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Youth visions of the future: between stability and structural transformation

Rappresentazioni del futuro e traiettorie giovanili: tra istanze di stabilità e spinte alla trasformazione strutturale

Call

This paper examines how young people in Europe represent the future; drawing on data from global and European surveys, the analysis identifies recurring themes in youth future imaginaries across both individual and collective dimensions. While personal aspirations continue to emphasize happiness, relationships, and economic stability, young people also express significant concern about structural issues such as environmental sustainability, social inequality, and geopolitical instability. To interpret these findings, the paper employs Eckersley's framework of *youth portraits* (1997), distinguishing between modern, postmodern, and transformational orientations. By highlighting the coexistence of continuity and disruption, individual and structural interpretations, the results suggest a hybrid configuration in which traditional life-course expectations coexist with an increasing awareness of systemic challenges that call into question existing social and economic models.

Keywords: youth imaginaries, representation of the future, european youth

Il contributo analizza il modo in cui le giovani generazioni in Europa rappresentano il futuro, assumendo come base empirica dati provenienti da indagini globali ed europee e ricostruendo i nuclei tematici che attraversano gli immaginari giovanili sul piano individuale e collettivo. Se, sul versante personale, emergono aspirazioni riconducibili alla felicità, alla stabilità economica e alla realizzazione di sé, su quello collettivo si evidenzia una diffusa sensibilità verso questioni strutturali quali la sostenibilità ambientale, le disuguaglianze sociali e l'instabilità geopolitica. Per interpretare tali evidenze, il contributo adotta il modello dei *youth portraits* elaborato da Eckersley (1997), distinguendo tra orientamenti moderni, postmoderni e trasformativi. L'analisi mette in luce una configurazione ibrida, in cui le aspettative tradizionalmente associate ai percorsi di vita convivono con una crescente percezione dei limiti degli attuali modelli sociali ed economici e della necessità di trasformazioni più ampie. In questa prospettiva, il tema degli immaginari giovanili del futuro riveste una peculiare rilevanza pedagogica, poiché chiama in causa la responsabilità dei contesti educativi nel rendere pensabili, legittime e praticabili forme di partecipazione, progettualità e trasformazione fondate sull'interdipendenza, sulla giustizia e sull'inclusione.

Parole chiave: immaginari giovanili, rappresentazioni del futuro, giovani europei

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1. Introduction

Young people's reflections on the future are often framed in terms of educational pathways, career choices, and life trajectories; however, they rarely remain confined to personal plans. Such reflections are shaped within an increasingly complex social context marked by economic instability, environmental crisis, geopolitical tensions, and rapid technological change. Under these conditions, young people frequently perceive the future as uncertain, and this uncertainty influences their expectations about work, education, and personal fulfillment, as well as their understanding of the broader direction of society.

Recent research highlights that when young people articulate their views of the future, they often raise concerns that extend beyond their individual life plans (Hickman et al., 2021). Global reports (Haddengue et al., 2023; World Economic Forum, 2026) and large-scale European surveys (European Commission, 2025; Eurofound, 2024; Allianz Foundation, 2026; FEPS, 2022) show that issues such as environmental sustainability, social inequality, economic insecurity, and global peace feature prominently in young people's accounts of the future. These issues form part of the horizon within which they interpret their lives, possibilities, and constraints.

This article examines how young people represent the future, drawing on recent global and European survey data. It aims to identify the themes that emerge from these data and to interpret them through Eckersley's framework of youth portraits (1997), which distinguishes between modern, postmodern, and transformational orientations toward the future. By combining empirical insights with a theoretical lens, the article seeks to show how young people's future imaginaries express both aspirations for stability and awareness of broader structural transformations. Specifically, the paper explores the following research questions:

- RQ1: How do young people represent the future, according to recent global and European survey data?
- RQ2: How can these representations be interpreted through Eckersley's framework of youth portraits?

The article proceeds as follows. First, it outlines the theoretical framework, focusing on future imaginaries as socially situated constructs and introducing an inclusive perspective attentive to ableism and structural inequality. Second, it presents the empirical sources and the criteria guiding their selection. Third, it analyses the main themes emerging from the selected surveys. Finally, it interprets these findings through Eckersley's framework and discusses their pedagogical implications.

2. Theoretical framework: future imaginaries, youth, and inclusive perspectives

Youth representations of the future should not be understood merely as individual expectations; they can instead be interpreted as socially situated imaginaries, shaped by economic conditions, educational systems, cultural narratives, institutional arrangements, and unequal access to resources (Cook & Woodman, 2020). In this sense, imagining the future is both an individual and a collective process: young people formulate hopes, fears, and aspirations within social structures (Patton & McMahon, 2006) that enable some futures while making others difficult to conceive or pursue (Zittoun & Gillespie, 2018).

This socially situated character of future imaginaries requires greater analytical precision about who is being referred to when invoking "young people" as a category. Future orientations are shaped by economic or geopolitical conditions, while also being structured by axes of social difference (including gender, class, migration background, and disability) that determine, often unequally, which futures appear conceivable, legitimate, or attainable (Lindsay & Dain, 2025). Among these axes, this article specifically foregrounds ableism as a critical lens: not because disability supersedes other dimensions of inequality, but because the normative figure of the "successful" young subject that pervades educational, occupational, and social expectations is constitutively constructed around assumptions of non-disability, autonomy, productivity, linear progression, and self-sufficiency (Campbell, 2019). Ableism, in this sense, is not only



a form of discrimination against disabled people; it is a broader cultural logic that defines value in ways that simultaneously marginalize disabled young people and constrain the imaginative horizons of all young people (McLaughlin, 2024). Research on career development and future thinking challenges the assumption that disability fundamentally differentiates future imaginaries: young people with intellectual or physical disabilities articulate hopes, fears, and aspirations that are in many respects similar to those of their non-disabled peers, particularly with regard to relationships, work, autonomy, and participation in adult life (Soresi et al., 2013).

This article therefore does not treat disability as a separate domain; rather, it considers young people with disabilities as fully implicated in the same conditions of uncertainty examined throughout this paper, and, by extension, it treats ableist assumptions as relevant not only to a subset of the population, but as a critical lens for interrogating the normative frameworks through which any young person's future is evaluated.

3. A lens on youth representations of the future

To examine young people's representations of the future (RQ1), findings from recent global surveys were analyzed, revealing recurring themes that characterize how youth imagine what lies ahead. These representations can be understood across two levels: the individual and the collective. At the individual level, young people's visions of the future revolve around personal fulfillment, happiness, meaningful relationships, and economic security; aspirations such as well-being, success, and stable social ties consistently emerge as central. At the same time, material concerns, particularly financial stability, remain salient. For instance, economic pressures such as inflation and cost of living (European Youth Portal, 2024) are identified as major sources of stress for young people worldwide. These results strongly resonate with findings from a recent survey conducted during an educational guidance program¹, in which students (n=23) aged 15/16 attending upper secondary school were asked to think of the first three words that came to mind when considering the future. The two most frequently chosen words were "family" (26%) and "money" (16.7%); this small-scale exercise therefore mirrors broader global patterns in how young people associate the future with relational and economic stability.

Youth narratives are also marked by a strong emphasis on personal growth, self-improvement, and the pursuit of purpose; they increasingly seek careers aligned not only with financial stability but also with meaning, balance, and societal contribution. However, this emphasis on self-realization is accompanied by significant anxiety: fear of failure and unfulfillment emerges as a dominant concern (Hadengue et al., 2023). This finding can be interpreted through the lens of the neoliberal agenda, which places responsibility for success and achievement on the individual rather than addressing the social structures and barriers that generate this fear in the first place. As Wrenn (2014) suggests, "The hyper-individualism of neoliberalism encourages an increasingly fragmented notion of the self, one that is disconnected from any community, consisting less of a coherent whole and more of an amalgamation of superficial, commodified identities. This ad hoc, material construction of the self, mirrors the relentless accumulation imperative of capitalism in that it can never be satiated, and the self is therefore perpetually incomplete and ill-defined" (p. 347). In this sense, fear of failure can be linked to an existential fear of "not making it", a feeling of unfulfillment and incompleteness that can paralyze "future thinking" as a whole. Not living up to one's own expectations, not pursuing one's dreams or passions, or even making the wrong decision could also be interpreted as a significant expression of uncertainty and pressure in relation to the decision-making processes people are frequently confronted with, particularly during delicate transitional

1 The guidance program is implemented within the "PNRR OrientaUnito" project (2023–2026), an initiative designed by the University of Turin, which delivers structured 15-hour educational guidance pathways to students enrolled in the final three years of upper secondary education in the Piedmont region.



moments between two cycles of education (Cruwys et al., 2017) or between education and entry into the labor market. The fear of making the wrong choice, although naturally human, reflects a perception of choice as something irreversible, a “black-or-white” decision, that struggles to open horizons toward the vast range of “possible colors” that can be explored.

Turning to the collective level, one of the most consistent themes is the desire for a more peaceful world, characterized by reduced violence, conflict, and geopolitical tension. Environmental concerns are also central (Corres et al., 2024), with climate change identified as a significant threat for humanity. Young people also express concerns about economic inequality, social injustice, and the limitations of current political and economic systems (World Economic Forum, 2026). Inequality, in particular, is perceived as a defining feature of contemporary societies and a major factor shaping future opportunities. These concerns are accompanied by a growing distrust in institutions and decision-making processes, as well as a critique of values such as excessive individualism and materialism (Hadengue et al., 2023).

The following section moves from a global perspective to a more specific focus on young people in Europe.

3.1 Youth visions of the future in Europe

Building on the global patterns identified above, European surveys were analyzed to examine how youth representations of the future are shaped in the European context. The surveys considered were selected according to three criteria: 1) they focus explicitly on young people’s perceptions, aspirations, or concerns regarding the future; 2) they provide large-scale or cross-national data, allowing the analysis to move beyond isolated national cases and identify broader European patterns; 3) they address both individual dimensions of future thinking (e.g. work, housing, wellbeing, and personal fulfillment) and collective dimensions (e.g. climate change, inequality, democracy). The selected sources therefore do not exhaust the field of research, but they offer a coherent empirical basis for identifying recurring themes in contemporary European youth future imaginaries. Following these criteria, three sources are particularly relevant: the Eurobarometer youth survey (2025), Eurofound research on youth transitions (2024), and the Allianz Foundation study on youth visions of the future (2026).

The Eurobarometer 556 survey (2025), conducted among 25,933 young people aged 16-30 across all EU Member States, provides a comprehensive dataset on youth attitudes in Europe. The survey reveals that 61% of respondents report optimism about the future of the EU; however, the issues that they identify as the most pressing challenges present a more complex picture. The distribution of concerns shows that young people perceive the future through a combination of economic, ecological, and geopolitical lenses. Economic pressures such as rising living costs and employment insecurity are salient, while co-existing with concerns about climate change and international conflict (Tab. 1). When asked what developments they would most like to see achieved by 2030, participants most frequently identified improved job opportunities and economic stability, strengthened global peace and security, and concrete action on climate and environmental protection.

Concern	Percentage of respondents	Desired development	Percentage of respondents
Cost of living	41%	Better job opportunities and economic stability	34%
Peace and global stability	30%	Stronger EU role in global peace and security	28%
Economic stability	27%		
Climate change and environment	26%	Stronger climate action	26%

Table 1 – Main concerns and desired change about the future among young Europeans - “Eurobarometer 556 survey” data



Research conducted by Eurofound, presented in the report *Becoming adults: Young people in a post-pandemic world* (2024), further illuminates the structural conditions shaping future expectations. The report highlights that many young people have been required to revise their educational, career, and housing plans following the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent economic shocks. A central finding concerns the growing mismatch between aspirations and achievable life trajectories, particularly in relation to housing and employment. Difficulties in accessing stable housing and secure employment continue to delay the transition to independent adulthood for many. These structural constraints influence how the future is perceived, contributing to experiences of uncertainty, frustration, and declining mental wellbeing (Fehkührer et al., 2023), even in contexts where aspirations remain relatively high.

The Allianz Foundation report *Between Nostalgia and New Horizons: How Young People Imagine and Shape the Future* (2026), based on a survey of over 8,500 individuals aged 16 to 39 across five countries (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Spain), adds an important political and cultural dimension to the analysis. The findings are particularly relevant due to the size and structure of the sample, which allows the results to be considered representative and therefore generalizable across the populations studied (p. 10). For the purpose of this paper, two sections of the report are analyzed: Section 3, which examines how young Europeans envision a future society, and Section 5, which focuses on how they take action toward a liveable future. The findings from Section 3 resonate with those identified in the previous surveys: participants frequently imagine a future characterized by ecological transformation, alongside desires for security and social stability. The report introduces a useful analytical distinction between “conventional scenarios” and “more-than-growth scenarios,” following the methodology of the New Horizons 2045 project². Notably, approximately 65% of responses align with the latter category; as the report notes, the respondents may not converge around a single future scenario, but “they very clearly share a desire to move beyond narrow conceptions of economic growth” (p. 30). At the same time, the study identifies a significant minority characterized by political nostalgia and dissatisfaction with existing institutions, whose responses indicate a greater openness to authoritarian leadership and exclusionary narratives. Section 5 demonstrates that civic engagement among young Europeans remains relatively high and takes multiple forms. Participation includes voting (75%), signing petitions (57%), engaging in boycotts (with participation ranging between 23% and 50% depending on the country), attending protests (38%), and engaging through online networks (40%)³. These findings suggest that young people are not only reflecting on the future but are also actively engaging in practices aimed at influencing it.

Taken together, these datasets provide a consistent picture of future imaginaries as multidimensional, relational, and, at times, internally contradictory. Economic aspirations related to employment and stability coexist with strong concerns about environmental sustainability and geopolitical uncertainty, while a significant proportion of young people express a willingness to question dominant models of economic growth. At the same time, the presence of politically nostalgic or exclusionary perspectives indicates the coexistence of progressive and regressive orientations within youth future imaginaries.

4. Analytical framework: eckersley’s portraits of youth

This section addresses RQ2 by interpreting young people’s representations of the future through Eckersley’s (1997) framework of youth portraits, which outlines three overlapping narratives:

- 2 The “New Horizons 2045” project (2024) is a foresight and scenario study developed by the D2030 initiative in collaboration with experts from academia, policy, and industry, exploring pathways toward a climate-neutral and sustainable German economy by 2045.
- 3 Similar findings are reported in the *Youth and Democracy Report* (European Commission, 2024) regarding youth civic engagement.



1. The Postmodern Portrait. Young people appear flexible, adaptable, and capable of navigating rapid social change. This portrait reflects a perspective in which the historical trajectory is assumed to be fixed, positioning individual adaptation as the sole viable response to systemic uncertainty.
2. The Modern Portrait. Young people retain confidence in conventional life goals such as education, employment, and family formation. This portrait reflects confidence in conventional pathways to adulthood, including education, stable employment, home ownership, and family formation.
3. The Transformational Portrait. Young people exhibit awareness of systemic crises and express the need for deeper societal transformation.

Rather than representing mutually exclusive categories, these portraits function as interpretative orientations that coexist within youth cultures, as the survey findings presented in the previous section clearly demonstrate. Eckersley (1997) adds that while “the postmodern and modern portraits suggest we can continue on our present path of progress, with some fine-tuning, the third, transformational portrait indicates the need for radical change in social direction. It shows that modern (and postmodern) society is becoming increasingly hostile [...] Major changes in our way of life, goals and priorities will be needed” (p. 246).

It is important to acknowledge that Eckersley’s work was developed in the late 1990s; despite this temporal distance, the framework remains relevant in the present context. Many of the issues that underpin the transformational portrait, including environmental degradation, social fragmentation, and uncertainty about long-term societal stability, have become even more pronounced in recent decades. As a result, the framework provides a useful lens for interpreting contemporary youth future imaginaries, allowing for an analysis that captures both the persistence of traditional aspirations and the increasing prominence of concerns that challenge existing social and economic models.

Using this framework, the survey results discussed earlier can be interpreted as indicators of the relative prominence of each portrait within European youth future imaginaries. In order to analyse the key findings through this lens, the main concerns identified can be classified according to the portrait they most closely reflect (Table 2). The classification is based on the underlying orientation of each issue: a) concerns about economic stability and life-course transitions (modern); b) concerns related to identity, psychological wellbeing, and the ability to navigate complex social environments (postmodern); c) concerns related to systemic crises affecting the future of society and the planet (transformational).

Concern	Portrait	Explanation
Economic instability	Modern	Reflects concern with the stability of economic systems that traditionally support life transitions such as employment and independence.
Financial insecurity	Modern	Relates to the ability to achieve economic self-sufficiency, a core element of conventional life-course expectations.
Economic concerns	Modern	Captures broad anxieties about economic conditions affecting employment, income, life stability etc.
Cost of living	Modern	Relates directly to everyday economic pressures and the affordability of independent living.
Fear of failure	Postmodern	Indicates psychological pressure and individual responsibility in navigating uncertain and competitive social environments.
Dissatisfaction / lack of fulfilment	Postmodern	Reflects concerns related to meaning, identity, and wellbeing within complex and rapidly changing societies.
Environmental challenges	Transformational	Points to awareness of systemic ecological crises requiring structural and societal change.



Increasing social inequality	Transformational	Reflects recognition of structural injustices and the need for more equitable social arrangements.
Political issues	Transformational	Indicates concern with governance, democracy, and institutional functioning at a systemic level.
Peace and global stability	Transformational	Reflects concern with large-scale geopolitical conditions and collective security.

Table 2 – Categorisation of Youth Concerns Through Eckersley’s Framework

The distribution reveals a balanced presence of modern and transformational orientations, each accounting for 40% (4 out of 10) of the identified concerns, while postmodern concerns are less prominent at 20% (2 out of 10). This suggests that European youth continue to place strong emphasis on economic stability and material conditions associated with traditional life-course expectations, while simultaneously demonstrating a high level of awareness of systemic challenges.

Figure 1 maps the empirically observed issues onto the existing orientations of modern, postmodern, and transformational perspectives.

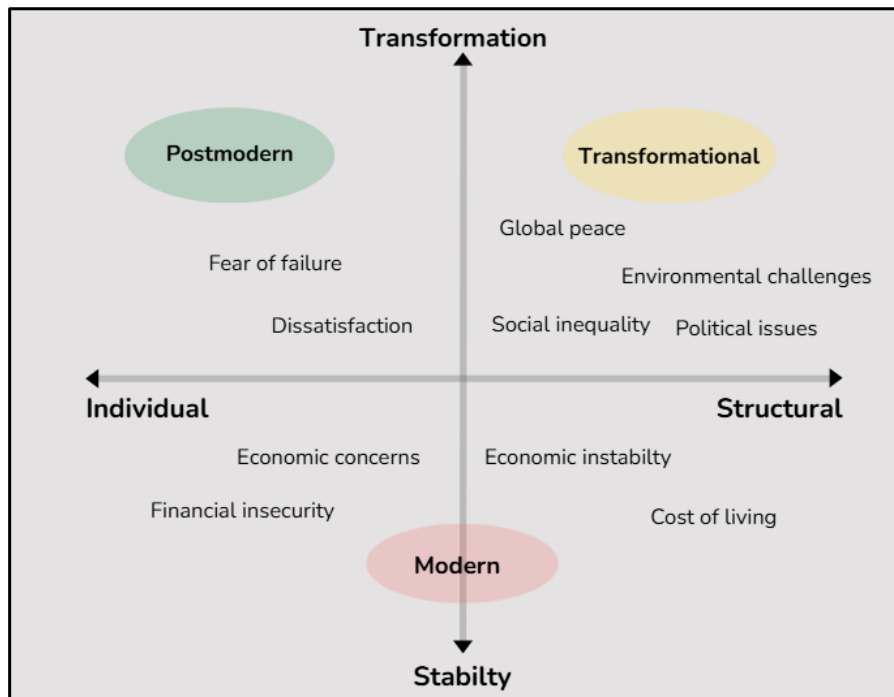


Figure 1 – Axis Analysis of Future Related Concerns and Issues

The horizontal axis distinguishes between concerns that are primarily individual and those that reflect more structural conditions, while the vertical axis captures a shift from a focus on stability to one on transformation. The figure illustrates that the main concerns expressed are largely structural in nature, falling either within a modern perspective oriented toward stability or a transformational perspective that points to the need for more fundamental change.



4.1 Interpreting the european pattern

When the survey findings are interpreted through Eckersley's framework, future imaginaries appear characterized by a hybrid configuration of modern and transformational orientations.

The modern portrait remains visible because traditional life goals continue to shape expectations about adulthood; at the same time, the transformational portrait reflects a growing awareness that the social and ecological aspects of life goals are increasingly uncertain. These two perspectives do not appear disconnected in young people's experiences; rather, alongside longstanding concerns tied to the prospect of a linear life project, additional anxieties emerge that intensify and compound fears about the future. Climate change, geopolitical conflict, and economic volatility introduce systemic risks that extend beyond individual life trajectories, reinforcing this layered sense of uncertainty. These findings reveal important points of convergence and divergence from a neo-liberal understanding of the future. On the one hand, the persistence of "modern" traits emerging in young people's aspirations resonates with a neoliberal rationality in which individuals are expected to act as entrepreneurial subjects and "comport themselves in ways that maximize their capital value in the present and enhance their future value" (Brown, 2015, p. 22). On the other hand, the prominence of concerns related to climate change, social inequality, political instability, and global peace suggests that young people interpret the future through an awareness of structural and systemic challenges that cannot be addressed through individual adaptation alone. For example, the strong presence of "more-than-growth" imaginaries in the Allianz Foundation study further reinforces this divergence, indicating that many youngsters question economic models centred exclusively on growth and market expansion.

4.2 Tensions and contradictions in future imaginaries

The findings discussed in the previous sections indicate that hopes, wishes and concerns for the future are marked by significant tensions. One key tension concerns the relationship between expectations of continuity and perceptions of disruption, producing imaginaries that oscillate between continuity and significant change. A second tension emerges from the simultaneous presence of individualized and structural interpretations of the future, frequently framed in terms of personal responsibility, while at the same time being understood as shaped by forces that exceed individual control ("structural tensions", see Fig. 1). These two perspectives coexist, thus reflecting the complexity of contemporary social conditions. Finally, youth imaginaries appear internally differentiated in their normative orientations: alongside perspectives that emphasize sustainability, equity, and transformation, there are also orientations marked by scepticism, disengagement, or attraction to more exclusionary and security-oriented visions of the future.

Taken together, these dimensions point to a fundamental ambivalence in how the future is imagined; this ambivalence can be understood as a response to a context in which established frameworks for interpreting the future are increasingly unsettled, while alternative pathways remain open, uncertain, and not yet clearly defined. In this sense, youth imaginaries can be seen as practices through which these structures are "nudged, stretched and transformed" (Hooley et al., 2019, p. 3). This highlights the importance of taking young people's perspectives as expressions of individual expectation as well as situated forms of engagement with the social conditions that shape, constrain, and enable possible futures.

The hybrid configuration identified through Eckersley's framework has important implications for education. If young people's future imaginaries are shaped by both aspirations for stability and awareness of structural crisis, then educational contexts cannot limit themselves to preparing individuals to adapt to uncertainty; they are also called to question the social norms through which some futures are legitimized and others marginalized (Kafer, 2013).



5. Conclusions: future imaginaries and pedagogical implications

This paper has examined how young people in Europe represent the future through large-scale survey data, interpreting these representations through Eckersley's framework of youth portraits. The analysis shows that future imaginaries are marked by a hybrid configuration in which expectations associated with stability, continuity, and conventional life-course transitions coexist with a growing awareness of systemic crises and the need for broader societal transformation. Yet the significance of these findings is not exhausted by describing what young people think about the future. If future imaginaries are understood as socially situated ways of interpreting one's possibilities, then they also reveal a key dimension of the educational task facing schools, universities, families, youth services, community organizations, and local contexts. The issue is not only how young people imagine the future, but also which future educational institutions render imaginable, legitimate, and attainable. The ambivalences identified in this study are, in this sense, pedagogically significant: they call on educators and educational institutions to reflect on the frameworks of belief within which they act, and on the kinds of subjects, relationships, and worlds their practices implicitly sustain. Eckersley's framework, from this perspective, does not concern young people alone; it can also serve as a heuristic for interrogating the orientations cultivated by educational systems themselves. The pedagogical question, then, is not simply which portrait best describes young people, but which of these orientations schools and other formative contexts are actively reinforcing, and which they are foreclosing. This is not a neutral issue: it concerns the aims of education and the ethical and political assumptions that underlie curricula, assessment, guidance practices, and everyday decisions.

This interrogation becomes especially consequential within the paradigm of inclusive pedagogy. Contemporary educational systems risk reproducing, often implicitly, the very assumptions that many young people appear to question: competition as a primary mode of recognition, standardized assessment as the measure of worth, individual success as the dominant horizon of achievement. These assumptions are not only socially and ecologically unsustainable; they are also constitutively ableist, in that they construct a normative image of the capable, independent, and productive subject against which all learners are measured. It is here that disability, understood not as an individual deficit but as an analytical category capable of unsettling dominant ways of organizing social and educational life, becomes particularly generative (Pakman, 2022). Grounded in the concept of relational autonomy rather than self-sufficiency (Medeghini, 2012), Disability Studies and the social model of disability offer resources for reimagining educational environments as spaces of interdependence, collective sense-making, and shared responsibility for the future (Sodi & Monchietto, 2025); a future that, as the data reviewed in this paper suggest, many young people already sense cannot be built on the foundations of individualism alone.

5.1 Limitations and future research

The study contributes to ongoing debates on youth and the future by foregrounding contradiction, plurality, and tension as central features of contemporary imaginaries, while also emphasizing a clear shift toward more transformative approaches to thinking about the future. At the same time, limitations should be acknowledged: the analysis is based on secondary data, which do not allow for an in-depth exploration of how these imaginaries are constructed, negotiated, and experienced in specific social contexts. As such, the findings remain at a general level and cannot fully capture the situated and processual dimensions of future-oriented thinking.

Future research could build on these insights by examining how young people negotiate the identified tensions in their everyday lives, and how future imaginaries are shaped across different socio-cultural and institutional settings. In addition, it could examine how policies are formulated, the "portrait" they convey, and the extent to which they respond to the needs expressed. Further work could also explore the implications of these findings for educational and formative contexts. In particular, the ambivalences



and tensions identified suggest the need to reconsider how educational environments and guidance practices engage with uncertainty, plurality, and structural constraints, moving beyond simplified or deficit-oriented readings of youth, instead focusing on what young people think, say, and do (their perspectives, practices, capacities...) rather than defining them in terms of what they are presumed to lack. This entails recognizing young people's future imaginaries as meaningful forms of engagement with their social conditions, and as potential resources for rethinking educational practices in ways that support both individual sense-making and collective reflection on possible futures.

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