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Mapping the connection between urban realities, participation and social work (LEMA) – Copenhagen, Malaga and Malmö

Introduction

This report consist of national mappings of the local settings in Malaga, Malmö and Copenhagen.

The objective of this mapping process has been to produce a framework with the following dimensions, expressed in three core questions:

- How is the marginalisation of urban youth produced, identified and perceived in these different urban and socio-cultural contexts? What are some key indicators (social, physical and political) in each locally specific area?
- What institutions and/or organisations (public/private) are key players in prevention and intervention activities in these respective urban areas, and what are the institutional and geographical frameworks they operate within?
- How do professionals (pedagogues, social workers, teachers, psychologist and others) in these different contexts navigate the limitations and possibilities of urban space(s)and institutional contexts in their work with marginalised youth?

These local mappings were discussed at transnational meetings in May and November 2020, in order to compare, mirror and analyse specific local characteristics, differences and strengths and weaknesses. The aim of this exchange was to achieve transferability (based on an international comparison), and to prepare all participating institutions for their work in output 3 – that is, the development of a model of social, participatory planning. At the same time, the mappings are an important part of developing innovative and revised R&D strategies within the participating institutions.

The main content of this report consists of mappings from each local setting, however, we need already to pinpoint some differences and similarities in the three contexts here.

Differences:

- The categories of young people targeted in the three national contexts differ. In the Spanish mapping, the focus is on underaged persons who have migrated without being accompanied by their parents, or by a custodian, or by any other member of their family (UFM); and also on ex-protected Young Immigrants (EXYI). Those targeted in the Swedish mapping are young people with a migrant background living in so-called socioeconomically vulnerable neighbourhoods. In the

Danish mapping, the focus is on young persons living in poverty in neighborhoods characterised as socially problematic, and in some ways disconnected from the welfare institutions supporting their integration and lifestyle.

- In Sweden and Denmark the social welfare of the young people targeted is mainly managed through tax financed public services. These services differ from one local authority to another, which results in great variation within and between municipalities. In Spain, the institutions involved in the social welfare of participating young people are mainly regional and municipal authorities, acting in collaboration with a great number of NGOs and private organisations which operate at a more local level.
- In Sweden and Denmark the professionals working with the young people being targeted are mainly professionals working in public service, and in Spain they are primarily connected with NGOs.
- While the Swedish and Danish mapping mainly focuses on young people who are residing legally within the country, the Spanish mapping has its focus on those who do not have a regularised administrative situation, and who are therefore not allowed to reside and work legally in the Spanish territory.

Similarities:

- Although the contexts and the situations of the young people targeted differ, the national mappings demonstrate similarities with regard to the marginalisation processes and constraints that these young people are facing. These are processes such as the widening of gaps in economic conditions and social welfare, and exclusion in relation to education, employment, social welfare, housing and leisure time.
- Stigma and territorial fixation through racist, Islamophobic, gang-related and negative neighbourhood discourses. These are directed towards the category that young migrant people are perceived by others as belonging to.
- Marginalisation related to the lack of success in school, in employment and in housing is often explained at an individual level – that is, by the experiences and backgrounds of particular young people and their families.

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2020-08-15

Mapping the connection between urban realities, participation and social work (LEMA) - Country report Sweden, Malmö

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STRUCTURES/POLICIES (POLITICS)

The production, identification and perception of youth marginalisation

Changes in Swedish social welfare systems, the globalisation and marketisation of services (including education and migration flows) has impacted how the marginalization of young people in Sweden has developed since the 1990s. There is one category, especially, which has been more marginalised than others – that is, young people with a migrant background living in so called socio-economically vulnerable neighbourhoods.¹ This is why the Swedish component of the LEMA-project, and this report, focuses on young people with a migrant background living in the neighborhood of Hermodsdal in the City of Malmö (see page 5). The deepening gaps and forms of segregation resulting from these societal processes are affecting young people living in these areas in all aspects of lives: in relation to education, employment, social welfare and leisure time. Before we turn to the neighborhood in focus, this report will provide an insight into marginalisation processes across Sweden as whole.

Marginalisation in education and employment

According to the Swedish national curriculum and the law in relation to schools, all children and young people have equal rights. That means that all children and youth are to be granted equal quality of provision in the *educational* system. This is not the case in practice, however. In the early 1990s the Swedish school system was reformed through the introduction of free choice of schools by parents, and became a 'market adapted' school system. This means that there is basically a right to freely establish private and independent schools, that tax-financed schools are allowed to become private companies (and may make unlimited profits), and that the government school voucher system is now linked to students in both private and municipal schools. The effects of this come in the form of a massive social differentiation and segregation. This has been unequivocally demonstrated in numerous studies, reports and doctoral dissertations (e.g. Bunar, 2005; Börjesson, 2016; Lund&Lund, 2016; Fjellman, 2017). The challenges here are several. The socio-economic background of students has become more important for the grade results, for example. Students have become increasingly divided in different schools, based on socio-economic background. They have also become increasingly divided between different schools based on whether they have any form of migrant background. As a result, a lower proportion of foreign-born young people have eligibility for upper secondary school education than domestically-born youth. This especially affects those who are starting their studies in the Swedish school system during the latter part of compulsory schooling. Young foreign-born boys have the most difficulty in gaining admission to an upper secondary school. Also, a relatively lower proportion of students with a migrant background continue into further and higher education (Skolverket, 2012; The Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2019a).

¹ Defined as a person born in a country other than Sweden, or born in Sweden from two parents born in another country.

The tendency of young people from migrant background to be marginalised within the educational system is also seen in relation to the *labour market*. In recent years, Sweden has had good labour market opportunities for young people. However, this has not benefited all. In the 16–24 years age group, unemployment among foreign-born young people was 28% in 2018, compared with 6% among those born in Sweden. Foreign-born persons are also at greater risk of being unemployed for longer periods (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2019a).

To summarise, there is a larger proportion of young foreign-born among those young people who neither work nor study. This proportion has been increasing among foreign-born, while decreasing among domestically-born. The proportion of foreign-born girls aged 16-24 years who neither work nor study (16%, compared to 6% for Swedish born girls) is particularly large (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2019b). Various studies therefore show that the Swedish educational system and labour market has, to a large extent, failed to offer access to children and young people with a migrant background, especially those who are foreign-born. These processes of marginalisation may also be noticed in areas such as social welfare and leisure time activity.

Social welfare and leisure time

While the majority of the young people in Sweden enjoy good living conditions, because of prosperity and general economic conditions have improved over the past two decades, child poverty has increased numerically during the same period. Here we find an over-representation of migrant children and youth, due to the fact that the main risk categories are children and young people living with foreign-born parents and single parents (Forte, 2018). Statistics indicate that 42% of children aged 0-18 years living with a single foreign-born parent in 2016 lived in poverty (Save the Children, 2018). Young people with a migrant background are also over-represented in other categories relevant to children's and young people's wellbeing – for example in the care system and in correctional care. Young offenders with a migrant background are especially over-represented in correctional care. According to Hessel and Vinnerljung (2000), the overrepresentation of children with roots in other countries in care is a worrying sign of the condition faced by migrant children overall.

These tendencies towards marginalisation among migrant children are mirrored in relation to their participation in leisure time activities. Young people with limited economic resources and with a migrant background participate less in sports and cultural activities. This is not the result of a lack of interest, but is based on economic resources (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2014).

Perceptions and explanations

Studies that have looked into the reasons for differences between foreign- and domestic-born youth with regard to work and/or study have noticed that the amount of time spent in the country is an important factor. So is whether the young person concerned has come as an asylum seeker or migrant labour background. Other factors of major importance are educational background, work experience, language skills and physical and mental health. In general, studies show that difficulty in establishing themselves is greater for individuals the shorter the time they have been in the country.

The greatest challenges are those facing young people who have arrived in Sweden in their late teens. A number of explanations have been provided for this group's difficulty in establishing itself. A higher proportion of foreign-born young people have incomplete schooling, for instance. It is also more common for foreign-born young people neither to work nor to study, despite having completed high school grades. This suggests that there are factors other than incomplete schooling at play. These include the fact that it takes time to find a job, that language barriers can be high, that many of those involved lack networks and contacts which can lead to employment, that education and work experience from other countries is poorly valued, and that there is ethnic discrimination in the labour market. Another explanatory factor is that many foreign-born people who flee war or persecution suffer from traumatic disorders (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2019b).

Others studies concerning the failure of the Swedish educational system to provide access to educational knowledge to children from a migrant background argue that this failure has often been conceptualised and explained as a problem of difference in culture, ethnicity and language among the migrant children themselves (León-Rosales, 2010; Lunneblad, 2013; Nilsson and Bunar 2015; Harju and Sjölander, 2019; Lozic, 2019). The experiences and backgrounds of families often serves as an explanation for their children's lack of success, although research suggests that social and economic life conditions in the receiving country actually have a greater impact on success in the school system (Andersson *et al.*, 2010).

INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCES

Which institutions and/or organisations are key players in prevention and intervention activities in different urban areas/realities, and what are the institutional, social and geographical frameworks within which they operate?

In Sweden the social welfare of children and young people is mainly managed through tax-financed public services. At a government level, the responsibilities are separated across three different ministries: the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Employment. Regarding the organisation of child and young people's welfare, social services and education are the legal and financial responsibility of municipalities, which are local self-governing bodies with far-reaching rights to tax their citizens for such purposes. Compulsory schooling, for example, is regulated by a national curriculum, but the responsibility for its implementation lies with the municipalities. As long as basic standards in the legal framework are respected, local authorities have the right to organise their child welfare and educational provision as it suits them. The organisational structure is thus amorphous, and it differs from one local authority to another. Local authorities also have considerable freedom in choosing what services to provide. The result is great variation within and between municipalities. However, municipalities cannot legally refuse their responsibilities by referring to financial limitations, for example.

The city of Malmö

The city of Malmö is struggling with the issues that have been mentioned so far in relation to the marginalisation of young people with a migrant background. As much as 31% of the population is born abroad, and over half of Malmö's school students have a foreign background. Of the 330,000 inhabitants, half are under 30 years of age. Child poverty is greatest in Sweden, and foreign-born people are strongly overrepresented among economically disadvantaged families. Since 2015, more than 1,000 refugee children have been registered in compulsory school every year. The reception of newly arrived refugees has been a recurring issue for discussion and research in the city. One of the biggest challenges for municipality and school administrations in the past decade has been to break repeated patterns of segregation, stigma and social exclusion.

The city of Malmö has undertaken a range of action to try to break the reproduction of patterns of marginalisation and social exclusion among young people. One such action has been launching a community-based programme called Communities that Care (CTC). This aims to address issues facing communities, with specific regard to the young people living there. It is a problem-focused programme aiming at mapping and helping neighbourhoods. It is based on criteria such as risky and problem behaviour among youth, factors concerning risk and protection, and the need for action. The overall aim is to work through all local areas across the whole city within five years; but in the first phase, the method was introduced in five specially selected areas. Hermodsdal is one of those selected areas in the first phase. This because the neighbourhood has been targeted by the city council as a vulnerable area (*utsatt område*) in relation to issues such as unemployment rates, people living on social security, poverty rates, criminality rates, and school results.

Hermodsdal - the neighborhood of participating young people

There are approximately 13,000 people living in **Hermodsdal**, of which approximately 3,500 (27%) persons are under 18 year. 25% of the residents had post-secondary education in the year 2017, compared to 47% in the city of Malmö as whole. The employment rate for residents aged between 20 and 64 years was that same year, 49%, compared to 67% for Malmö. Residents thus have a lower income from employment per year than in Malmö generally, and this is regardless of gender (Zuta, 2019). The child poverty rate is also higher than in Malmö as a whole (25.2%), and at the national level (9.3%), in the area (Fosie) of which Hermodsdal Gullviksborg is a part, 39.8% of children aged 0-17 years live in child poverty (Save the Children, 2018).

The *housing* in the area consists of detached houses and apartment buildings, and the majority of residents live in rental apartments (70%) which are managed by the Malmö Municipal Housing Company (MKB) together with two private housing companies. This effects the participating young people, who live in rental apartments with their families. Inward and outward movement in the area is at the same level as for Malmö as a whole, with 17% moving in and 27% moving out in 2017 (Zuta, 2019). Regarding services offered by the *public administration*, there are two primary schools, ten pre-schools and one healthcare centre in the neighborhood. Other functions organised and financed by the municipality include a community centre that offers free activities to all residents in the area, based on the residents' wishes and requirements, and a youth recreation centre targeting children and young people aged 12-18 years. This centre offers activities such as music recording, dancing, playing board games, and help with homework. There is also a family house (with child healthcare), an open pre-school, social workers, and preventive dental care – all under one roof. The main housing company

(Malmö Housing Company, MKB) in the area is owned and managed by the municipality. Their office in the area offers accommodation services for people living in their (rental) apartments (Zuta, 2019). Then there is the Communities that Care (CTC) programme, targeting preventive work with focus on young people.

There are several *non-profit organisations* in the area where the neighborhood is situated. The *4H* is an organisation that works with young people aged 16-25 years. They organise homework help, mentoring programmes and employment on hourly basis for young people. Others are *HUDA* that works with children of all ages in the neighborhood, and *Hela Malmö (All of Malmö)*, which is a meeting place for children and young people aged 10-24 years. Both projects offer different activities, such as help with homework, gaming rooms etcetera. Another organisation is Café Nydala, which is appreciated for its summer activities. There are also 18 different *private actors*, such as supermarkets, Pizzeria/falafel/kebab shops, a video shop, a bakery, a hairdressing salon, a pharmacy, MoneyGram, and a bike store (Zuta, 2019).

ACTORS WORKING WITH THE GROUP AT HAND

Challenges from a professional perspective

Regarding institutions/actors working with the group at hand (see above).

The challenges that young people in the neighborhood of Hermodsdal face has (within the CTC-programme) been mapped with professionals, residents and people working in non-profit organisations. The mapping, which is focused on risk and protective factors, shows identified risk factors among young people – such as violent behaviour among young boys and girls, incomplete schooling (as in truancy), lack of commitment and weak connections to the school, a high level of acceptance of tobacco, alcohol and drug use, and the possession of guns. Another risk factor that has been identified is a lack of social bonding and trust between residents in the area. The main protective factor identified is relations within and towards families. As a result, one of the main focuses of the CTC-programme in this area involves strengthening protective factors particularly related to the family (Zuta, 2019).

One reflection on this CTC-mapping is that it mainly focuses risk and protection factors, and solving problems, on an individual and local level, as if it is the residents who are to be blamed and who are to solve these “problems”. This approach fails to address other factors, such as economic and socio-political changes in the society, or factors at organisational level. However, others who have mapped challenges and success factors in relation to young people who neither work nor study from a professional’s point of view, for example, have pointed to challenges within the very systems which are supposed to help young people. These include things such as short-term efforts/interventions, an unclear division of responsibilities among professionals and institutions, inadequate conditions for individual adaptation, and lack of cooperation between institutions. *Success* factors include an individual-centred approach, flexibility in operation, a holistic perspective on the needs of the individual young person, good attendance, time and patience, mapping and follow-ups of group activity, and cooperation between professionals from different institutions. *Success factors for collaboration*: clarity in governance and management, clear structures for collaboration, consensus about problems and challenges, and good relationships between partners (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, 2019b).

Recent reports from within the Malmö municipality points towards the fact that teachers, school leaders and other staff in schools are often stuck in the context of everyday working. The permanent lack of teachers and resources makes it hard for professionals in these schools to grasp the larger picture. They often refer to a state of stress and insufficient provision. Also, schools are often forced to employ teachers lacking adequate education themselves, and this makes the situation difficult at many schools (Sjölander, 2017 and 2019).

POLICIES AND PRACTICES – HIGHLIGHTING INNOVATIVE PRACTICES

The review above (under the title *Hermodsdal*) illustrates how some of the innovative practices/activities in the neighbourhood, including the CTC-programme. Apart from these examples, there are initiatives in the compulsory school system in the city of Malmö which we want to address here. The school in Hermodsdal is also involved in these activities.

The employment of *student coordinators* has been an important strategy for creating a good environment in Malmö's schools. The school in Hermodsdal is one of those. These new positions within Malmö's schools have been created in the light of a significant shortage of teachers. Although the main purpose of the initial introduction of student coordinators was to liberate teachers from certain mundane tasks. in favour of pedagogical and teaching-related work, it is possible to see other positive benefits from the introduction of these positions. Student coordinators play an important role in social and relational work at school, for instance. Above all, they have become a resource for students outside the classroom, beyond teaching and the constant demands for assessment and results. They help build relationships with students and parents in a long-term and proactive way. They therefore form a bridge between several different contexts, all of which are equally important and crucial for the students' learning ability and wellbeing, as well as for the wider perspective required for an opportunity to really grow and flourish to their full potential. Many student coordinators fit well in their role, because they have grown up in a specific area, or because they have a background that enables and facilitates the building of relationships.

Language as a resource – and not a problem – also plays a role in Malmö, due to the fact that several schools have made successful investments in translingual and multilingual teaching methods . These have duly been documented and evaluated by researchers. This experience and knowledge is, however, only being put into effect in some schools across the city.

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Mapping the connection between urban realities, participation and social work (LEMA) - Country report for Spain, Malaga

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STRUCTURES/POLICIES (POLITICS):

Considering the different realities under investigation, how is urban youth marginalisation produced, identified and perceived in the urban and socio-cultural contexts at hand? What are the key indicators (social, physical and political) in this locally specific area/reality?

UFM (Unaccompanied foreign minor) and EXYI (Ex-Protected Young Immigrant). DEFINITION AND EVOLUTION

Starting in the 1990s, Spanish borders experienced increasing migration flows. This was particularly led by minors travelling alone, without any relatives or family representatives present. This group of immigrants, being minors, usually had linguistic obstacles, resulting from travel without any family member or relative, and could therefore find themselves in a vulnerable or threatening position. The Immigration Law 2000 (LO 4/2000) defines this group of minors as UFM, which stands for Unaccompanied Foreign Minor.

According to article 189 of the Immigration Regulations (RD 557/2011), UFM amounts to an underage population, nationals of a state not subject to application of the European Union regime, who have come to the Spanish territory without any adult responsible, on a legal basis, for his or her protection; or else protected by common custom (a minor might come accompanied by an adult person who is not considered to be a legal custodian according to the Spanish regulations, but rather according to a cultural custom of his or her country). This may create a threatening situation involving lack of protection, in the same way as it would for any Spanish minor in the same condition. Senovilla (2008) defines UFM as “underage individuals who migrate without being accompanied either by their parents or by a custodian, or by any other member of their family who might be assigned custody” (p. 21). Once a minor comes to Spain, he or she should be considered destitute if there is no adult person in charge of them and, in this case, would be mentored by a relevant authority. In Andalusia, article 20 of the Decree 42/2002 of the Andalusia Regional Government, which also cites the first paragraph of the article 172 of the Civil Code, regulates this situation.

In Spain, where minors’ migration cases are picked up by the relevant public administrations, there is a Framework Protocol on Intervention with UFM (2014), which is based on the Immigration Law, the Children Act, and Spanish Civil Code. This Protocol describes the process for receiving and taking action in relation to these minors. To summarise, once it is determined that they are indeed minors, they find

themselves under state protection within the framework of the Minors Protection System, and they live (mainly) at Minors Protection Centre.

When these young people become of legal age, which is the same day that they turn 18 years of age, they no longer live under the protection provided by the Children Act, and are therefore asked to leave the Minors Protection Centre where they have been residing. At that moment they become EXYI.

STATISTICS AND MIGRATORY ROUTES:

In order to produce a profile of Ex-Protected Young Immigrant (EXYI), one should start by offering a profile of UFM. This needs to take into account that UFM are counted in various pieces of data and studies, together with the large scale monitoring undertaken through the protection provided by different state administrations. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to access up-to-date information, because there is no official data concerning the Ex-Protected Youth residing in Spain and few data about their situation in this country. This indicates major limitations and complications when trying to combine “available resources” and “detected needs”. However, considering the data that is available, it is possible to talk about this being a continuously growing phenomenon.

“UNICEF (2010:40) found that between 1993 and 2007, 49,485 unaccompanied children entered the Spanish care system, which implies an annual average of ,.299 children. These children are predominantly male, aged between 14 and 18 years, and Morocco is their main country of origin (Quiroga, Segura and Soria, 2011). By 2008, Moroccan children accounted for 67% of the total population of unaccompanied children (Spanish Ministry of Employment and Immigration, quoted in UNICEF 2010: 45)” (Barbulescu and Grugel, 2016, p.256).

According to Save the Children, in their report entitled *“Menas es un estigma. Son niños y niñas solos”* dated 2018, 6,991 of new arrivals were registered as migrants who were unaccompanied minors (no accompaniment by any family member). Moreover, experts always insist on the fact that this number is approximate. Also, among the majority of migrants who are minors without family representatives, approximately 70% are absorbed by the reception systems of Andalusia, Ceuta, Melilla, Catalonia and the Basque Country. This report reveals that, in 2018, out of 13,405 UFM tutored in Spain, 12,448 of them were boys and 957 of them were girls. The countries of origin of these young people were (in descending order): Morocco, Algeria, Guinea-Conakry, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Nigeria, Mali and Syria, with more than 70% originating from Morocco.

The migratory routes of these young people spread across Africa up to the Moroccan border – which, due to its geopolitical position, shares a vertical border with the European Union and therefore a common border with Spain (Cohen and Berriane, 2011). This migratory journey can last from a few months to many years, taking into account that once migrants get to the Spanish territory in Ceuta and Melilla, they also have to cross the Mediterranean Sea in order to be able to get to Andalusia’s coasts, which is one of the state’s territories having the largest number of minor and young migrants in movement.

The changing nature of data concerning this group acts as an impediment to accurately capturing the reality of this type of migration. One of the reasons for this is high mobility among these young people. The Registry of Unaccompanied Minors of the Commissioner of the Andalusia, dated 31st December 2018, establishes a total number of 13,796 minors registered as mentored by the Protection Service

across the whole Spain, with 12,825 boys and 971 girls among this total number. In Andalusia, 6,294 of them were unaccompanied minors (46%).

Another factor is legal age. Once this age is reached, the mechanisms for monitoring these residents are reduced. In this case, the report *Infancia Migrante: Derechos Humanos en la Frontera Sur 2019* (*Migrant Childhood: Human Rights on the Southern Border 2019* report, published by the Pro Human Rights Association in Andalusia) shows how scarce the official data are, and cites migrating minors population data provided by registers of Andalusia:

“If, as on 31st December 2017, 309 teenage boys and girls, 33.5% of them of 17-years-old, were under the mentorship of the Minor Protection System [then] during 2018 some of these youth will have reached their legal age and will have amounted to approximately 438 youngsters [...] To this number should be added those who joined the protection system in the course of the year, turning 18 during this same year” (p. 155).

In Malaga (Andalusia), official information is also scarce. The available data are provided by the Moroccan Association (Asociación Marroquí para la Integración de Inmigrantes (AM). During 2019, 82 youngsters in movement from Morocco were taken care of. Nine of them were females and 69 were males. Based on these data, and numbers estimated by the rest of the available sources (social services), one can deduce that the population which belongs to this group and lives in Malaga varies between 100 and 200 persons. This variation appears to be wide, due to the fact that many of them do not benefit from services provided by social services the city, which means that many of them are homeless. This fact alone makes it difficult to calculate the exact number.

Polarised political discourse

The popular discourse with regard to this group of youngsters varies between stigmatisation and victimisation. It is hard to ignore racist and Islamophobic narratives from certain political sources aimed towards this group. On the other hand, it is important to emphasise discourse issues related particularly to the terms UFM and EXYI. These terms are reductionist and simplifying, while the reality they describe is tremendously complicated. In this sense, the main ideas that occur as a result of the repetitive use of these acronyms does not contribute much to a deeper analysis, understanding and explanation of the situation of the group identified by these acronyms. The abuse of these terms, exacerbated by a fragmented social discourse overall, the rise of nationalist movement in Europe and its prevalence across all media channels – these factors combined serve to fuel, and articulate in a propagandistic way, antagonistic populist messages. This contributes to moving attention away from a focus on social problems and the human dramas from which they result.

On the other side of this equation is a victimising discourse. Sometimes, little credit is given to the great capacity for adaptation and resilience shown by these youngsters. This arises from stereotypes which ignore the diverse profile of these young people, who all have different personalities and come through different migration processes. That is why awareness-raising campaigns are important. These campaigns can help make the host population think more about the feelings of pity they have towards these young people, turning it instead into an experience of greater understanding. The feelings of pity are due to the image these youngsters have. They are portrayed as not being capable of handling the situation they face by themselves. This generates adverse stereotypes of young migrants. Bearing all this in mind, it can be seen how important it is to create more spaces where youngsters from this group

can express their individuality and in so doing generate efficient counter-narratives that help people understand the complexity of their situation.

Constraints facing young people

These young people's needs are structured around large areas of engagement such as education, employment, the regularisation of legal status, and housing – as well as the social, emotional and psychological situation of young migrants.

REGULARISATION OF CITIZENSHIP:

Spanish Immigration Law is often seen as an impassable wall that blocks the actions of various people trying to intervene in the system. If the purpose of the activities carried out in relation to this group (young migrants) is holistic integration, a lasting solution has to be related to the regularisation of their documentation and their administrative situation in a way that authorises them to reside and work legally in the Spanish territory. These are the specific difficulties related to this task:

- *The differences in processing applications in Minor Protection Centres.* A significant number of young people leave centres for minors without having regularised their administrative situation. They are also not allowed to work within the Spanish territory during this period, and in the best of cases they have a year to renew their residence permit. That is possible only if they possess the necessary “financial means” or some other source of income.
- *The lack of information.* Youth migrants feel that they do not get enough information about the documents (work permits, etc.) they need at protection centres, and they therefore need a greater level of transparency about how to obtain the relevant documentation.
- *Slow administrative process.* Professionals who carry out activities in the migration field often complain about the slow bureaucratic processes of administrative bodies. This slows down the assignment of identity document to the youngsters who need them.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT:

General challenges for young migrants include learning the Spanish language, difficulty accessing post-16 education, or a high dropout level when they do. In the same way, 18+ resources designed for EXYI are tremendously scarce, while the need to develop economic autonomy remains a priority. This is why induction courses and vocational training aimed at introducing young people into the labour market are so important. If these youngsters do get a work permit and internship at a company or a firm, they have more chance of being employed by this company or firm in the longer run. On the other hand, if they do not get a work permit the company concerned should assume the commitment to provide a year-long full-time contract, which is what is required to apply for this work permit. This kind of internship is almost never paid, which filters out those youngsters who are not offered any “high intensity resource of integral assistance” (see pag. 17 for more info). They therefore find themselves involved in a complicated process at the same time as they have to face the reality of job insecurity. The same happens with induction courses, which sometimes lead those taking them into those labour sectors with the worst condition and salaries.

At this point, one can already observe how fine the line is between these processes, since a job will be determined both by a work permit and by educational access. Also, much depends upon whether a

youngster is homeless, or whether she or he lives in a temporary residence or has access to “high intensity resources” provided by the local administration.

HOUSING/STREET SITUATION:

The majority of youngsters, once they arrive in Spain, are received by protection centres. As a general rule, young migrants appreciate the existence of these centres, although in many cases they are also critical of the strict rules established at some of them, comparing them with “prisons”. In fact, they tend to complain more when they reach the legal age, as what follows then is:

- Homelessness, marginality and extreme vulnerability.
- A lack of habitation resources designed specifically for young migrants. The number of people who are going to turn 18 is available to, and known by, everybody. However, there are simply not enough resources for them.
- Some of them stay at inns and other facilities for homeless people. These facilities are not adequate for girls and boys who had just reached legal age.
- Some of the consequences of homelessness include drug abuse, criminality, marginalisation, getting caught up with the mafia, etc.

THE SOCIAL, EMOTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION

The issues mostly faced by the youngsters when they talk about are the following:

- The need to leave protection centres and the immigrant environment in order to get to know local people. They emphasise their need for integration, and to be able to establish shared activities with locals.
- There is a need for more training for the professionals
- The lack of legal documents and work permits, as well as obstacles in formal education that generates frustration, insecurity, fear and uncertainty among these EXYI.
- When they leave protection centres, they are expected to be self-sufficient and to have a clear plan for future, even though they are only 18 years old. It seems like these young people have an unfair disadvantage compared to other boys or girls of the same age.
- The problems of self-perception manifested as a result of the stigma and stereotyping that exists among the majority of the population.

INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCES

What institutions and/or organisations (public/private) are key players in prevention and intervention activities in the respective urban areas/realities; and what are the institutional, social and geographical frameworks within which they operate?

Among the public institutions which are key actors in conducting prevention and inclusion activities among the EXYI are Junta de Andalucía (Regional Government) and Malaga City Council (Local Government). Junta de Andalucía emphasises its “PROGRAMA +18” (P + 18). The provisions under this programme are undertaken before the young people involved have reached the legal age, and can be prolonged in some cases, up to the age of 25 years, assuring them resources and professionals to guide and accompany them in achieving their first work experience, and even facilitating access to housing.

There are two types of resource provided under the +18 Programme in Andalusia. There

are “high intensity resources”, which consist of “shelter flats” or “autonomy apartments”, where integral assistance is provided. This integral assistance covers all the needs of young people who have had to leave protection centres for minors, but who do not have any way of living independently when they turn 18 years. On the other hand, there are so-called “medium intensity” resources. These consist of a network of “day centres”, where all the various programmed activities are carried out with constant monitoring, and with sufficient guarantees of training to help those involved achieve their social and labour market integration. This support is provided through numerous activities. Among them one might mention accompaniment in the process of achieving full autonomy, informal training in integration, and scholarships for training and housing.

The P + 18 system has been developed under the framework of Collaborating institutions, by virtue of Collaboration Agreements with the Department of Equality, Health and Social Policies (Regional Administration). This is the reason why those implementing the programme are third sector organisations, who have particular expertise in attending to the needs of this group. Currently, there are 61 high intensity resources and 4 medium intensity resources in the province of Malaga. According to the report submitted by the Andalucía Acoge NGO, *Child Defencelessness on the Southern Border: Migrant minors without family representatives and Ex-mentored Youth in Andalucía, Ceuta and Melilla*, 2017 (latest official data), 78 young people (64 boys and 14 girls) attended activities under the framework of the P + 18 programme.

At local level, Malaga City Council runs the “Puerta Única” (“Unique door”) resource, which pays immediate attention to homeless people. This is a situation in which young migrants inevitably find themselves when they turn 18. For the services offered by this body, there are 310 vacancies for reception, management and referral to services responsible for providing dining facilities, hygiene, clothes and laundry for homeless people; also social care, intercultural mediation and psychological care. These 310 vacancies are not exclusively for Ex-protected young people, but are available for all homeless people across the city of Malaga. The vacancies include sheltered flats run by various bodies in the third sector, plus public shelters and inns such as “Calor y Café” – a centre for homeless people that provides basic resources (overnight stays, a laundry service, showers, breakfast, etc.).

The associative network in the city of Malaga which is involved with interventions to support this group has a double function: on the one hand, offering services derived from public bodies, and managing resources provided by the Andalusia Government or Malaga City Council. On the other hand, implementing their own projects, which offer a variety of valuable resources to this population, because they break the pattern of purely providing assistance, and shift the emphasis towards empowerment and social mobilisation. The city of Malaga has approximately ten social service bodies that work exclusively on the integration of ex-protected young migrants, as well as around another ten which, although not focused on this group, also offer services which can be accessed by these young people.

It is worth pointing out that there are insufficient high-intensity resources available, as they need to reach a considerable number of homeless young people facing marginalisation.

ACTORS WORKING WITH THE GROUP AT HAND

How do professionals in these different contexts navigate the limitations and possibilities of urban space(s) and institutional contexts in their work with marginalised youth?

In order to reflect upon the feelings and opinions of the professionals who work with these young people, it is helpful to use direct quotations extracted from testimonies gathered during an event entitled "Professionals' Forum: Analysis and debates on EXYI and UFM". This was organised by the Moroccan Association in Malaga on 29th November 2019, where 19 professionals from various fields related to integration and intervention with these groups shared their experience.

As a general testimony, professionals in this sector seem very frustrated, mostly as a result of the excessive workload and a permanent lack of resources. This makes them constantly feel as if they are carrying out their work in a superficial way. G.G. (Engloba) puts it the following way: "We end up managing so many issues, but, in the end, we forget just to listen to them. We do not listen to those children, and we do not know their abilities". E. C. (UMA) thinks, "If we do not know how unique and individual their stories are, it is very difficult to provide solutions. It becomes a mere technical intervention". Also, the overload of administrative and coordination work does not allow professionals to provide a qualitatively-based accompaniment programme to EXYI. This is not to mention the lack of staff available to carry out different tasks adequately, which means that one person often ends up carrying out a great portion of the tasks involved, or even all of them. P. L. (Álora Child Protection Centre) agrees with all the points mentioned above, and further highlights the lack of time and the tight deadlines involved as another challenge to be faced: "We spend all day stuck to our watches. It feels like an accompaniment process in a time trial." Another factor which affects the quality of the socio-educational practices required is the ultimate aim of the administrative programmes involved. These often seem inconsistent with the reality lived by the young people involved. C. (Engloba) points out: "We need realistic proposals; we cannot operate on the belief that once they become of legal age they can simply fend for themselves." With regard to the unjust realities that these young people are enduring, N. (Puerta Única) comments: "We are asking for impossible things. How can we talk about integration if there is no equality of opportunity?" In this sense, G. P. (Málaga Acoge) expresses an viewpoint and experience that reverses the order of the different factors involved, and situates responsibility in the product: "The failure does not lie with the children, but with the bodies and administrations who accompany them." However, the motivation and the struggle of many of these young people means that their educators end up feeling that the struggle is still worth it, as H.P. from "Ciudad de los Niños" minors protection centre said when asked about the pros and cons of this type of work: "They are special, resilient, with amazing abilities... The pros are to learn from them every day, and to have the possibility of showing the world that they are capable of many things".

POLICIES AND PRACTICES – HIGHLIGHTING INNOVATIVE PRACTICES

Although Puerta Única lacks vacancies to be able to reach all homeless people in the city of Malaga, including young migrants, it can be considered as an example of good practice. It is a centre that coordinates all the vacancies provided to young migrants by other bodies. Therefore, Puerta Única is the one that manages registers and waiting lists to access the vacancies, making the process more transparent and less competitive. On the other hand, there is a shared and lasting negative feeling regarding these groups among professionals. This feeling can be expressed as, "We have our hands

“...at any time we strive to provide comprehensive, realistic solutions in the short- or medium-term”. A paradigm shift is needed in order to provide solutions for all problems mentioned in this document. To do so, a focus on the following action lines is required: empowerment, training, developing the autonomy of young migrants, political advocacy, citizens’ understanding and solidarity, and entrepreneurial creativity.

The processes of empowerment, training and autonomy for UFM and EXYI have been valued as essential for young people, in order that they might discover, on the one hand, their individuality and expression, and on the other hand, appropriate channels so that their voice can reach a greater number of citizens, groups and administrative bodies.

The high level of stigmatisation that these young people face makes various activities difficult. On the one hand, it is necessary to work closely with the host society, in order to raise awareness and to deconstruct the stereotypes and myths attached to these groups. On the other hand, it is important to work with the young people themselves so that they can unlearn false ideas about themselves, derived from years of stigmatization. These are necessary first steps needed in order to guide them to access new, efficient and less structured models. It is even possible that these could serve as catalysts for employment, or for the regularisation of the legal and administrative situation they. The solutions proposed for addressing these problems would eventually result in a substantial modification of, or the abolition of, the actual Immigration Law. It is therefore essential to look at coordinating important activities in the field of political advocacy which could also make an impact through voices of different stakeholders, including those of young migrants.

Hence the need for, and relevance of, projects like this, which aims at providing greater visibility to the situation of these youngsters, offering them resources that favour their potential, and guidelines for action consistent with other visions of possible life in the future. We also suggest that the development of healthier self-perception and self-esteem is extremely important, as well as the kind of empowerment to help them find stability at school, and eventually a form of employment which allows them to obtain the necessary documentation to live in a country which offers better life prospects.

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Mapping the connection between urban realities, participation and social work (LEMA) - Country report Denmark Copenhagen

Ditte tofteng and Mette Bladt

Introduction

This mapping revolves around the Danish context, specifically around the Copenhagen area, which is the capital of Denmark. The mapping consists of reflection on the topics mentioned above – but will also provide a brief commentary on the methods used to gather and collect data for this mapping.

Methods and baseline

The mapping from Denmark has been achieved by combining different types of data. Both secondary and primary data have therefore been used. The primary data consist of a “human snowball study” and a qualitative interview study with those professionals working directly with marginalised young people in the three local areas.

The secondary data consist of policy documents and national cohort studies – with the following studies being used and published by the Danish sector research institutions. This is an overview:

- Vive (2018). Children and young people – welfare and wellbeing.
- Copenhagen Municipality (2018). Financial ratios.
- Petersen, *et al.* (2019). Fritids- og ungdomsklubbers betydning for børn og unges hverdagsliv og fællesskaber i udsatte boligområder.
- Government (2018). No ghettos in 2020.
- Nielsen *et al.* (2019). Crime and ethnic minorities. Ålborg Universitet.
- Hald *et al.* (2017). What do we know about young people at risk. Rockwool.

The primary studies consist of two elements – a snowball study and a qualitative interview study. These studies has been conducted as a part of a sister project connected to LEMA. Hence, only some of the elements of the study are relevant to the LEMA mapping. These studies will primarily be used in the last part of the mapping – actors, discourse and highlights.

The purpose of the human snowball study was to identify which actors work with this target group in the City of Copenhagen. This is in order to gain further knowledge about who is actually in direct contact with the young people concerned, and how daily work with these young people is organised. For this purpose, “snowball sampling” is used, with which an initial group of participants recommend other potential participants for the study, who then recommend additional participants, and so on.

The human snowball has been designed as a survey study and has been conducted through telephone interviews of a quantitative nature. It was divided into two parts. The first part was conducted among a group of managers employed in different types of administration or institution in Copenhagen in March 2019 and August 2019, but was ended when it was found that only a few respondents had

significant acquaintance with the desired group of young people. Instead, a second part of the study was initiated. This was conducted among selected leisure and club (fritidsklub og klub) provision offers in the Municipality of Copenhagen in the areas Nørrebro, Amager and Sydhavn (Valby), from mid-November 2019 to mid-December 2019. In addition, it also included a number of

preventative efforts in Copenhagen Municipality on the recommendation of employees of the municipal leisure and youth clubs.

The human snowball consisted of 31 quantitatively oriented telephone interviews.

Following the survey from the 'human snowball', it was revealed which professionals are in direct contact with marginalised youth in Copenhagen. A qualitative interview study was conducted with relevant employees from the three local areas included in the mapping: Amager, Sydhavn (valby) and Nørrebro. The interview study started immediately before the Coronavirus shutdown, and is therefore still in progress. So far it comprises 15 semi-structured interviews with professionals working directly with marginalised young people in Copenhagen. The interview survey asked very directly about the professionals' work with highly marginalised young people in urban contexts.

STRUCTURES/POLICIES (POLITICS):

The Danish social welfare system is organised through tax-financed public services and a universal approach, which means that the service is directed toward the Danish citizens as a whole. The child and youth services are provided by the municipalities, and these have a considerable freedom in choosing what service to provide, provided they stay within the national legislation within the area. The overall focus is prevention, support and care.

Copenhagen in numbers

Copenhagen has twice as many residents in the low-income group (earning below DKK 100,000), 10.2% as compared with the rest of the country (about 5%). The proportion of decidedly poor residents is also twice as high as for the rest of the country

Copenhagen is divided into districts (figure 1). Amongst them, Nørrebro, Sydhavnen, Bispebjerg and Amager (west) are the poorest districts in Copenhagen. These are the districts relevant for the mapping.



Copenhagen has more citizens with social problems (and serious ones) than in the rest of the country combined. In three boroughs, the socio-economic index is 60% higher than in the rest of the country (highest in Sydhavnen).

Copenhagen's NEET youth group for young people under 20 years is about 3% higher than for the rest of the country.

Children growing up in poor families, approximately 2% in Copenhagen, is twice as many as the national average.

Some 25% of residents in Copenhagen are immigrants or descendants, most of them with a non-Western background. By comparison, the national average is 13%

(All data are deduced from: Key data from Copenhagen 2018, Copenhagen Municipality, 2018)

Political discourse (key factors)

In Copenhagen and Denmark there is an overall focus on key indicators or risk factors such as living in poverty and low levels of employment in families. All factors connected with enhancing social mobility among certain groups are also included. In addition, there is a specific awareness around increased risk connected to violence, abuse, mental illness, vulnerability, etc.

At the moment there is an added focus on:

1. Impact on life chances in relation to the area you live in (Petersen *et al.*, 2019). This is a recurring trend.
2. Area-oriented research and contextual mechanisms (Schultz Jørgensen, 2019). This focus is of special interest to the LEMA mapping, because of the districts involved.
3. The resilience of the individual (in interaction with **inequality of opportunities?** See risk research.)

INSTITUTIONS AND RESOURCES

Denmark has been a welfare state since 1933, which means that social work with marginalised youth (and everyone else) is primarily conducted by professionals working in formal welfare institutions (and very little in the civil sector). This means that the institutions and the agents are almost the same. Through tax revenue, the state and municipalities organise and finance institutions such as:

- Schools – public schools (and partly private schools).
- Fritidshjem/ fritidsordninger – a kind of leisure homes for children aged 6-10 years.
- Klubber (clubs) – children aged 10-14 years.
- Youth clubs – children aged 14-18 years

Professionals working within these institutions are primarily pedagogues. A certain type of Bachelor's Degree obtained at university Colleges in Denmark provides the relevant qualification. These pedagogues are working with elements such as development, prevention, wellbeing, activities etc. This is in some ways comparable with social educators, pre-school teachers or kindergarten teachers. Pedagogues work with people of all ages. Teachers, social workers, police and psychologists also work in the welfare system with the most marginalised young people.

The municipality of Copenhagen is the largest in Denmark. The municipality contains seven different specialised administrations (bif, buf, sof, suf, kff, tmf, ekf). All these administrations have a specialised area of responsibility – schooling, family problems, social problems or mental health problems. Others specialised in include problems connected to the built environment and the labour market. Studies show that this often creates silo thinking, whereby it is not the young people's life situation that is at the centre, but rather the problem is seen from the focus of the administration concerned with addressing it. In this way, young people do not necessarily get the help they need, rather the help they can get .

Interventions and activities are primarily developed within the framework of welfare institutions. So it is schools, youth clubs or more specialized efforts such as street-working pedagogues (Gadeplan) that primarily handle work with marginalised young people in Copenhagen. Often these types of efforts is organised as projects – and temporarily financed.

Other than the municipality and the state, significant organisations involved in this work are the general housing companies operating in all the most exposed residential areas. This work is organised in Helhedsplaner, that is partnerships which function as a collaboration between the housing companies (i.e. the civil sector) and the municipality. The financing of these projects is obtained both privately through foundations, and via municipal / state funds. The employees involved in these overall plans are more often academics rather than professional educators.

Sports and leisure associations are other players who work with young people in this field. However, it is rare for vulnerable young people to use their offers and activities. On the one hand, research shows that vulnerable young people find it difficult to reconcile their own habitus with the associations' habitus, and partly that the monthly payments are an obstacle for them .

In addition, there is at times a tendency for private actors to carry out municipal tasks, so-called second sector actors. This trend is closely related to other ones, particularly in the field of employment, and the current players and their offers there.

ACTORS WORKING WITH THE GROUP AT HAND

The actors working within the field of highly marginalised young people are primarily pedagogues, as mentioned before. We asked these professionals, "How do professionals in these different contexts navigate the limitations and possibilities of urban space(s) and institutional settings in their work with marginalised youth?" The answers can be gathered in the topics mentioned below. Our analysis was made on the basis of the snowball study and the qualitative interviews.

As a short addendum to this, is worth mentioning that in the interviews with welfare professionals, the questions about the city were not considered the most important for educational/pedagogical /social work processes. Rather, these professionals talk about various "classical topics" in pedagogical/social/educational work, such as parenting, interprofessional work, and the general complexity of working with marginalised youth.

The city is there a focus we introduce ourselves. But, nonetheless, a number of considerations arise in the various interviews, and from this we have developed three analytical themes where the city as a context for the young and for the educational work appears clear and relevant :

- The city and safety/unsafety.
- The City and the locality.
- The nature or character of pedagogical work in the city.
- The lack of overview – many projects and professionals.

Theme 1: The city and unsafety/safety - Criminalisation of ordinary youth behaviour due to city spaces and places

The city as a context for the lives of marginalised young people, according to the professionals themselves, represents a risk factor. As there are a number of different activities taking place in the city's space at the same time. An example might be that the spaces that children and young people use to play, play ball, or just hang out and enjoy themselves, are the same spaces in which a number of more or less criminal activities take place:

"Well, they know that a lot of things are going on. There were also shootings out here, but that, with cannabis, can be a little exciting [...] .. so there are some activities in the urban space, you could say, their [children and young people's] living spaces, which are outside theirs, but which nevertheless also plays in, you can say. "

Thus, there is a general concern and awareness that children and adolescents growing up in the city are at greater risk of becoming criminals:

"I think young people are being criminalised faster in the city."

Statistically, a number of studies and pieces of research suggest that children and adolescents are no longer likely to become criminals when they grow up in the city, but are at higher risk of getting into situations that carry crime (Kvsvgaard, 2018 ; DKR, 2020).

One perspective from the professionals who focus on being a child and young person growing up in the city is that the city is an unsafe environment for them, because they do not know each other or other people living in the city. This can result in “ordinary”, harmless activities and behaviour among young people which are perceived as dangerous and criminal:

“There are many children who become insecure, even if they are just children who are down at the corner with their friends – then the police are called, and then they are basically criminalised.”

This tendency is linked to the fact that you do not know each other, which in turn creates unsafety:

"[The young people] are also just young people who really just hang out and do some stupid things, which are basically pranks. Then it will be reported to the police, because the neighbours feel unsafe, because you do not know each other in the same way [in the city]. "

Criminalisation of children and young people staying in the city's space is a theme we have also become aware of in connection with other of our research projects. Here we discuss young people who are actively seeking Western democratic values and norms, and therefore seek public spaces and activities in groups, are misunderstood as gang-related, and criminalised (Bladt and Christensen, 2020).

Theme 2; The BIG City and the local – and conceptions of the city as a special context for pedagogical/social/educational work and the framework for young people's lives

When professionals consider the city as a context, they are able to point towards the many opportunities and offers of a big city. This is perceived both as a risk factor (because one can “stay away” and “hide” in the big city), and as a protection factor, because there is “room for diversity” in the city, too. But while considering the characteristics of the big city, professionals also focus on “the local”:

"The kids know the area already, and that's what we use most, because it's close."

Although these professionals are working within the frame of the big city, they emphasise the qualities of the local area when describing their daily work. This is the local ball court, the ice-skating rink and skater court one uses; it is cooperation with the local sports clubs etc., that is highlighted. In this way, local areas are created and developed as small “village communities” within the big city. These are small areas that can be seen, and which feel safe and homely. In this way, it is notable how the city's diverse opportunities, offers and activities are included in the day-to-day educational work.

"I also think that primarily, even though we go out into the city, we mainly use the local area."

It also becomes clear that professionals operate with a number of ideas about the consequences of growing up in the city, and the notion that it is difficult to work in a big city:

"So now I also worked at Frederiksberg, as a professional who works with ‘outreach’; it was much easier because everyone knew everyone."

"If it was a small community out in the country, where everyone knows each other, then everyone knows, and then you have to take a little more care of where here they are a little more anonymous when in reality."

Also, different notions of how the young people use the city are noticed. So professionals say that young people almost never use other parts of the city apart from their own local area, while at other times they say that young people are extremely mobile:

"Here it is much more dynamic, so they move around, and then they find a new neighborhood; they hang out in the big city or something like that."

"Some of the things that make them mobile are simply that they want to move away from the local area."

Theme 3; The nature or character of pedagogical/social/educational work in the city – The city as a frame of reference and context “calls for” certain types of pedagogy and pedagogical methods.

Although the city, as a context for pedagogical/social/ educational work, does not attract the main attention of welfare professionals, they nevertheless describe a number of specific characteristics of pedagogical/social/ educational work in the city.

First, they describe some methodological characteristics which are very much about the necessity of outreach work or outgoing work. Referring to the premise that they must leave their specific institutions physically, and go out in the neighborhood:

“And then we have to be very outgoing (outreach). So we have to keep on and on and on and on. ”

"I think a lot, that's what happens when you're outside the matrix, so you bump into them and say, 'hey won't you come by soon?' and 'miss you' and such. Trying to get them in, and I know they are running around all sorts of other places that they are not supposed to be. "

At the same time, professionals describe a special educational work that is not about supporting young people's “street culture”, but rather offering them other alternatives – both in terms of activity, but also in terms of value- and dialogue-based offers:

“Now I think specifically about the institutions; they are not good enough to absorb the young people, or it is not good enough to meet the young people in the street, so we really leave the young people to a street culture, and that’s a very tough learning space.”

Theme 4: the lack of overview: many projects, many professionals

When talking about the city, especially Copenhagen with its multiple administrations, the professional naturally mentions the problem of knowing about all the initiatives, projects and people. They reflect on how they lack of knowledge about what is going on.

“It is both the positive and the negative side of an urban areas – there is a lot of initiative, projects and institutions that want to, and are obligated to, work with this group.”

“But when we cooperate with schools, parent and clubs – and the kids – then I think we are moving things for them.”

They have the perception that if they only knew more about all that is going on in the area, and in the city, then they could advice and work much better with the young people.

POLICIES AND PRACTICES – HIGHLIGHTING INNOVATIVE PRACTICES

Highlights

In summary, the Danish part of the mapping shows – not surprisingly – that the main players in social and educational work among highly marginalised young people are primarily handled by welfare institutions and welfare professionals. But, at the same time, it turns out that the way a large municipality such as Copenhagen is organised can end up being an obstruction in itself when working with marginalised young people, because silo thinking makes it difficult create conditions and solutions supportive of specific young people, considering them as individuals. Instead, the offers and solutions put into action within the respective educational silos are not necessarily what a specific young person needs, because the system is not very elastic.

At the same time, mapping shows that the fear of professionals is that children and young people who grow up in Copenhagen are at a greater risk of being marginalised (faster) than children and young people across the rest of the country. (This is not shown in the official data for the country – it is a notion which professionals operate with.)

The qualitative part of the mapping process indicates that professionals working with marginalised young people in a big city do not necessarily think that the urban context is particularly relevant to their work. However, when asked about the urban context, these same professionals have a range of experiences and perspectives on the city as a ‘criminalizing factor’. This is something that professionals to a large extent use in developing small communities as a safe space for young people. At the same time, professionals also have a number of ideas about the city and young people which do not necessarily correspond with data and with what is actually happening. But it turns out that professionals do actually work with, and develop, special educational methods and practices precisely when they are working with young people in an urban context.

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