce new academic objectives for a certain type of student, emphasizing the negative in students who have difficulties in adapting to the context would only increase their feelings of inadequacy. A lack of institutional recognition is an important determinant of identity.

The issue of the reality of school, and therefore processes of engagement, being molded more by the hidden curriculum and by the beliefs and values of the school-educational culture than by the tangible and the explicit is also indicated by studies into re-engagement (González y San Fabián, 2018). Non-formal, second opportunity, compensatory, or re-engagement educational contexts offer continuity to students who have disengaged from or dropped out of their schooling. These institutions seek attachment with their participants that goes beyond the educational, they try to create caring environments and they accompany people holistically in their transitions to employment and independent living.

Despite that, the dominant conception of engagement in the literature has been from an approach using psychological, positivist constructions that individualize

the phenomenon and encourage study that frames the student and their contexts as problematic, deploying a series of techniques and practices to resolve the problem. From this deficit-based perspective, engagement focuses on understanding how the students think, feel, and behave in school, without making an issue of school life and without addressing implicit issues of equity (McMahon y Portelli, 2012). We feel that school failure needs to be viewed in relation to the economic and political processes which fit with a market-based system and, to that end, perpetuate established class structures and cultural hegemony (Diez y de Pena, 2022). Approaches to school failure which place the problem on the individual fail to offer a contextual reading that can detect legislative inequalities and cultural mandates that promote discrimination. This is particularly sensitive in an educational framework in which there is more and more business-based policy aimed at establishing principles of meritocracy and efficiency making up what authors such as Díez-Gutiérrez (2020) have defined as "neoliberal governance".

It is worth noting that this epistemological, disciplinary trend related to engagement and staying in education runs particularly deep in the school settings and in their proposed actions. In these formal contexts, the discourse around teaching-learning processes with students who are disengaged from school opts for the use of hands-on, practical methodologies with professional guidance stemming from the belief that these disengaged students are less involved or less academically capable for individual reasons related to their socio-family environments, offering them less intellectually challenging options and limiting their desires and their socio-occupational options (Down et al., 2017).

As educational contexts, alternative organizations take a less essentialist, less deficit-based approach to engagement processes than formal school contexts (McGregor, 2015). They become home-like settings, mostly for young people who drop out during ESO through disengagement, but also for others who stop post-compulsory education due to dissatisfaction (Tarabini et al., 2021). They offer interesting possibilities when it comes to proposals for intervention and are characterized by designing integrated activities with accessible methodologies and tailored pathways into work. This is thanks to the capabilities and resilient processes of the organizational context (Ruiz-Román et al., 2020; San Fabián, 2020) and attentive, careful work with the participants. They also offer support for people to get basic qualifications from previous educational stages and in other regulated education to ensure that participants have the qualifications for realistic entry into the job market. While these entities have undoubted strengths, we must not ignore the peculiarities of the third sector, such as financing challenges and the administrative and organizational obstacles to true collaboration with public services (Holgado y Maya-Jariego, 2022).

1.2. Young people's transition from school to work

Young people follow a variety of different pathways to work, particularly those at risk of dropping out of school. Work-based training plays different roles in each type of educational trajectory for young people at risk of dropping out of school

early (Tomaszewska-Pękała et al., 2017), although it is worth emphasizing as a driving force in the re-engagement process. The school-work transition can be understood as "the period of time during which an individual finishes their studies and finds stable employment" (Nilsson, 2018, p. 746). This, however, is something of an oversimplification of our social reality, as young people are in various combinations of education and employment at the same time.

The worsening job market over recent years has had a real effect on transitions from education to employment, particularly for groups which found the process more difficult beforehand (Salvà-Mut et al., 2015). Seasonal work and part-time youth employment, often involuntarily so and seen by those who experience it as an economic and employment disadvantage (Torre, 2021), have become triggers of social exclusion, giving rise to the profile of the working poor (Martínez-Martín et al., 2018). The scenario in statistical terms paints a worrying picture: the national unemployment rate for under-25s was 31% in the third quarter of 2021 (INE). The proportion of young people aged 18-24 not in employment or education has also increased since the pandemic, and was almost 20% in 2020 (OECD, 2021). This is concerning, because employment is a key element affecting young people's ability to live independently and design their own life projects, it has been a blow to their confidence and helped to normalize the gap between what young people have been led to expect or have been promised and the opportunities available to them (INJUVE, 2020). Faced with the challenges of finding work, not getting the ESO qualification makes dropping out a social problem (Blaya et al., 2020), one which is today being tackled through the implementation of compensatory programs and measures.

These socio-economic circumstances affect some groups more than others, and early guidance, both inside and outside of schools, is crucial to avoid people dropping out of programs that they are dissatisfied with (Tarabini et al., 2021). Faced with a lack of meaning or direction in their lives, many young people who drop out of education find various routes at various times to organizations that help them re-engage. It is in these settings where a process of self-awareness begins and the search for a life project, which incorporates the work element as the axis around which they weave personal, educational, and socio-communicative activities.

1.3. Circumstances and conditions of socio-economic crisis

It is clear that the socio-economic crisis caused by COVID-19 has worsened young people's lives, and it is also well-known that before the pandemic, this group already suffered mental health problems without the framework or financing for adequate public intervention to deal with them (UNICEF, 2021). It is precisely the pattern of precariousness in work and life after two socio-economic crises in little more than a decade which has been so harmful to young people's wellbeing. The pandemic itself, with its restrictions and changes, has upset the stability of social routines and patterns, giving rise to more profound existential insecurity (Callejo, 2016). The pandemic increased loneliness (Allen y Furlong, 2021), weakening bonds

and projects which are hard to keep relevant to the job market without support and guidance.

The dominant medical and psychological approaches to young people's mental health do not allow for understanding socio-cultural causes, making wellbeing (including work-related success) the individual's responsibility (Cover, 2020; Down et al., 2017). Similarly, the pandemic has reinforced the stigmatizing, obfuscating discourse about young people that socio-educational research should not ignore (Rodríguez-Pascual, 2021). Recent research on school disengagement and re-engagement (González y San Fabián, 2018; San Fabián, 2020) has however indicated that certain pathways accompanied by adverse circumstances have strengthened their protagonists and made them more resilient, offering a reading of these young people that does not paint them as victims.

2.   Objetives

This article deals with the specific case of "D.", a young person with a meaningful life story describing a pathway of disengagement and subsequent re-engagement with education in a non-formal socio-educational institution in the city of Gijón, in Asturias (Spain). Based on "D.'s" pathway, we have the following objectives.

- Understand the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on the life course of a young woman who experienced disengagement and subsequent re-engagement when she effectively entered the job market.

- Examine her perceptions of the potential and challenges of the social/health crisis.

- Understand the roles played, in her view, by community, educational, and social organizations in the city she lives in during the social/health crisis.

3.   Methodology

This single case study is part of a nationally funded macro-contextual research project that various Spanish universities participated in. The project was structured as multiple descriptive case studies using a biographical-narrative approach (Bolívar, 2002) with complementary units of analysis:

- Socio-educational institutions, formal and non-formal, that offer educational re-engagement programs. The institutions were suggested by members of the research team following a diagnostic study of the target regions (Asturias, Cantabria, and Murcia) aimed at identifying programs of interest for educational re-engagement. Those organizations were subsequently examined in detail, looking at their structure, programs, and impact in their context.

● Educators, trainers, or professionals linked to those institutions and programs.

● Young people who had experienced disengagement and subsequent re-engagement linked to their participation at those institutions and programs. The single case study presented in this article uses this unit of analysis.

The methodological apparatus used for the multiple case study process (Durán, 2012) began with the combined work of the research team who produced two methodological guides: one aimed at examining programs and institutions, the other aimed at understanding the reality of young people who experienced disengagement–re-engagement and their surroundings. All of the tools were produced *ad hoc* through detailed theoretical-methodological development.

Each case study addressed different units of analysis (noted above) in detail. The present article describes the various steps to reach "D's" case.

FIRST PHASE – SELECTING THE INSTITUTION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ORIGINALLY FUNDED RESEARCH PROJECT[1]

The starting point for this article was a relevant case identified within the initial multiple case study, a socio-educational organization in the city of Gijón (Spain). This organization was one of the cases analyzed in detail owing to its social impact, the recognition it received from various public and private bodies, and its history of programs aimed at young people (Calvo et. al., 2020).

The initial approach to the case consisted of in-depth interviews (March – July 2018) with four young people and five educators and professionals from the organization who provided information about each of the young people. It is worth noting that the four young participants were selected due to the professionals' contributions, in which they considered certain young people's profiles to be "cases of social and educational success". These profiles were assessed considering a concept of success which went beyond the purely instrumental—related to qualifications or certifications—in negotiation with the professionals who served as the central link. In this way, profiles were assessed from young people who had demonstrated significant transformations in their lives in academic and professional aspects, as well as personally (improved self-concept, affective and social relationships, etc.).

The pathways of re-engagement and disengagement were described by those who experienced them and those who accompanied them. The young people also participated in a focus group (July 2018) where they discussed issues and compared how engaged members of the group were. This focus group was driven using creative information collection techniques (Mannay, 2017), allowing representation of each

---

[1] The results of that funded research project, along the with analysis related to the case used initially to frame the single case study described here, may be found in San Fabián, J.L. (Coord.). (2020). *Jóvenes resilientes en contextos socioeducativos adversos.* Editorial GRAÓ.

person's own identity and past and present social maps. The information collection process was organized considering a timescale around three key points emphasizing critical incidents: the first point, of school disengagement and the decision to drop out from school; a second, intermediate point between dropping out of school and re-engaging; and a third point focusing on the current situation and perspectives for the future. To encourage re-connection with the experience of re-engagement, all of the events took place at the organization's premises. After collecting the data for the institutional case and subsequently analyzing it, specific evidence and future lines for research were identified. The results of this first phase were key to the development of the data collection tool used in the second phase.

Following the end of the funded research, contact was maintained with the institution, which included providing them with the results and the active participation of members of the research team in various activities. This relationship allowed contact to be re-established with various key informants from the initial project to learn their subsequent journeys, achievements, and new goals, and to suggest a research route that would continue to collect information and maintain relationships with participants. In the middle of that process, the COVID-19 crisis began.

SECOND PHASE: AFTER THE FUNDED RESEARCH, AND TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF INVESTIGATION: THE CASE OF KEY INFORMANT "D."

Following the work with the various elements of the institutional case, we identified a key informant (young person) linked to the organization. Initial contact with her was within the funded project, but maintained after that project finished, which gave us effectively a four-year timespan (2018-2021). A qualitative longitudinal study was established (Botía-Morillas y Jurado-Guerrero, 2018) with two phases. The first within the framework of the research project, with multiple case studies and the identification of the relevant organization (2018-2019), and the second, following the end of that project, with the focus on the key informant, who constituted a new relevant case (2019-2021).

Table 1
Description of the study phases

Methodological Stages	First Phase	Second Phase
Timing	2018-2019	2019-2021
Information Collection Strategies And Tools	In-Depth Interviews	Field Journal
	Focus Group	In-Depth Interview
Informants	Young People (4)	D. (1)
	Professionals (5)	
Study Focus	Institution	Case "D."

Source: authors' own work.

Key informant D. was an active agent in this process and guided the methodological decision to examine a new case based on her experience. To do that, the original results from the first phase were used to construct a new methodological guide and suitable tool for collecting information. The proposed strategy for this second phase was an in-depth interview. The tool used for the interview focused on two aspects, first to reassess the evidence from the first phase about the participant's life, and second, to determine what had happened since the last contact, going over her experiences in the interim. The process was documented in a field journal.

D. was worth creating a new case for based on her uniqueness during and after the funded research. During the original study, D. gave us copious, meaningful information related to the institutional case. She told a unique story with complex keys that helped confirm valuable categories of analysis. Following that study, D. continued to have ties to the organization that had been examined. She participated in training and educational programs as a student and as an agent providing feedback for the organization itself. This meant that D. participated in various activities related to communicating the results of our funded project, and was active in producing reports of those results. Access to the key informant was mediated through one of the trainers who participated in the first phase of the project. At the beginning of September 2021, contact was made with that trainer to ask for up-to-date information about D., which meant we were able to get in touch with the key informant, opening up a direct route of communication, with her consent. We had various informal conversations with D. during September 2021 via WhatsApp in which she was told about the new study objectives and information was collected about her employment, academic, and personal situation at that time. An in-person meeting was negotiated and organized at the institution's premises on the 29th September 2021. The aforementioned tool was used in that meeting, the audio of which was also recorded. The meeting lasted around 50 minutes.

The biographical circumstances of D.'s experience reveal a pattern that may be common to young people who share parallel experiences and processes that allow implications to be established. In this regard, it is useful to explain that the qualitative approach to D.'s case produces results that are not generalizable (Stake, 2005) but which do enrich research practice and open up new questions about the problem of descriptive study of experiences that may be shared, nuanced, expanded, or refuted, among other things.

4. Introducing "D."

D. was a 19-year-old woman (as of September 2021) who was born and raised in Gijón and attended two state-funded schools in the area. D. had happy memories of primary school and had no academic difficulties there. She indicated that the move to secondary school as a critical trigger of her academic disengagement. She became more and more disaffected with each year of secondary school, indicating

the influence of her new classmates with whom she was developing an identity she described as "*chunga*" [an informal term in Spanish which can refer to someone from the underclass/lower classes, who does not take well to authority], rejecting school and getting in trouble. She was becoming chronically absent—something she hid from her family—and did not have significant relationships with teachers, feeling that she was being treated differently to other students because of her grades, among other things. She also gave up football, which she had been playing in her free time when she was in primary school. Although she recognized that the ESO teachers were concerned about her, D. said that at that time, she was not ready to understand or even listen to their advice. After repeating the second year of ESO after failing all of her subjects, in the 3rd year of ESO at the age of 16 and without finishing the school year she finally decided to drop out after three years of discontent, triggered by a conflict with a teacher. Her socio-family context did nothing to turn her situation around, as they saw the working world as a direct exit. During the first phase of the study, D. said, with some resentment, that she would have liked the school to have been concerned about her after her decision.

The phase between dropping out of school and re-engaging lasted six months. This transition produced various socio-emotional phases, going from an initial sense of liberation through to feeling directionless and "*reaching rock bottom*", which allowed her to gain an awareness of her situation and personal needs. Her decision to drop out also meant breaking off relationships with many of her previous school friends, who she felt were "*bad company*". She described the things which drove her towards change in this transition period: the need for employment—and the need for qualifications or experience, a complex social, family, and economic situation that she felt responsible for and in which she took on the care of a younger sister, and her desire for independence and autonomy. She got in touch with her local employment office two months after dropping out of school, and her parents encouraged her to attend the *Fundación Secretariado Gitano* [a foundation supporting Roma people in Spain], where she recalled having felt supported by her own family, who participated in the foundation. That foundation helped her to make contact with the re-engagement institution in the city of Gijón, a non-profit organization that had more than 15 years of neighborhood-focused socio-educational activity in various spheres of intervention: infancy, adolescence and youth; social action; volunteering and social participation; and employment-training.

D. said that in this re-engagement stage, all aspects of her life changed, she noted emotional wellbeing and the positive reconstruction from her past academic (and personal) failure as the central elements. During her first year with the organization she took part in three different training programs: a 6-month "Computer Maintenance" program of training and work from *Joven Ocúpate* [Occupy Yourself]; the "*Escuelina*" [little school] program, where she began preparing to take the entrance exam for a diploma in Electromechanics, which she passed; and the "*Monitor de Ocio y Tiempo Libre*" [Free Time and Leisure Instructor] course, related to the connection of various members of her family with the Scouts, a group she had joined at the same time as beginning at the organization. She also took part in

training sessions on various topics (sexual education, employment guidance, etc.)
that the organization offered their participants to enhance their socio-personal skills.

D. told us that her experience with the organization meant growth on various
levels. It reinforced her personal worth and enhanced her own standards, it
awakened her interest in learning, and it also re-directed her free-time towards
more healthy plans—partly because the organization offered free-time activities to
its participants, and partly because she was able to develop friendship bonds within
the organizational framework. She also noted that outside the organization she
maintained some friendships with schoolmates, "*because they also changed*" and re-
engaged with other education. D. felt that the re-engagement organization was like a
family, safe and reliable, where she had pleasant, safe relationships with the
educators, who offered instant support. Some of the educators became references
for her in the process of change. Re-engagement with education following her time
with the organization allowed her to re-direct her future projects on various levels.
In the summer of 2018, her goals were, educationally, to study for a diploma [*Grado
Medio*] in electromechanics, and from there to move to a higher diploma [*Grado
Superior*] and the ESO qualification, regardless of whether she achieved the higher
diploma. On a personal level, her aim was to look for stable employment and to live
independently. At that point, D. recognized her desires about employment ("*work as
a mechanic or in a preschool*") and the fact that those desires did not match up with
realistic options she had for re-insertion, which she had also been able to identify
within the framework of the organization. Her desire to live independently in Gijón
was an important, continuing element of her life project. At that time, with
hindsight, she felt a certain amount of regret about her decision to drop out of
school at 16.

In the second phase, 2019-2021, D. maintained her ties to the organization,
with varying strengths and in various settings due to COVID-19. In the end, she did
not start the diploma in 2019/20 as planned, instead, she decided to prepare for the
higher diploma and seek qualifications that really motivated her at that time. During
her preparation to begin the higher diploma, she temporarily joined a program called
"*Joven Ocúpate*", as well as training in various transversal skills. In September 2021,
she signed up to a diploma course (*Grado Medio*) after failing to pass the entrance
exam for the higher diploma, something she said was a great boost to her self-worth
after realistically approaching the goals she set herself. Salary played a key role in
this second phase as it was driven by her keen desire to leave home and live
independently, and to start a family. Although her wish to continue with her
education and do a higher diploma continued to be a key goal, her view of
employment as an anchor for her wellbeing and opportunities was clear. She was
aware of the challenges of finding a stable job and felt hopelessness in this regard. In
this stage, D. showed high levels of maturity, outside of the organization she had re-
started healthy activities that she had given up after leaving school, such as sport,
and, while she was aware of the importance of friendship, she was being more
selective about her friends.

5. Results

5.1. Vocational training as a way out after re-engagement: an unstable anchor for personal development

For D., the educational setting was a space for experimentation, resilience, and teaching-error which characterized a pathway of disengagement, dropout, and specific re-engagement. One of D.'s most ambitious objectives were her 2018 desire to get higher diploma qualifications. Because D. had dropped out of school before completing compulsory secondary education (ESO), she needed to pass entrance tests in order to gain access to the post-compulsory courses she wanted to do. During academic years 2019/20 and 2020/21, she attended training courses in the organization aimed at those higher diploma entrance exams. However, she did not get good results and failed on both attempts. She said that for her this was, "*like a rollercoaster, lots of ups and downs*". Her two experiences of preparing for the higher diploma entrance exams were notably different. During the first year, she followed the plan from the beginning, but in the second year she started her preparations later than her classmates because she had not initially thought to make another attempt. D. wanted to try her luck in the job market and find a job, but despite making an active search, she was unsuccessful and decided to rejoin the training program. She feels that this was a significant mistake that contributed to her failure.

D.'s efforts in education were not only aimed at formal education. In 2019/20, alongside her preparation for the higher diploma entrance exam (which she ultimately did not pass), she took part in work-based training from *Joven Ocúpate* called "Garment alterations and repair" which lasted six months. She did this mainly for financial reasons. This was because the program, as part of the Principality of Asturias Employment Service linked to youth employment measures, offered a training contract and salary in addition to a level 1 professional qualification. After completing the *Joven Ocúpate* course, D. never looked for work related to the training she had received as she felt that she "*wasn't very good at it*". The final part of that training was online, as it coincided with the COVID-19 lockdown (March-May 2020). D. was positive about the experience of applying what she had learned in theory classes and adapting that to the needs of the community by designing and sewing masks which were donated to various organizations in the city.

Currently (academic year 2021/22), D. is studying for a diploma (*Grado Medio*) in vehicle bodywork at a state-funded training center in Gijón, with 12 classmates (4 girls, 8 boys). The choice of this level of diploma was due to the material conditions. D. had not passed the entrance tests for a higher diploma and needed to tailor her initial goal based on her ultimate academic situation. Vehicle bodywork was not her first choice either. She had selected IT and electromechanics as priorities to try and link her choice of study with two of her passions, cars and computers—passions she had maintained throughout her biography. Despite that, she did feel happy having found a course leading to a formal qualification (key objective) linked to what she enjoyed. Her future objectives still include a higher diploma,

after completing her current diploma, which would mean she will not have to sit an entrance test.

5.2. The transition from the re-engagement organization to the world of work, the first stop in a journey full of obstacles

Another objective that D. noted during the first phase of our research as something essential for her to pursue independent living and for stability was to find a job. D. began actively looking for work at the end of 2020, having realized the difficulties of getting the type of job she wanted. Her criteria for sending her CV was simple, she sought any job that did not require previous experience or ESO qualifications, "*I sent my CV everywhere*". She received responses from her applications for various different jobs, at elderly care facilities, service and outsourcing companies, and hospitality. She did not have much luck, but she managed to get five interviews, all informal, in which she felt comfortable. In those interviews she was asked about her availability and interest in the job, "*whether I was keen and not much more*". She noted that she had more responses from companies after she managed to get her type B driving license. She did not always get hold of full information about the nature of the jobs, and occasionally felt confused about the specific work to be done or the conditions of the position. She mainly used online job websites for her search (Trabajastur and Infojobs). When it came to institutional routes to employment, D. said that she did use the public job center but never received any job advertisements or any other kind of information in that regard from that channel.

She found a job in 2021. She had an interview for that position in the summer of 2020 but did not get the job at that time. A year later, she was called for another interview and ultimately was given the job. D. works in the hospitality industry and has a temporary contract for 10 hours per week, although she said that she does work "some extra" hours. She is content, despite her hours being prone to change at short notice, and there is a good atmosphere between the people who work with her. She works in the front of house and in the kitchen, where she is more at ease.

5.3. Other education, other opportunities

D. felt that the education she received at the organization related to interpersonal and relationship skills had a clear positive impact on her work. She highlighted the courses on social and communicative skills, sexual education, prevention of gender violence, and conflict management and resolution. Getting her driving license in 2019 also had a notable influence. The process went smoothly, she passed the theory test at the second attempt, and the practical test on her first try. She prepared for those tests at a driving school on her own initiative.

When it came to sport and cultural activities, D. did not participate in organized activities, but she did play football as part of an informal neighborhood group regularly and spent time at a car repair workshop to learn on her own. She also

went to see rallies occasionally, which were one of her main interests and linked to the subject of her diploma as we noted previously.

5.4. Turning a crisis into learning - an experiential approach to the concept of resilience

When she finished the *Joven Ocúpate* training, and following a fruitless search for a job, D. felt "*stuck*" and did not enjoy that sensation of not doing anything. "*I had to do something, otherwise I wouldn't feel fulfilled (…) what do I do? I didn't know what to do*". In addition, at that time she also had some conflicts with friends that meant she had to make some important decisions and which helped her to grow as a person, "*if they let you down once, and again, and again… in the end, you have to look out for yourself and the rest can go hang.*" All of that coincided with notable changes in her life which turned out to be positive. Through *Joven Ocúpate*, D., made a friend who became important to her life and had daily contact with various people with whom she shared other educational processes, such as preparing for the higher diploma entrance tests. She also noted that one of her important current friendships came about due to COVID-19. One of her neighbors that she had not really had anything to do with before the pandemic became her best friend after conversations in the hallways and stairwells and invitations to play videogames. All of these key moments meant a change for D., which is that now she feels she expresses herself more and puts herself, rather than others, first. It is worth recalling that in the investigations in the first phase of the research, D. felt herself to be shy and reserved and she struggled to put herself forward, preferring to pass unnoticed and stay in the background. Now, as she herself put it, "*she has become the protagonist of her own life*".

5.5. Decision-making as professional and personal empowerment

The various decisions D. had to make ended up being significant events in her employment and personal development. One of the main decisions was sending her CV to the place where she currently works. Initially, she was not going to send it, as she felt that the pay was too low. After sending it, and during the in-person interview for the job, the employer weighed up increasing the pay, which they finally did. This allowed D. to take the job on better terms than were advertised. On the academic side, failing the higher diploma entrance tests twice, and not getting onto the diploma courses she preferred, meant that she had to adapt to a course that was at first sight not connected to her interests. After some reflection ("*it bugged me for a while*") she found a possible link to her future plans, and she made an effort to link it to her personal interests, which she had maintained over time, before deciding to sign up to that course. This was a conflict that D. said was important, and that she valued as a personal process, as the people around her did not seem to push for any of the possibilities.

5.6. Thoughts about the future

D. is not hopeful about her future; she views it as "*bleak*". She thinks it will
be hard to get jobs in car bodywork as a woman. She has not discounted her
ambitions objective of doing a higher diploma, and following her negative
experiences with the entrance tests, she thinks it is more realistic to access the
higher diploma by doing the lower diploma first. She also wants to keep the job she
has until she is able to get a better one. She thinks that the biggest hurdle to that is
her lack of professional experience. She said that this was something she saw around
her, her peers do not work and those who get interviews do not get jobs because
they have no experience. She noted that the biggest obstacle to her achieving her
personal objectives (independence, starting a family) is financial, which is tied
directly to access to employment. In this regard, she said that the work-training
programs had been very useful for many of the people she knew, including herself,
more because they were paid positions than the educational component or
qualifications they provided. D. said that, although her experience with the
organization had awakened her interest in learning in a broad sense, she wanted to
pursue qualifications out of a personal desire to face outstanding challenges as well
as to increase her capital in order to be able to improve her quality of life. She was
satisfied with the diploma she was doing, and she was making an effort to link it to
her personal-professional interests in a positive way, as it is a lever she can use to
reach the courses she really wants to do.

5.7. Support during COVID-19

D. felt that she had received significant support from the organization. This
took various forms, from training for the higher diploma entrance tests to informal
help via WhatsApp, help in signing up for courses, employment guidance services,
and work-based training such as the *Joven Ocúpate* course she did. She emphasized
the financial help she was given to buy material for her diploma course. She had to
buy individual safety gear (overalls, boots, etc.), but could not afford it, and
considered dropping out of the course because of this. It was an important issue for
her, but the organization was able to help with the costs in the end. D. noted that
she had not received any other specific help during this time from any other
organization.

D. felt that COVID had not had any notable negative impact on her life, and
took some positive lessons from it, she believed that her experience during those
months had improved her social circle.

5.8. How can socio-educational organizations help young people transition to employment?

D. had a clear position in this regard—by offering practical programs that do
not need experience, or work placement programs. On similar lines, she felt that it
is important for these people to have access to employment guidance (she attended
guidance services in the organization). When asked about the problems related to

accessing these services, she said that many people could feel helpless or embarrassed asking for this type of help, especially in group activities, *"people don't want to say 'I don't know anything', the don't want to look bad (…) I would tell them to think about themselves, to put their embarrassment to one side"*.

Lastly, she noted the importance of psychological help due to the impact of COVID on daily life.

6. Discussion and conclusions

6.1. The resilient route and decision-making

D.'s path fell within the Resilient Route according to the possible pathways taken by young people at risk of dropping out of school proposed by Tomaszewska-Pękała et al. (2017). This type of route is related to situations in which young people, despite encountering adversity in their educational journeys, have protective factors that balance the risks and drive them to continue. Resilience is not considered to be exclusively linked to people's characteristics or capabilities, but is process-based and constructed in the environments and actions that overwhelm the individual (Ruiz-Román et al., 2020; San Fabián, 2020). Longitudinal analysis of the results shows that D.'s educational process was not without obstacles (personal, school, family, socio-economic, etc.) in the phases of disengagement, dropping out, and re-engagement, and aggravated in the current socio-economic crisis. D. considered these obstacles as elements that have shaped her past decisions, as well as her current experiences and views about the future.

When it comes to her transition to employment and independent living, we have to highlight the socio-educational organization as a resilient context which provided various protective factors in terms of support, confidence, and getting behind her high (and appropriate) aspirations. That is in addition to the financial help to overcome the structural obstacle that D. would not have been able to do on her own to continue her diploma. The protective factors include: beginning to see the value in education for a better quality of life; feeling valuable and important; putting herself first; constructing positive relationships with people that contribute to her self-defined life project. It is worth noting that it is not only that the adversities that D. encountered have been compensated for by protective factors, but that the risks and complexities also became strengthening elements (San Fabián, 2020). It was precisely in the decision-making arising from the intersection between the risks and potential and the capacity for real action which fed her empowerment and persistence in meeting challenges, such as accessing a higher diploma, despite having tried to do so unsuccessfully twice, and her ultimately successful search for a job.

In addition, it is worth noting that D. dropped out of formal education through becoming disengaged (Tarabini et al., 2021) following a process of disaffection characterized by strong rejection of everything related to school and a subsequent

spiral of poor behavior and disciplinary measures until she finally dropped out, despite the support she received, which did not seem to meet her needs. The role of the re-engagement organization was key in breaking this pattern, not only because it was a supportive, affective element, but because of its organizational and pedagogical characteristics (González y San Fabián, 2018). Flexibility is an absolute necessity in activities aimed at young people who have given up on their schooling early so that they can re-engage and reconcile study, work, and other adult responsibilities. Despite recognizing this, we cannot ignore the material limitations that third sector and non-formal educational bodies face when dealing with certain situations of structural precariousness underlying many of the journeys these young people are on. This structural precariousness is why these institutions' exist, and why there are obstacles they have to overcome in order to provide quality care because of the current social crisis (Holgado y Maya-Jariego, 2022).

6.2. The learning process as a "rite of passage" for the transition to employment (and the resulting pedagogical devaluation)

Redefining education as a preparatory stage for working fits with the concept of "neoliberal governance" presented by Díez-Gutiérrez (2020) and is linked to the legislative reforms of the educational system over recent years. Starting from D.'s experiences and considering the contributions made by Down et al. (2017), two ideas arise that underline the importance of professionalizing certain school-training programs. One is that there is the challenge young people face in finding decent work during a crisis and the market's need for an appropriately skilled workforce, on the other, the other is that young people with socio-family difficulties are less engaged and feel less connection with the academic world (Zyngier, 2008). Students who are disconnected from school are generally guided towards these types of paths from discourse about engagement that is focused on individualizing the problem, which considers their behavior and other tangible elements as explanatory factors rather than symptoms of complex contextual problems, "reinforcing neo-liberal discourses of individual responsibility for success or failure and related notions of deficit youth" (McGregor, 2015, p. 9). This tendency in vocational guidance begins early in schooling, discounting academic content in certain measures and from a firm defense of manipulative, practical methodologies to ensure engagement, and the presumed desire (or push) towards the job market. That is all to the detriment of more stimulating, rigorous, solid education in academic, social, and personal spheres (González y Cutanda, 2020) more broadly linked to life projects.

The belief that young people want easy, quick employment is so ingrained that they accept it as part of their identity, as indicated in D.'s discourse. Her wishes were initially focused on getting a job, regardless of the field or the conditions. In line with this belief, the processes of requalification, occupational training, and work-based education combine around a concept of personal re-evaluation by the person who is unemployed, who then becomes responsible for their own unemployment (Carvajal, 2010). This is a problem that needs to be highlighted because, as Garrido-Yserte et. al. (2019) said, we are not entirely sure what has

prompted the previous failure in this group—technological factors, socio-economic factors, or structural factors. The problem becomes even more acute in crises such as that caused by COVID-19 (Torre, 2021).

The essence of re-engagement organizations—key in supporting the transition to adult life—lies in the professionalization of pathways. However, young people who have undergone educational routes "aimed at employment", like D., still demonstrate the need for more practical training and they bemoan their lack of experience when trying to get a job. The success of re-engagement measures must be linked to a curriculum that connects to young people's lives and is delivered in an integrated fashion, delivering educationally valuable experiences (González y San Fabián, 2018) beyond merely mechanical and occupational activities linked to a professional field.

From this we can deduce that knowledge is legitimized in so far as it is useful for demonstrating or realizing added value in terms of competencies, which become the tangible end of all professional education, regulated or otherwise. It is not for nothing that the concept of "basic competency", coined by the OECD and currently applied in primary and secondary education, is assessed based on competencies gained or worked on with measurable economic and social benefits. One clear example of the perceived importance of knowledge from outside the sphere of regulated education is the driving license, which can make it possible to get a job without itself being a qualifying agent. Something similar happens with informal learning related to socialization and group interaction, which are particularly valued as skills to develop in more qualified professions.

If we look into the underlying aspects of this situation, we find a seed of growth in theories of productivity in the workplace which, in turn, define one of the distinctive traits of these educational processes. This is outlined in the political and administrative structures that are directly related to the organizations that manage employment matters. The *Joven Ocúpate* program is part of the Public Employment Service in the Principality of Asturias and is linked to the National Youth Guarantee System [*Sistema Nacional de Guarantía Juvenil*], which is in turn part of the State Public Employment System. If we look at the fundamental objectives that indicate the importance of these educational formats, it is easy to find premises that directly link social and personal development with work, inventing an unbreakable bond that determines a person's life according to the abilities they can demonstrate for work. In this way, social and economic development calls for education systems to include new skills and competencies aimed at new forms of socialization and for them to actively contribute to economic development with knowledge serving as the fundamental asset (Ananiadou y Claro, 2009). Investment in knowledge is justified as increasing society's productive capacity, and education is considered a response to "the demands of globalization and the knowledge-based economy (…) preserving it as a bastion of an asymmetrical economic system" (Romero, 2019, p. 18).

6.3. Basic economic mechanisms as an antidote to despair

Economic sustainability, in so far as it ensures structural minimums and personal development, is something that people aspire to and pursue, producing true attachment to educational processes. Like authors such as González y Cutanda (2020) and Tomaszewska-Pękała (2017), we found that structural, systemic, and material determinants were clearly a key focus that had an impact on disengagement processes and which could even determine the pathways to re-engagement. On D.'s journey, these macro determinants were present, and we should underline the structural precariousness that Asturian-Spanish youth feel after two socio-economic crises, the subsequent decline in young people's mental health, the pattern of socio-educational determinism produced by people's socio-family background, and the talk of risk and despair caused by deficit-based thinking aimed at people with difficulties taking part in society and entering the world of work.

Because of that, it is useful to note that an educational route that is "work-based training"—which includes the participant being paid—is more likely to be considered, not so much for its educational value but rather because it is remunerated. This twists the concept of "continued education", opening up new lines for future research. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the income, together with the work experience during the training, may lead to work at the businesses where the training happens or in other associated fields (Ayala y Manzano, 2016; Fernández-Berrueco y Sánchez-Tarazaga, 2019). On the other hand, a lack of economic stability, and therefore the continued search for work, may also make that training, and the stability it provides, a goal in itself beyond any professional qualifications it may provide. Finally, we feel that we should add to the urgent call from Úbeda et. Al (2020) to establish minimum criteria for a "good job" or quality employment. This should begin from overall sustainability—contract duration, suitability of qualifications and personal skills, salary increases, etc.—which would allow young people dignified life projects and move them away from the chain of precariousness that prevents long-term positive pathways.

References

Allen, K. y Furlong, M. (2021). Leveraging belonging in response to global loneliness [Aprovechando la pertenencia en respuesta a la soledad global]. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 73*(1), 1-3. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049530.2021.1875532

Ananiadou, K. y Claro, M. (2009). 21st Century Skills and Competences for New Millennium Learners in OECD Countries [Habilidades y competencias del siglo XXI para los estudiantes del nuevo milenio en los países de la OCDE]. *OECD Education Working Papers*, (41). OECD Publishing.

Ayala, J. C. y Manzano, G. (2016). Satisfacción con las prácticas en empresa: el punto de vista de los demandantes de empleo. In Bolarín, M. J., Porto, M., y García, M. L. (eds*.). Evaluación e identidad del alumnado en Educación*

Superior. pp. 49-53). Editum. Ediciones de la Universidad de Murcia. https://doi.org/10.6018/editum.2484

Blaya, C., Ben Lakhdhar, I. y San Fabián, J.L. (2020). Abandono escolar y resiliencia educativa. En J.L. San Fabián (Coord.)., *Jóvenes resilientes en contextos socioeducativos adversos* (pp. 19 – 33). GRAÓ.

Bolívar, A. (2002). "¿De nobis ipsis silemus?": Epistemología de la investigación biográfico-narrativa en educación. *Revista electrónica de investigación educativa, 4*(1), 1-26.

Botía-Morillas, C. y Jurado-Guerrero, T. (2018). El proceso de una investigación cualitativa longitudinal sobre la transición a la maternidad y paternidad en España. *Empiria, 41*, 33-56. https://doi.org/10.5944/empiria.41.2018.22603

Callejo, J. (2016). Buscando determinantes de la seguridad ontológica en la España en crisis. *Política y Sociedad, 53*(2), 381 – 421. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_POSO.2016.v53.n2.49367

Calvo, S., Gutiérrez, S., y Bayarri C. (2020). Rasgos comparativos de programas de reenganche formativo y sociolaboral en el ámbito no formal en Gijón (Asturias). *Educatio Siglo XXI, 38*(2), 67-86. https://doi.org/10.6018/educatio.414701

Carvajal, Mª R. (2010). La formación para el empleo bajo una perspectiva foucaultiana. *RASE, 3*(1),66-83.

Cover, R. (2020). Subjective connectivity: Rethinking loneliness, isolation and belonging in discourses of minority youth suicide [Conectividad subjetiva: repensar la soledad, el aislamiento y la pertenencia en los discursos del suicidio juvenil de minorías]. *Social Epistemology: A Journal of Knowledge, Culture, and Policy, 34*(6), 566–576. https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2020.1725922

Diez, M., y de Pena, L. (2022). La escuela ante el fracaso escolar en contextos de inequidad: entre mandatos sociales y respuestas medicalizadas. *Praxis educativa, 26*(1), 318-318. http://dx.doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19137/praxiseducativa-2022-260116

Díez-Gutiérrez, E.-J. (2020). La gobernanza híbrida neoliberal en la educación pública. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación, 83*(1), 13-29. https://doi.org/10.35362/rie8313817

Down, B., Smyth, J. y Robinson, J. (2017). Problematising vocational education and training in schools: using student narratives to interrupt neoliberal ideology [Problematizar la educación profesionalizadora en las escuelas: utilizar las narrativas de los estudiantes para interrumpir la ideología neoliberal]. *Critical Studies in Education, 60*, 1–19. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2017.1289474

Durán, M. M. (2012). El estudio de caso en la investigación cualitativa. *Revista Nacional De Administración, 3*(1), 121-134. https://doi.org/10.22458/rna.v3i1.477

Fernández-Berrueco, R, y Sánchez-Tarazaga, L. (2019). Las prácticas externas desde la perspectiva de las entidades colaboradoras. *RELIEVE-Revista Electrónica de Investigación y Evaluación Educativa, 25*(1). https://doi.org/10.7203/relieve.25.1.13189

Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia (UNICEF) (2021). *El Estado Mundial de la Infancia 2021. En mi mente: promover, proteger y cuidar la salud mental de la infancia*. UNICEF.

Garrido-Yserte, R., Gallo-Rivera, M. T. y Martínez-Gautier, D. (2019). Más allá de las aulas: los determinantes del bajo rendimiento educativo en España y el fracaso de las políticas públicas. *Revista Internacional de Política Económica, 1*(1), 86-106. https://doi.org/10.7203/IREP.1.1.16459

González, M.T. (2021). Procesos de desenganche de los estudiantes con su educación y programas de reenganche. Un marco para su investigación. En M.T. González y E.M. Barea (Coords.), *Programas de reenganche educativo y/o formativo. Condiciones organizativas, currículum y evaluación* (pp. 15 – 32). Octaedro.

González, M. T. y Cutanda, M. T. (2020). Desenganche escolar-cultura organizativa: implicaciones mutuas en las Aulas Ocupacionales. *Estudios Pedagógicos, 46*(1), 107-125. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-07052020000100107

González, M.T. y San Fabián, J.L. (2018). Buenas Prácticas en Medidas y Programas para Jóvenes Desenganchados de lo Escolar. *Revista Iberoamericana Sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación, 16*(2), 41-60. https://doi.org/10.15366/reice2018.16.2.003

Holgado, D. y Maya-Jariego, I. (2022). La dualidad de prestaciones asistenciales y estrategias de inclusión social en la red de las organizaciones de servicios sociales del tercer sector. *REIS: Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 178,* 83-100. https://doi.org/10.5477/cis.reis.178.83

INJUVE (2020). *Informe Juventud en España*. Instituto de la Juventud

Mannay, D. (2017). *Métodos visuales, narrativos y creativos en investigación cualitativa*. Narcea.

Martínez-Martín, R., García-Moreno, J.M. y Lozano-Martín, A.M. (2018). Trabajadores pobres en España. El contexto de la crisis económica como marco para comprender la desigualdad. *Papeles de población, 24*(98), 185-218. https://doi.org/10.22185/24487147.2018.98.40

McGregor, G. (2015). Counter-narratives that challenge neo-liberal discourses of schooling 'disengagement': youth professionals informing the work of teachers

[Contranarrativas que desafían los discursos neoliberales del desenganche escolar: trabajadores de la juventud informando el trabajo del profesorado]. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *38*(4), 1-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2015.1113859

McInerney, P., Smyth, J. y Down, B. (2011). "Coming to a place near you?" The politics and possibilities of a critical pedagogy of place-based education [¿Llegando a un lugar cerca de tí? Las políticas y posibilidades de una pedagogía crítica de la educación basada en el lugar]. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *39*(1), 3-16. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359866X.2010.540894

McMahon, B. y Portelli, J. (2012). *Student Engagement in Urban Schools: Beyond Neoliberal Discourses* [Enganche del Estudiante en Escuelas Urbanas: más allá de los discursos neoliberals]. Information Age Publishing.

Nieto, J.M., Portela, A., Torres, A. y Rodríguez, M.J (2018). Del abandono educativo temprano al reenganche formativo: un estudio narrativo con biogramas. *Educatio Siglo XXI, 36*(2) 93-114. https://doi.org/10.6018/j/333041

Nilsson, B. (2018). The School-to-Work Transition in Developing Countries [La Transición Escuela-Trabajo en países en Desarrollo]. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *55*(5), 745-764, https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2018.1475649

OECD (2021). *Education at a Glance 2021: OECD Indicators* [Panorama de la Educación 2021: Indicadores OCDE]. OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/b35a14e5-en

Rodríguez-Pascual, I. (2021). ¿De invisibilidad a estigmatización? Sociología del adultismo en tiempos de pandemia. *Linhas Críticas, 26,* 1–18. https://doi.org/10.26512/lc.v26.2020.36364

Romero, R. (2019). Los discursos de los organismos financieros y de cooperación internacional sobre la obligatoriedad de la educación secundaria baja, 1960-2015. Una perspectiva desde el institucionalismo discursivo y el análisis crítico del discurso. *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas*, *27*, 157. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.27.4245

Ruiz-Román, C., Juárez, J. y Molina-Cuesta, L. (2020). Evolución y nuevas perspectivas del concepto de resiliencia: de lo individual a los contextos y relaciones socioeducativas. *Educatio Siglo XXI, 38*(2), 213–232. https://doi.org/10.6018/educatio.432981

Salvà-Mut, F., Thomás-Vanrell, C. y Quintana-Murci, E. (2015). School-to-work transitions in times of crisis: the case of Spanish youth without qualifications [Transiciones escuela-trabajo en tiempos de crisis: el caso de la juventud

española sin titulación]. *Journal of Youth Studies, 19*(5), http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2015.1098768

San Fabián, J.L. (Coord.). (2020). *Jóvenes resilientes en contextos socioeducativos adversos*. Editorial GRAÓ.

Saraví, G. A., Bayón, M. C., y Azaola, M. C. (2020). Constructing School Belonging(s) in Disadvantaged Urban Spaces: Adolescents' Experiences and Narratives in Mexico City [Construcción de pertenencias escolares en espacios urbanos desfavorecidos: experiencias y narrativas de adolescentes en la Ciudad de México]. *Youth y Society, 52*(7), 1107–1127. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X19838188

Stake, R. E. (2005). Investigación con estudio de casos. Morata.

Tarabini, A., Jacovkis, J. Montes, A. y Llos, B. (2021). *L'abandonament escolar a la ciutat de Barcelona: un abordatge qualitatiu a les experiències i trajectòries escolars dels i les joves. Informe final Abandonament Escolar*. GEPS-Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Tomaszewska-Pękała, H., Marchlik, P., y Wrona, A.M. (2017*). Finding inspiring practices on how to prevent ESL and school disengagement. Lessons from the educational trajectories of youth at risk from nine EU countries* [Buscando prácticas inspiradoras sobre cómo prevenir el AET y la desconexión escolar. Lecciones de las trayectorias educativas de jóvenes en riesgo de nueve países de la UE]. University of Warsaw. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.28216.03842

Torre, M. (2021). La espiral de precariedad: desempleo, temporalidad y parcialidad involuntaria en la población joven, 2005-2021. *LABOS Revista de Derecho del Trabajo y Protección Social*, *2*(2), 141-150. https://doi.org/10.20318/labos.2021.6223

Úbeda, M., Cabasés, M. A. y Pardell, A. (2020). Empleos de calidad para las personas jóvenes: una inversión de presente y de futuro. *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales, 38*(1), 39-57. https://doi.org/10.5209/crla.68867

Vázquez-Recio, R. (2021). La memoria narrada en experiencias de desenganche escolar: Por un conocimiento situado para la mejora educativa. *Psicoperspectivas, 20*(1), 1-11. https://dx.doi.org/10.5027/psicoperspectivas-vol20-issue2-fulltext-2223

Zyngier, D. (2008). (Re)conceptualizing student engagement: Doing education not doing time. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*(7), 1765-1776. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2007.09.004

How to cite this article:

Bayarri López, CA. & Calvo González, S. (2022). "Transitions towards employment from non-formal education: a biographical-narrative view. *Profesorado. Revista de Currículum y Formación de Profesorado*, *26*(3), 195-216. DOI: 10.30827/profesorado.v26i3.22792