



WP4 Final Report

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# 1. Introduction

This report presents the results from the work within the Citispyce project's Work Package 4 in Malmö, Sweden. The report has been written by Martin Grander and Jonas Alwall, with support from Mikael Stigendal, Malmö University. Pia Hellberg-Lannerheim and Sigrid Saveljeff (City of Malmö) have paved the way for getting in touch with young people during the fieldwork. The actual fieldwork has mainly been done by Johanna Lindén, with supervision and support by the rest of the team.

## 1.1. Understanding the task

This report is about young people in the areas of North and South Sofielund in Malmö, their experiences and perceptions of problems of inequality and local responses to the inequalities. In approaching and understanding the task, we have seen it as most important that the fieldwork in this work package (WP4) should connect to the findings of WP2 and WP3. Hence, we have incorporated the following key principles from our previous work in the fieldwork:

**A) A definition of social innovation as *a practice that in innovative ways counteracts/changes the causes of inequality, affecting young people***

As we see it, a definition of social innovation must be present in our work with interviews, observations and group interviews in order to know what we are searching for. We are not looking for young people's social practices in a general sense. The practices should address both pillars of the Citispyce project: innovation *and* inequality. The innovative practices need to be directed towards solving inequalities. As WP2 has taught us, inequalities should be addressed in regard to both symptoms and causes, and to be considered as innovative, practices identified in WP4 should relate to the causes of inequality. This definition will also guide us in the forthcoming work with providing examples of social innovations for WP5 and ahead.

**B) Identifying different levels of inequalities**

As we have moved from a national/city level in WP2, to an area level in WP3, and to a neighbourhood level in WP4, it is important to take into consideration the different manifestations of social inequalities. Our point of departure is that the causes of inequalities could be manifested in a number of different ways, from national causes visible directly on the neighbourhood level to locally adapted causes and finally to neighbourhood specific manifestations. This will be elaborated in chapter 4.

**C) Using the seven prospects for social innovation, identified as a result of the WP2 baseline study, further elaborated to five questions in WP3**

The work in WP2 and WP3 has given us knowledge necessary to approach the problems and solutions connected with social inequality. In the WP2 baseline study, seven prospects for social innovation were identified (see text box). The seven prospects were used in the local WP3 fieldwork, proving to work very well for assessing the impact of social structure in Sofielund. As a conclusion in the Malmö WP3 report, the seven prospects were epitomised into five questions. If we want to know about social innovation in the context of Sofielund, we should find the answers to these questions. The five questions have been central in the methodology when approaching young people in Sofielund in Malmö, as they have been used to elaborate the interview guide. We will also conclude the report by connecting our findings to the seven prospects and five questions.

**Seven prospects for social innovation from WP2**

1. An understanding of countries and cities in Europe which underlines their interdependencies
2. The need for young people to get to know each other across Europe
3. Uncertainty as the common denominator of all the symptoms of inequality
4. Developing the productive sector in line with discretionary learning and simultaneously counteracting financialisation
5. Emphasising the significance of the welfare state and supporting civil society to become complementary (not compensatory)
6. Strengthening the rights of young people and where it means something
7. Taking advantage of young people's positive potential on the basis of a potential-oriented approach

## 2. Methods

As the City of Malmö and Malmö University are both partners in the project, we have been able to cooperate when approaching young people in the area. Through gatekeepers within the City's official institutions we have been able to reach young people who are involved in various unemployment or activation measures. Young people living in the area have been the prime subjects for our efforts. However, young people living elsewhere in the city (preferably in the proximity), but still in some ways seeing North or South Sofielund as "their" area, have also been chosen for interviews and group interviews. Except for this controlled sample of young people, random young people in the area have been approached in the open space and in meeting places run by NGOs and the City district. Information about the project has been posted in the area, at libraries and at the University's different faculties all over the city.

Early in the process a project assistant – Johanna Lindén – was hired by the City of Malmö to perform the lion's share of the data collection. Johanna has been a student in the course Urban Integration at Malmö University and has within the frame of the course done a qualitative study of a Somali NGO based in the area.

The interviews and group interviews have been done at meeting places in the area, mostly during daytime. The interviews have been transcribed by Johanna and then analysed by the authors of this report. A template for the interview guide was provided by Aston University. After translation, minor adaptations and some test interviews, the guide proved to work quite well for the Malmö context. However, the five questions from WP3 remained to be incorporated, and consequently some questions responding to these were added to the guide.

Observations have been made on four different occasions – three of which mainly in South Sofielund and one in North Sofielund – in April and May. Jonas Alwall and his teacher colleague Rebecka Fingalsson, Malmö University, have carried out these observations both in the daytime and – in one case – at night. The observations have provided some direct interaction with young people – and also conversations with other people, knowledgeable of the local situation – but has for the most part consisted of 'watching local life from a distance', trying to better understand the local space, its characteristics and dynamics.

Finally, two group interviews were completed. The first group interview was done with seven young women connected to the project Boost, an ESF-funded employment initiative run by an NGO. A second group interview was done with three 9<sup>th</sup> grade pupils (16 years of age) at the local elementary school Sofielundsskolan.

In parallel with the data collection and analysis, anchoring activities have been commenced. On April 2, a workshop at Glokala Folkhögskolan about the Citispyce project and the NGO-run project Sofielund Agency (see chapter 4.2) was held. At this workshop, the progress and

results so far in the project were discussed and we received a lot of helpful feedback contributing to the forthcoming work.

A lot of work has been done tracking different groups of young people in order to get a good representation. Young people who have succeeded in school and/or employment, or have successfully travelled from a life of social exclusion to inclusion, have been rather easy to approach and convince to participate. Young people taking part in different activities and measures have also been relatively easy to get in touch with. Young people with a more negative view on life have been harder to convince without an incentive. “What’s in it for me?” has been a common remark. We are also seeing a problem with reaching young people who are entirely excluded from the societal structures. A fair amount of the young people in the area could be referred to as NEETs (See Stigendal, 2013; Grander, 2013). This group is notoriously hard to reach, so also for our study. Around 3/4 of the interviewees have foreign background, meaning they are born abroad (very few) or that both their parents are born abroad. Origins are very incongruent; young people we have met have their roots in for example Somalia, the Middle East, Former Yugoslavia and South America. As most of the interviewees have been male, the group interviews have been directed mainly to young women. Thus, and all in all, the representation in terms of gender could be said to be fair.

In total, we have been talking to around 50 young people living in, or in other ways related to Sofielund. 25 of them have been individually interviewed, ten have participated in the two group interviews, and a number have been encountered during field observations. During the process of interviews, we have felt confident with the quality of the interviews and reached saturation in the empirical material. We regard the material gathered as quite sufficient to make a good analysis of young people’s view on the area of Sofielund.

### 3. Young people and the City

#### 3.1. The young people in numbers

Gender		Age		Area	
Male	15	16-20	12	North Sofielund	10
Female	20	21-24	23	South Sofielund	10
				Other area	15
Total		35		35	

Occupation		Housing		Active in Civil society	
In education	21	Own contract	7	Yes	17
In employment	3	Insecure	6	No	16
Unemployed	9	With parents	13	N/A	2
N/A	2	N/A	9		
35		35		35	

Figure 1: Statistics of the young people in the study<sup>1</sup>

#### 3.2. Spatial themes

The young people we have met live or are active in North or South Sofielund (see map in appendix). The interviews, group interviews and observations have been done at various places in the neighbourhoods, for example in localities provided by NGOs or at public meeting places.

As described in the WP3 Malmö report (Grander and Stigendal, 2014), Sofielund is a heterogeneous area as North and South Sofielund differ when it comes to housing and density of social structure. Although the young people we have met live in both South and North Sofielund (and elsewhere), it is clear that *Sevedsplan*, a small square that marks the centre of South Sofielund, is an area that many want to talk about. All interviewees seem to have an opinion about this small square. The place is important for the young people, regardless of their opinions about it. It is a natural meeting place for many people, although it is evident that some are a bit afraid of moving around the square due to groups of young people hanging out and occasional drug trafficking. As described in the WP3 report, the area around Sevedsplan, often just referred to as *Seved*, has been the centre of interventions in South Sofielund during the last decades, as much crime and social turmoil has been manifested there.

North and South Sofielund are separated from each other by the street Lönngatan, which seems to function as a barrier, at least in a symbolic sense. The young people express that the

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<sup>1</sup> Data only available for young people participating in interviews and group interviews, not the ones

areas north of the street are tidier and better looked after. Accordingly, the image they have of the two neighbourhoods is that physical regeneration and investments are being made in North Sofielund, while only social projects and crime preventive measures are taking place in South Sofielund. We will elaborate on this divergence and its implications for physical and social space later in the report.

### 3.3.Young people's lives in Sofielund

*"Sofielund... well, they say it is a vulnerable area. I personally like Sofielund, it is my neighbourhood" (SE-IV-SS-Y16).*

So, what could be said about the young people in the study? What do their lives look like? How are they spending their time, what do they do (and what do they avoid) and what are they dreaming of? To start with, most interviewees are very fond of the area (despite its many downsides), mainly due to a strong social cohesion among groups of young people. The area's main asset seems to be the large amount of other young people – friends and acquaintances of those interviewed – living there. A feeling of belongingness is apparent among the young people interviewed, especially regarding the Seved area in South Sofielund.

*"If you enter Seved you will see that we are all one big family. There are people who may have taken the wrong decisions in life and become drug addicts, but they are still tended for by the people in Seved" (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

Among the youngest group of interviewees in the study – three 16 year-old girls who are pupils at the local elementary school Sofielundsskolan – the feelings about this neighbourhood are expressed in even more positive terms. As one of the girls says:

*"We know most of the people who live here. We never want to move from here. We like our place, yes we like it here" (SE-FG-SS-Y33).*

However, the Seved area has a bad reputation. This was touched upon in the WP3 Malmö report and is evident when talking to young people. Several of them are telling us that they experience being looked upon differently when they say they live in Sofielund. They tell us about a stigma, reinforced by the media. The stigma is, however, not there without a reason. The area of South Sofielund is known for having problems with crime and drug traffic. A number of the interviewees have been trapped in drug abuse. They tell stories of being afraid of society, hiding in the area and getting stuck there:

*"I just wanted to be free of it all, of the district itself. I just wanted to be able to leave, but I didn't know how. I lacked the knowledge, it felt like a prison. /.../ I'm afraid of the society, /.../ That*



*confirmation, that I'm OK as I am, I never got that. /.../ The fear creates obstacles, preventing you from leaving the dirt behind. It creates all that: people not getting a job, taking drugs being all you know, all you can do" (SE-IV-NS-Y2).*

Others are telling stories about how the drug dealers are influencing the everyday life of the inhabitants. A small group of young people, below 20 years of age, are hanging out in specific streets and in the backyards of some houses, selling drugs. "They try to create a trademark, and it is a problem for the whole area" (SE-IV-OTH-Y3). One of the interviewees has been beaten as a result of declining to buy drugs and several of the young people are avoiding some specific areas where drug trafficking is taking place.

The 16 year-old girls quoted above, two of whom live in Seved, gave us their very positive assessments of their neighbourhood. They continue on the positive note when they say that they never feel threatened or afraid in the neighbourhood. Everyone knows these girls, and knows their families, and they say they are never intimidated by other young people, nor by the police, whom one of them says are "kind, talking to the youth, knowing them" (SE-FG-SS-Y35). This idyllic view of life in the neighbourhood may be an effect of these girls being so young (still, perhaps, being regarded as children) and not yet having encountered harder attitudes, nor experienced threatening or violent situations. However, these girls have older siblings and must surely have heard stories that would allow them to see things from a different perspective. Yet, their view of South Sofielund remains solidly positive.

During the time of the interviews, a number of incidents took place in Seved. In May, a hand grenade was thrown into an apartment, exploding and injuring the person living there. As a result of the drug traffic and criminal activities, the presence of the police is quite high. Most of the young people we have talked to think that it's a good thing that the police are visible in the area. They do not, however, put very much faith in the work of the police: "I see a lot of police in the area, but they never seem to catch the 'right' persons." (SE-IV-NS-Y1). Another interviewee states that the police is having the wrong approach.

*"The police are here as well, but it feels like they only show their presence when there's been a crime. It would have been much better if they came and talked with the young people and had a dialogue with the kids and pupils in school. The police should be more active" (SE-IV-OTH-Y15).*

Some of the interviewees feel that the police are harassing all young people in the area, whether they are engaged in criminal activities or not. This leads to a lack of faith, not only in the police but in society as a whole. One young man says that police harassing young people

leads to young people becoming “pissed off” and throwing stones at authorities (SE-IV-NS-Y2).

The young people who have been trapped in drug abuse are examples of how social exclusion can be manifested in Sofielund. Other manifestations are, for example, unemployment, low levels of education and dependency on social income. The majority of the young people are either unemployed or studying at folkhögskola or Komvux.<sup>2</sup> Several of the unemployed are part of different labour market activities, arranged by the city administration or NGOs. Entering the labour market is a big problem according to the young people. Another specific problem raised by many young people is the lack of housing. Several of them live in insecure forms of housing, for example with friends in sub-letted apartments. Many are involuntarily living with their parents, as they cannot find a place of their own.

Despite the lack of security when it comes to income, education and housing (which we will elaborate in chapter 4.1), most of the young people we have met are hopeful and having dreams, which they are keen to tell us about. Many of the young people are dreaming of starting their own businesses, having “ordinary jobs and lives” or being able to move abroad and work with the things they like the most. Some of the young people are also dreaming of changing the area of Sofielund to a nice area with a good reputation. Quite a few are optimistic about their possibilities to influence the development of the neighbourhoods. An attitude heard more than once in the interviews is that ‘everything is possible if you make an effort’.

### **3.4. Identifying socially meaningful practices and places**

As described in the WP3 Malmö report, the area of Sofielund could be argued to have quite a few social practices, especially in North Sofielund. The main impression that we have after talking to the young people in the neighbourhoods is that they acknowledge and appreciate the wide variety of (more or less) meaningful practices and places that attract young people with different backgrounds, preferences and expectations. Several of the young people have a relation to at least a couple of the meeting places in the areas.

*“All places [in Seved] are important to me, and if I’m not in a hurry I will visit all those places. Even the grocer in my local shop. I’ve been shopping there since I was a kid. So I might buy something and chat with him, and then I go to Hidde to say hello” (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

As discussed in the WP3 report, the civil society is strongly represented in the area. Many of the persons interviewed have a relation to activities arranged by Glokala

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<sup>2</sup> See Grander, 2013, for explanation of these study forms

Folkbildningsföreningen. Many of the interviewed young people are attending a specific labour market project or activity, run by NGOs in cooperation with the City of Malmö and state authorities. Two examples that we will return to are the labour market projects Boost by FC Rosengård and Sofielund Agency. Many of the young people also have connections of a more leisure-oriented kind to NGOs and public practices. An example is Hidde Iyo Dhaqan (referred to in the previous quotation), an NGO directed at the Somali population focusing on meetings and culture. Arena 305 and Garaget (“The Garage”) are municipal meeting places with a cultural focus (see the WP3 Malmö report). At Sevedsplan, a public meeting place run by the City of Malmö is situated.

In chapter 4.2, we will give a deeper presentation and analysis of the social structure, based on the young people’s own narratives. Before doing that, however, we will take a deeper look into the social inequalities perceived by the young people in North and South Sofielund.

## 4. On Social Inequalities and Social Innovations

### 4.1. Social Inequalities

*"Sofielund is an area that has a lot of social problems. I absolutely think being raised here differs from other areas in Malmö. How your school environment is, what friends you meet when you grow up, how your family situation is, etc. It's really important - it's not as easy to get out into the society. And if you also speak another language at home it may be difficult with the language as well. There may also be obstacles created within the family. Perhaps no one in your family has a university education, which could make it difficult to get the motivation to educate yourself. It's always difficult to break norms. If the norm in your area is crime, unemployment and so on, it's probably easy to end up there" (SE-IV-NS-Y19).*

In WP2, inequalities were related to a number of themes: economy and labour market, welfare regimes (access to social income, housing and education and training), as well as power, democracy and citizenship. In this chapter, we will present young people's perceptions of inequality in relation to these themes. However, these themes do not take into account how causes of inequality are context-dependent. As local contexts are different, national or societal causes of inequality might not manifest themselves in the same way among the young people living in different neighbourhoods, but are modified, counteracted, reinforced or weakened in those neighbourhoods. Therefore, when discussing and analysing social inequalities, we need to address the different ways that the inequalities manifest themselves. The Malmö team is advancing a model of the causes to social inequalities and the solutions to them, developed by Mikael Stigendal:

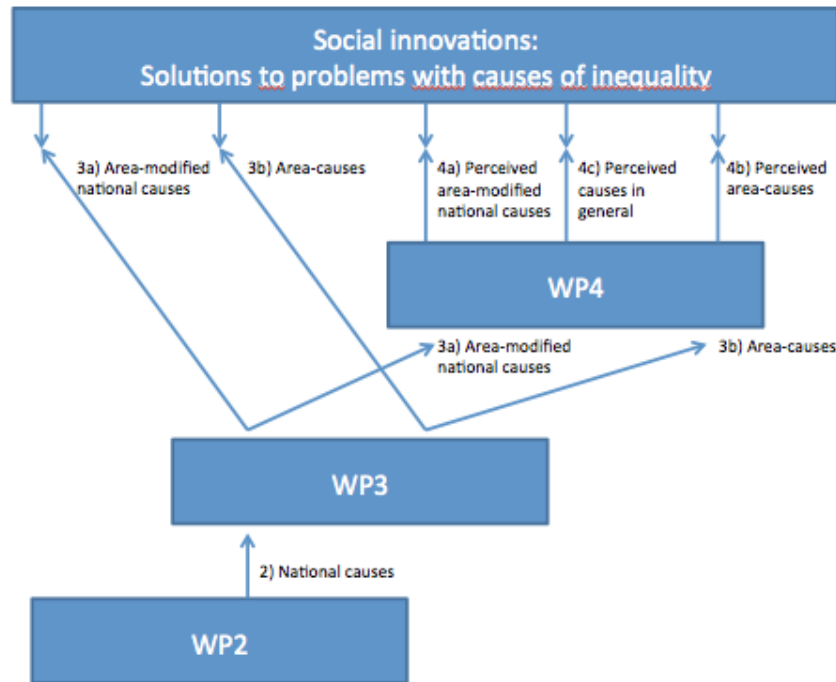


Figure 2: Model of causes of inequality and social innovations

As the figure explains, the causes of inequality (and innovations supposed to solve the inequalities) can be described in a number of different ways, corresponding to the levels (city/national/societal, area, neighbourhood) represented by the work packages in the Citispyce project.

In our analysis of the young people's narratives of social inequality, we thus need to identify their perceptions of the causes of inequality, identified in the model above as 4a (their perception of locally manifested national causes), 4b (their perception of specific area-generated causes) and 4c (their perception of the area in general, regarding causes to problems in general as well as positive potentials). The content of this chapter will therefore relate to these three different perceptions. We will return to the societal causes identified in WP2 and discuss how young people perceive them in the local context. The final section of this chapter will deal with the young people's more general perception of Sofielund when it comes to physical and social space and the possible emergence of neighbourhood-specific causes that are not directly connected to any wider societal or national causes.

#### 4.1.1. Understanding causes of inequalities

##### Economy and labour market

In the interviews, several of the young people discuss the problems associated with entering the labour market. As stated in the WP2 Malmö report (Grander, 2013), the labour market shift of the last few decades – from production to service – has struck young people in particular. Many jobs in the city demand a university degree and/or several years of

experience. The shift has caused many of the previous entry-level jobs to disappear. Most of the young people we have met are unemployed and have only completed primary or secondary education. The few who have a job are employed in the low-skilled service sector (e.g. cleaner, receptionist etc). Many of the unemployed are pessimistic of getting *any* job, and are therefore reasoning about the necessity of higher education, but also the importance of a personal network in order to get a job.

*“It’s hard to get a job, that’s why I’m in school. But then you also need contacts to get a job. You’ve got to be specialised in something” (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

*“Of course, you have a responsibility for what happens in your life. But it’s also difficult, in different situations, because some people never apply for a job since they have a low self-esteem. Many believe that they can’t handle a job, because their friend – who may have been better in school – hasn’t got one. At the same time, they can be confident in what they do for a living – crime” (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

As stated in the WP2 report, the recent policy development in Sweden could be said to make individuals more responsible for their own situations. Some of the young people argue that authorities are increasing their demands on them. One of the young persons interviewed is connecting the situation of youth unemployment with the societal structures:

*“This doesn’t affect a person positively, to be restricted in the labour market. You have to admit it is a problem in society. It is different problems emerging in different parts of society, one leading to another. It’s like a chain reaction. The media say one thing that leads to another, that leads to employers not prioritising, you see” (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

This interviewee is arguing that the problems of entering the labour market is not a matter of facing your responsibilities as an individual, but a matter of where you live and where you come from. Structural discrimination in the labour market, connected to ethnicity and home address, is something several of the young people talk about. The girls in one of the group interviews returned to this at several occasions during the interview. As discussed in the WP2 report, entering the labour market is especially hard for young people living in areas characterised by social exclusion. Judging by the indicator of the unemployment rate, Sofielund could be described as such an area, and it also shows a high share of immigrants, a low education rate among parents and low results in schools (see WP2 and WP3 reports for

statistics). However, the structural discrimination present in the labour market is also argued to be a result of the stigma imprinted on the area. Several of the young people are discussing the role of the media in establishing the image of Sofielund, making it more difficult for young people to enter the labour market.

*“The media has a strong impact on how we perceive things. They haven’t depicted Seved as a good neighbourhood. It is a huge obstacle. The news agencies these days don’t base their actions on what is true. They create the headlines that people want to buy. We are suffering from bad publicity at Seved, the effect of which may well be that you are not called to an interview and because of that you can’t even enter the labour market” (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

### **Welfare regime**

In the WP2 Malmö report, the welfare regime is discussed in terms of access to social income, housing, and education and training. We describe how the poorest households have become poorer, in absolute figures, while the richest households have considerably improved their wealth. Several of the people interviewed are discussing this development and describe what it is like to be out of money in a consumption-based society. Some of the young people seem to be politically interested, and are describing their view on the emergence of social exclusion and increasing gaps between rich and poor:

*“This last government... Without being partial I can tell you it is commonly known that the gaps have widened. /.../ No measures have been taken to lessen this gap. If you work you should have a better living standard, but now the gaps have become too wide. The difference is also incredible in what you earn if you work, compared to those who don’t work” (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

The increasing gaps is a national phenomenon, the likely result of political strategies of rewarding people who have jobs (Grander, 2013). The result of this societal cause is manifested on the local level by increased polarisation. Obviously, Sofielund is on the losing side of the polarisation.

Another societal cause of inequality connected to the welfare regime is the problems emerging as a result of housing policies. As described in our earlier reports, housing in Malmö is characterized by a shortage, especially when it comes to small rental apartments, suitable for young people. The financialisation of the sector has also made it even harder for young people without income to buy a cooperative housing apartment. The result is that many of the young people we have met are involuntarily living with their parents or with friends.

The interviewees tell us how homeless people sleeping in stairwells and parks are not unusual. As discussed in the WP3 report, the shortage of housing and the popularity of the area, combined with the fragmentation of the property ownership structure in South Sofielund, has led to some of the property owners not having taken care of their houses and apartments. Yet, young people have felt obliged to take whatever is offered. Thus, many young people have become tenants among the ‘slumlords’, living under bad conditions and not being able to influence their housing. In many cases, they are illegally sub-letting at very steep rents, as the slumlords do not care about who is living in the apartment and thus are not regulating the sub-letting.

*“To find accommodation and get a first-hand contract, that is my biggest obstacle right now. I just want to have my own apartment, which is difficult if you do not have contacts in Malmö or have been in queue for several years” (SE-IV-NS-Y12).*

*“It is difficult for young people, but if you are an adult, have a job and have been in the queue for 10 years then you get an apartment. /.../ And maybe you should check on the residents’ situations too, when an apartment gets too crowded children and young people can never get peace and quiet to do their homework” (SE-IV-OTH-Y11).*

The situation on the housing market in Sofielund, most apparent in South Sofielund, could be seen as a local modification of a societal cause. The general lack of housing in larger cities and loopholes in the legislation has made it possible for landlords in Seved to exploit the residents by forcing them to pay steep rents for insecure contracts or living in overcrowded apartments. The neglect of the landlords has also resulted in many young people giving up their hopes of living in a nice area and, consequently, develop a careless approach to their physical environment. “It’s dirty, because people don’t care” (SE-IV-NS-Y5), one of the persons interviewed tells us.

A third pillar of the description of welfare regimes in WP2 is education and training. During the interviews, it is clear that many of the young people who are unemployed are dissatisfied with the school system. Several of the young people we have met have failed in some subjects and now find themselves in a limbo between secondary education and university. Several of the girls at the first group interview trace the dilemma back to the choice of education for upper secondary school.

*“Back then, I didn’t know what I was supposed to choose. I didn’t know what I wanted to do in the future. I just chose the education*



*that seemed easiest /.../ After graduating I understood, and was not very happy” (SE-FG-SS-Y30).*

A number of interviewees are attending preparatory courses at a folkhögskola, in order to be able to manage courses at Komvux, which in turn could make them able to apply for university studies. The problems regarding the school system that the young people in the study are facing could be argued to be connected to the national policies, described in the WP2 Malmö report. High formal demands create a barrier for many young people. Success is dependent on grades and choosing the right education at an early age. It is hard to change the path later in life. Second chances may be available, but for some it is too late.

### **Power, democracy and citizenship**

The last theme of inequalities in WP2 is about the young people’s ability to participate. The young people interviewed put some faith in the political system as such, albeit a number of them are critical of the local politicians’ decisions about Sofielund. Interestingly, very few of the interviewees want to be involved in public decision-making. Instead, most of them believe that other ways of influencing are necessary and possible. Several of the young people are talking about the possibility to influence through participation in the civil sector, and are thinking about starting their own NGOs or movements to make their voices heard. Knowledge about how to engage and make a difference from a bottom-up perspective is something that young people are asking for.

*“But I don’t know where to go or how to start things. I know it would work if I took my responsibility and got something started, but I don’t know how” (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

#### **4.1.2. Understanding physical and social space**

*“The area is diverse and multicultural, it’s what I consider to be Malmö’s best part to live in /.../ People move around here which I see as a positive security aspect” (SE-IV-NS-Y20).*

### **The area, its barriers and connections**

As stated in the WP3 Malmö report, Sofielund is an attractive area for many young people. In depicting what is characteristic about it, its *barriers* as well as its *connections* – and both in a physical and social (and/or symbolic) sense – should be highlighted. An area should be defined not only by what it contains but also by how it connects to its surroundings. Sofielund has interfaces with surrounding areas in the city that are quite complex. Its *mixedness* – with high and low, old and newer buildings, narrow streets intersected by wider ones, and with, alternately, a very dense and a more sparse built environment – contributes to this fact.

Walking through the area, it is not obvious where it begins and where it ends. The mixedness of the area also contributes to its attractiveness. It appears as part of a small town, while at the same time in different ways signalling the presence of the centre of a bigger city in its close proximity. At the same time, some of the interviewees describe the area as “framed”.

*"I feel that the whole of Sofielund is very clearly enclosed by major roads. /.../ If you are experiencing social barriers against society in terms of getting jobs or an education, I believe that physical barriers can reinforce that feeling "(SE-IV-NS-Y20).*

In the west, Sofielund borders on the area of Möllevången, a highly popular (and still not too gentrified) city district, by many perceived as the centre of multiculturalism in Malmö. In general, the young people interviewed appreciate the proximity to this area and – beyond it – the inner city centre. At the same time, the close neighbourhood qualities of Sofielund (and particularly South Sofielund) makes one of the young persons interviewed say that “[it’s] so nice because you can just go to the Seved square and you know that your buddies will hang out there, I mean you don’t have to call them or make an appointment, but they are all there” (SE-IV-NS-Y17). In the minds of many interviewees, the area’s location, physical characteristics and multicultural atmosphere seem to surpass the fact that the standard of housing and the general appearance of the area are poor.

*“For me it’s nice. This is what I’m used to. I feel at home here” (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

As described earlier in the report, the street of Lönngatan divides South and North Sofielund. The street appears to be a mental and physical barrier for some of the young people interviewed. North Sofielund is in general regarded as “nicer” and “more clean” by the young people.

*“There are both good and bad parts in Sofielund. Seved isn’t a good neighbourhood./.../ North Sofielund is OK, though, even if it looks quite worn, but it has its charm. But Seved needs refurbishing” (SE-IV-OTH-Y10).*

Although to some extent functioning as a barrier between the two areas in Sofielund, Lönngatan is – particularly because it connects Sofielund with Möllevången (and the central city) – frequently used as a passage way to and from Sofielund. In general, the young people are seeing North and South Sofielund and the nearby Möllevången as the epicentre of their life worlds, while the more up-scale parts of Malmö are not frequently visited.

If we look specifically at South Sofielund, the trade of drugs in the area is seen as an obstacle for some people when it comes to moving around in it. Several say that they avoid the area at nighttime, as drug trafficking and gangs of young people are scaring them off. Some of the young people are afraid of the gangs who are selling drugs, while others, who have been drug addicts before, are afraid of meeting people from their past.

*“Things are happening in the area that stops you from going out. The other day, two cars were set on fire. Sometimes they shut down the park because it's too much shit going on. I'm not afraid because I know the guys, but when unknown guys come to Seved then you become afraid. There is often trouble in Seved and there are much drugs around us. I never get asked if I want something [drugs], but it's there, we see it in front of us” (SE-IV-SS-Y6).*

### **Sofielund reproducing societal inequalities?**

So far we have identified a number of social inequalities that seem to be connected directly to national and/or societal causes and perhaps modified in the local context. A possible area-generated cause is the presence of drugs in the area of South Sofielund. Certain streets in the area are attracting (or producing?) drug dealers. But do the problems of drug trafficking appear only because of the area's characteristics? Probably not. The ‘slumlording’ discussed earlier might make the area attractive for drug dealers, and the recent burning of cars and explosions is suspected to be directed at people engaged in drug traffic. Many of the young people interviewed are connecting the presence of drugs and young people selling it to larger societal problems:

*“Those who attacked me were young guys and maybe it's the situation at home that should change. They probably feel excluded and try to create any relationship to anything. What those guys care about is mostly what their friends think about what they do” (SE-IV-OTH-Y3).*

One person is speaking from his own experience when he says that crime might be the only way to “make a living to provide for yourself and your family (...) This might lead to anxiety and drugs being the only way to dampen the anxiety” (SE-IV-SS-Y16). Selling drugs might be appearing as a rational alternative for a person who is unemployed and feeling abandoned by society. Thus, the problem is probably not area-generated or area-specific but indeed intimately connected to the development of the economy and the welfare regime.



*Figure 3: Behind bars. Public art (and, perhaps, an image of life) in the Seved area.*

### **The mixed emotions of Sofielund**

As mentioned, the young people like their area, despite the somewhat bad reputation it has in the media. The image of “Seved” and the actual South Sofielund district might be two different things. As one of the young people states: “Some people living here have never been subjects to crime or problems, but are fed with the general image of the ‘problems’. Today, they don’t even dare to walk on some of the streets” (SE-IV-SS-Y4). However, problems do exist and many of the young people are expressing ambivalence in their opinions about their area. In general, boys seem to like to hang out in the area, while many of the girls we have met seem to avoid Sofielund and prefer to hang out in the city centre. Most people like the area and regard it as ‘home’, while at the same time feeling that the area is dirty, noisy and characterised by too much crime. One person says that there is nothing in Sofielund that appeals to him. The only place he visits is the competence development activity Boost by FC Rosengård, where he goes every day because the employment centre Arbetsförmedlingen has placed him there.

### **Movement to and from activities**

Naturally, the young people tend to move around the places to where their different activities are based. Many of the activities in Sofielund are run by various NGOs. As described in the

WP3 Malmö report, much of the civil society in Sofielund is centred around Sofielunds Folkets Hus, an old building situated on the border between North and South Sofielund. Glokala Folkbildningsföreningen, who rents the house, also houses activities in Tryckeriet (“The Printing House”), localities situated a couple of hundred meters north of Sofielunds Folkets Hus. As quite a few young people are engaged in civil society, these buildings are natural midpoints for many. Thus, the physical movements for them are based on the way to and from activities.

*“If school (Spinneriet) hadn’t been here, I wouldn’t have visited this place. And I have my studio which is down at Seved /.../ But the same thing here, the location is important because I have my studio there, not because of Seved” (SE-IV-OTH-Y3).*

The concentration of movement to and from NGOs among our interviewees seems to be centred on North Sofielund. This despite the large House of NGOs, placed in South Sofielund, where for example the indoor skate park Bryggeriet (“The Brewery”) is placed (see the WP3 Malmö report). This is mainly an effect of the target group for the interviews. Many people outside the age group of this study, but also people who have no other relation to Sofielund, visit those activities. Bryggeriet is situated along a main street, easily accessible by bus, car or bike. This also goes for the NGO Boost, whose activities a large number of unemployed young people attend. The young girls participating in the group interview at the NGO Boost do not move around in the area, despite the fact that they go to Boost several times a week. Most of the girls do not live in Sofielund, and don’t explore the neighbourhood while they are there. For them, the central parts of the city and some of the parks are the most important places in the city. Interesting, but probably not surprising, is the observation that the patterns of movement for these young girls seem to be connected with consumption. Even if you don’t have any money to spend, you want to be where things can be bought, some of the group interviewees tell us.

### **Thoughts on urban regeneration**

As noted in our WP3 report, trends of gentrification have reached both North and (to a lesser extent) South Sofielund. The young people interviewed recognize this. The characteristic of people living in Sofielund is changing and the standards of housing appear to be rising as more educated and well-off people are moving into the area, according to the interviewees.

*“It feels like a poor area, the tenant above me, a postman, they live two people in a small one-roomer. But the standard feels all right, I’ve seen a bit since I’m a carpenter. It’s old houses but nice apartments. It feels like there has been a change regarding*

*renovation in recent years. Many apartments with nice parquet floors” (SE-IV-NS-YI).*

Some of the young people are worried about the gentrification causing landlords to do renovations which might lead to 'renovictions' of tenants with low income and insecure rental contracts.

*“People might be very dependent on exactly the contributions they receive, so if the rent would be increased due to changes in the property maybe people cannot live there. It also feels like they focus more on the areas where highly educated people live” (SE-IV-OTH-Y11).*

Another possible sign of gentrification – in North Sofielund – is the apartment block *Trevnaden* (“The Comfort”) with three houses, which will be ready for occupation later in 2014.



*Figure 4: Illustration of 'Trevnaden', a new apartment block in North Sofielund.*

In their advertisements to find tenants for the new houses, the builder and landlord, the public housing company MKB, points to the diversity of the neighbourhood as a strong asset. This, they claim, is a nice and versatile part of the city where one may lead a comfortable life, with access to everything one needs. With large collective spaces, the apartments are aimed at young people and families. A number of townhouses will also be built, with the possibility to own, not only rent.

There is, in other words, an ongoing positive image-building of North Sofielund which has not yet reached South Sofielund. However, such a development can be foreseen also there, and the recent start of a project call the Sofielund BID (Business Improvement District) could be seen as a sign of this. The Sofielund BID is an organization for local businesses – mainly property owners/landlords – who together want to change the image of the area and increase its attractiveness for investments. Their goal is to make South Sofielund – which, because of its bad reputation, is today considered to be among the worst business areas in Malmö – an area of equal attractiveness as Möllevången.

This business-oriented approach is, however, challenged by many of the young people in the area. Many of them think that the urban development should not primarily be about increasing business opportunities or focusing on building or renovating the physical space, but, more importantly, on strengthening social cohesion by creating spaces for residents to meet. Many of the young people want to see more meeting places, especially in South Sofielund. According to several of the young people interviewed, the problems in Seved cannot be solved by more police, nor by gentrification (i.e., gradually substituting the population), but by the creation of meaningful activities for young people and a general improvement of the social situation in the area. In the next chapter, we will look into the young people's views on the existing (and non-existing) social structures in Sofielund.

## **4.2.Social innovations**

When examining the social structures in the area, seen from the young people's perspective and a dimension of innovativeness, we have put weight on bearing our definition of social innovation in mind. Furthermore, the social innovations will in this chapter be analysed in the light of the seven prospects for social innovation, which concluded the WP2 report. We will, however, start with going back to the WP3 Malmö report. What social structures were identified there, and how do young people relate to these structures?

### **4.2.1. The local infrastructure as background to social innovation**

In the WP3 report, we divided the social structures into four different categories; housing policy structures, cultural policy structures, social policy structures and civil society structures. When analysing the interviews in WP4 in regard to socially innovative practices, it became clear that this division could be used here as well. However, young people in the study have not said very much relating to the housing policies in the area. Thus, we will present the results in three different categories: social policy structures, cultural policy structures and civil society structures.

#### **Social policy structures**

As discussed in our WP3 report, Sofielund has a long history of area-based projects or measures, run by the municipality or the city district. Today, South Sofielund is part of the "area programme" run by the City of Malmö during 2010-2015, with the aim to tackle the lack of social sustainability in Malmö. An important part of the area programme is the public meeting place at Sevedsplan. Here, visitors can get societal information, discuss the development of the area with city officials or other residents, and also get help with job-finding and getting in contact with NGOs. Several young people are attending the meeting place on a regular basis.



*“Sometimes we participate in various events at the meeting place. Sometimes they have festivities for children and young people. I often meet different officers there. They help with everything, if you need specific papers or other help. But as I said more recently, I have not seen so many young people in our community because most are in jail. Or they have married, I don’t know” (SE-IV-SS-Y6).*

Based at the meeting place, the municipality has a number of preventive workers who are active in the area. Some of the young people are seeing them as helpful and friendly.

*“I like the guys there, Liban and Jason [the preventive workers]. They really do their best for us in the area” (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

*“It’s great if you could get a job in the future. The meeting place helps with that. I usually meet the preventive workers there; we exercise and go fishing together. I didn’t know them before, I came in contact with them since I live here in Seved, and we met at the gym” (SE-IV-SS-Y7).*

Other measures, run by the municipality, are attracting some of the young people. Festivities, events and social activities are often arranged in Seved, which are lifted up as good initiatives by some of the young people. One interviewee is praising the project Ung I Sommar (“Young in the Summer”), where local youth are employed by the municipality to tidy up the area. However, municipal structures are also seen with scepticism among some of the young people interviewed.

### **Cultural policy structures**

Cultural institutions like libraries and the local culture schools, run by the municipalities, have traditionally been an important part of the Social Democratic welfare regime. In the WP3 Malmö report, two examples of cultural policy structures were highlighted: Garaget and Arena 305. Arena 305 is a municipally funded and run leisure-time youth club, attracting young people from the whole city. Garaget is a meeting place and a city district library, also run by the municipality.

As Arena 305 and Garaget are heavy and well-marketed institutions in the cultural policy of the city of Malmö, it is interesting that very few of the young people interviewed are talking about, or visiting, these places.

*“I don’t know any associations in the area. Well, I know Arena 305 and Garaget, but it’s geeky, it’s not “chill” to hang in there. It’s the wrong “vibe” for the guys on the street, they probably need*



*something else. We need a place that markets itself more and shows that everyone is welcome. I believe that those who are into various problems see Arena 305 as the state and thus an enemy. They believe going in there means being met by the social authorities who wants to take care of them, of which they have no interest. They just want to hang out with each other” (SE-IV-OTH-Y3).*

Both places are easily accessible, meaning that a lot of young people from all over the city can access the places without reflecting that they are in Sofielund. Statistics from the two institutions show that most visitors come from other parts of the city. The institutions are placed on the north side of the street of Lönngatan. Young people in South Sofielund might cross the street for transportation, but most of them frown when asked if they attend Garaget or Arena 305. Those few interviewees who attend these places are, however, seeing them as very important places. “Garaget is my second home” (SE-IV-SS-Y8), says one of the interviewed girls. This girl has received a lot of help from the employees, for example in starting up a girls’ group aimed at strengthening young girls in the area. This girl’s group is also mentioned by our youngest group of interviewees as being very important for them, and thus, this group of girls who attend the nearby school (Sofielundsskolan) also relate to Garaget as an important place in their lives. A young man has previously been visiting Arena 305 and says that it provides a lot of value for him, as he can’t produce and record music at home.

*“Arena 305 is important for me as it enables me to record the music I write and play /.../ Arena 305 has everything you need, things I could never get, you see. I have been hanging out there with a buddy, we make some music together” (SE-IV-OTH-Y9).*

### **Civil society structures**

Much of the civil society in Sofielund is centred on Sofielunds Folkets Hus, an old building and former school (owned by the municipality), situated on the border between North and South Sofielund. It is managed by an NGO called Glokala Folkbildningsföreningen (“the Glocal Association for Popular Adult Education”), which has developed it into a popular meeting place and a basis for a wide range of activities. The house is the base for the activities of the folk high school Glokala Folkhögskolan, and also houses a private elementary school. Most of the young people interviewed are having some kind of relation to this building or the nearby building Tryckeriet, also administered by Glokala Folkbildningsföreningen.

*“Well, Glokala offers an incredible number of activities and education. There are a lot of NGOs in the house and scattered*

*around the area, /.../. I know there's a drumming workshop where they play drums, 'Tryckeriet' where you can have coffee and which also offers lectures and seniors' activities" (SE-IV-NS-Y5).*

*"[...] We were hanging out there and saw all the NGOs and thought it's just fucking "Svennar" (slang for Swedish natives) who do not understand anything. So I thought at first. Well, It's kind of only Swedes at these NGOs, but there was obviously some Arabs and Serbs as well" (SE-IV-NS-Y2).*

Many of the interviewees are attending a specific project or activity as a result of their labour market situation. One of these are Boost by FC Rosengård, an ESF-funded project run by the football club FC Rosengård. Boost is working in cooperation with the state-controlled job centre Arbetsförmedlingen.<sup>3</sup> Several of the interviewed young people are or have been attending activities run by Boost, which gives individual counselling, arranges courses and helps young unemployed people to become better equipped for entering the labour market. Boost runs in close cooperation with a number of companies, who can come in contact with the young unemployed people in the project. The young people are happy with taking part in Boost.

*"I feel that I got the opportunity to take hold of myself and help my situation when job centre referred me to Boost. So today, I experience no obstacle, either social or professional. Today I see only opportunities" (SE-IV-NS-Y1).*

However, some participants have a less optimistic view of the activities, feeling that they indeed get empowered as Boost builds on the individual competences, but that it leads nowhere. "I like it here, but I have been here for a long time and it has not led me to any job interviews" (SE-FG-OTH-Y27), one girl says.

Connected to Glokala Folkbildningsföreningen is Sofielund Agency, another ESF-funded labour market project. Sofielund Agency is run by the NGO IRUC in cooperation with the municipality and Arbetsförmedlingen. The aim is to lessen the distance to the labour market for young unemployed by innovative methods.

*"Sofielund Agency guides young people into work and helping them with motivation /.../ Sofielund Agency did not work for me when I was there, but I was probably there at the wrong time, but it actually helps people" (SE-IV-NS-Y5).*

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<sup>3</sup> See the WP2 Malmö report for an explanation of the different actors on the labour market

On April 2, the Citispyce Malmö team arranged a workshop together with Sofielund Agency, an occasion to share information and discuss issues of importance for the project and its target group of young people in Sofielund. The discussions were very productive, and the impression of both the Citispyce group and many other participants – people active in or representing stakeholders closely related to Sofielund agency – was that we had managed to find common ground and, thus, make a significant contribution to beginning the implementation of coming stages in the Citispyce project.

Although some young people probably visit NGOs because they – in having to take part in job preparing activities – are obliged to, this is certainly not the whole picture. In North Sofielund, sharing the same localities as Tryckeriet, the NGO Karavan is arranging circus courses for all ages. In South Sofielund, Hidde Iyo Dhaqan (popularly referred to as “Hidde”) is a popular NGO that attracts mostly Somali youth, but also other young people and adults in different activities. Students on the Malmö University course Urban Integration did an evaluation of Hidde during the autumn of 2013, interviewing people arranging and taking part of the activities. Johanna Lindén wrote a report where she notes “as an organization, Hidde creates social cohesion among its members and welcomes everyone to become involved – or simply to have a cup of Somali coffee on a Friday. At Hidde, experiences are shared and knowledge about culture and different ways of living is conveyed.”

The urban cultivation project Odla I Stan (“Cultivation in the City”) was one of the projects highlighted in the WP3 report as part of housing policy structures. Today, the cultivation project is run by an NGO in cooperation with housing companies and the municipality. Several of the young people appreciate the cultivation project, and some of them have been taking part in the activities.

Several of the interviewed young people are members of AIF Barrikaden, a football club based in South Sofielund.

*"... Barrikaden, which also has a location in Seved. Our place is open throughout the summer and you can come there and play pool, table tennis and FIFA. Then we go on many excursions in the summer /.../ The association pays for the most part but then it may be that young people may add a small amount of money themselves. It's kind of things happening every day. Most of those who come are not playing on the football team but live in Seved and want to do things during the summer, it's really successful" (SE-IV-NS-Y17).*

As the interviewee states, the club has high social ambitions. Another of the young men interviewed has been involved starting a new football club, the Seved Football Club, with the same approach:

*“We wanted to encourage the young people here. And how can we get everyone to participate? Yes, football. We wanted to start something that makes people meet, socialize and share interests. Ten characters who destroys for 5.000 residents in Seved, which was what made us want to change the situation. And we believe that football can motivate many” (SE-IV-SS-Y4).*

Another interviewee is a member of this team. He means that the leaders have done a large effort for the young people in the area and that the most important asset is that people from the area initiated the club.

*“They live here and have experienced what we've experienced, it's good. /.../ The important thing with the football club is that it keeps young people busy, so that they don't just hang out on the streets” (SE-IV-NS-Y17).*

It is evident that the civil society plays an important role in Sofielund, compared to the public sector. In the WP2 baseline report, Stigendal (2013:45) discusses the role of social innovations in relation to the welfare state. One young interviewee discusses how “the civil society takes a certain responsibility, but the overall responsibility should be on politicians and officials. They have the power and can support various grassroots projects through financing“ (SE-IV-NS-Y21). Could it be that the civil society in Sofielund is becoming a compensating actor in relation to the welfare state, instead of a complementary one?

### **Young people's own organisation and innovation**

There are examples of young people's self-organisation in Sofielund. Some of the young people have started their own innovative practices in order to help other young people. As mentioned, one of the youngsters has started a football club focusing on taking social responsibility, while another young man has started a music studio in the form of an NGO. One of the interviewed women has started a girls' group together with friends, as they “identified a need of meeting and talking about common problems” (SE-IV-SS-Y8). Another of the interviewed young people is in the process of starting an NGO for young people of Romani background, helping this specific group with breaking isolation in the residential area and supporting them in their school work, in order to create possibilities to “make the right choices in life and don't fight and disturb the school work” (SE-IV-SS-Y7).

On the eastern outskirts of South Sofielund lies Norra Grängesbergsgatan, a street cutting through the Sofielund industrial area. During the last decade, the street has become a flourishing meeting point for small-scale nightclubs and cultural associations. The street has also become a centre for grey economy and crime, why the police has been launching a number of measures, for example shutting the street down for car traffic at night. However, the associations there appear to be very popular among young people.

*" [...]Norra Grängesbergsgatan... it's loaded with NGOs. There is one called Kontrapunkt, then there are yoga centres, arcades, clubs and a place that serves free food every Tuesday. I feel welcome there but I do not know about the guys on the street feels /.../ There's an [illegal] place down in Norra Grängesbergsgatan where guys usually hang out, it's quite 'trashy'. They just hang there as it is a venue in some way and there is even a mosque in the basement" (SE-IV-OTH-Y3).*

According to this young man, the NGO Kontrapunkt ("Counterpoint") and other organisations have created more movement in the area, and thus reduced crime and prostitution although he says that drugs are common at the places. Thus, these small, self-organised social initiatives seem to mean a lot to the young people in Sofielund.

### **The lack of social infrastructure**

*"In Sofielund it's different because we hate all those things that everyone else has, such as football fields and so. We have no such things here. We may have some associations here but nothing happens. Too few activities and there is not much to do. The City of Malmö doesn't do anything" (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

After analysing the young people's narratives we could identify a number of social structures that are important for young people. However, several of the young people are also seeing a lack of social structure. The most common wish is a meeting place or an NGO directed at "young adults", where leisure and guidance is combined and the young people are taken seriously.

*"A place that is open for slightly older young people so we don't hang out in the streets all the time. Then there should be some adults in place that you can talk to /.../ If there was such a place, I think it could be able to make a change for some of those hanging out on the streets. They might not get involved with so much crap" (SE-IV-SS-Y13).*

*“/.../ Like, talk to them and listen to what young people dream about and focus more on solutions than problems. All adults always focus what young people are doing wrong instead of what they do that is good. They must give them compliments, they are in fact children” (SE-IV-OTH-Y15).*

Young people we have talked to value social structures that make them feel empowered. They appreciate it when they are being talked to by someone who can understand them. At the same time, they are asking “what’s in it for me?”. Several of the young people think that many of the actors within the social structure are having a good approach to them, but they do not have anything concrete to offer. Some of them are asking for possibilities to “create networks with people who could guide you physically and economically when you need help” (SE-IV-NS-Y14).

#### **4.2.2. Analysing social innovations**

When analysing the social structures seen from the young people’s perspective, we will start with going back to our WP3 Malmö report. In the report, we came to the conclusion that the civil society in Sofielund was special in the sense that it could be said to fulfil all the seven prospects for social innovation. For example, we concluded that the civil society is characterized by a *potential-oriented approach*, which is the seventh prospect from WP2 (Stigendal, 2013: 40). In our interviews, many young people are talking a great deal about the ability of NGOs when it comes to the personal approach. This appears to be one of the advantages associated with NGOs in general. Several of the NGOs that the young people have told us about are empowering young people by having a “decent” approach.

The employment project Boost appears to be having a particularly good approach to the young people. Here, the dreams of young people are nurtured at the same time as they are given individual coaching and tailor-made plans for achieving their dreams. The activities arranged by Glokala Folkhögskolan seem to have the same approach for young people. One interviewee says that the education he attends is taking its point of departure in the wishes and dreams of the pupils. “That’s not really the case with other educations” (SE-IV-NS-Y5), he says.

The approach the interviewees talk about could be said to correspond with the potential-oriented approach identified in WP2. But as we have seen from the last chapter, approach is important, but not enough, according to the young people. “I don’t want to be integrated, I just need a job”, a young man told the journalist Torun Börtz (2007: 56) in her study about social exclusion in the suburbs of Paris. We are hearing the same type of arguments from many of the young people in Sofielund. Concrete guidance towards education and labour

market is asked for. This could be related to the third prospect in WP2 – lessening uncertainty for young people, for example by getting employment. Young people want jobs. However, they generally don't want just any job. As we have seen, many have dreams of more. The fourth prospect for social innovation from WP2 is about developing jobs within the working organisation of *discretionary learning*, where people are engaged in work activities involving problem solving and learning. As concluded in the WP3 Malmö report, the civil sector could be said to contribute to this. As our interviews have shown, several of the NGOs also have an ability to set young people up with contacts to the labour market. The educations at Glokala Folkhögskolan, as well as the labour market initiatives Sofielund Agency and Boost are examples mentioned by young people. However, they don't seem convinced by the efficacy of these initiatives when it comes to paving the way for a future entrance to the labour market. It is furthermore not clear how these initiatives contribute to jobs aiming for discretionary learning.

When it comes to the social political structures, we could see that the potential-oriented approach appears to be missing. The young people don't have very much faith in the people working for the municipality. "It is a failure that no one from Seved works in Seved [at the municipality]" (SE-IV-SS-Y4), one person says. The young preventive workers at the public meeting place are seen as exceptions. They are appreciated for "having the right attitude" and providing young people with useful information. "They make a difference, they create activities for us and help us getting jobs" (SE-IV-SS-Y13), one young person says. Thus, some social policy measures might fulfil the potential-oriented approach to some extent and contribute to the third prospect of decreasing uncertainty. Nevertheless, we can't say anything about the ability to contribute to discretionary learning.

Finally, when it comes to cultural structures we can conclude that very few of the interviewees attend these institutions. Those few who visit them praise the approach, which could be said to be potential-oriented when it comes to meeting the needs of these young people. At the same time, several other young people dislike the institutions, claiming they are "not for them" and connecting them with stiff municipal bureaucracy.

The importance of a combination of the potential-oriented approach and what we could call *discretionary security* could also be related to the important distinction between social integration and system integration (see e.g. Stigendal, 2013:29). Young people should have the possibility to *become* included in terms of system integration, for example by being guided to employment or education. But it is equally important that they *feel* included and that they are taken seriously, thus becoming socially integrated.

## 5. Conclusions

In this work package, we have analysed social inequalities and social structures using the narratives from the young people as a point of departure. We have seen that the national and societal causes of inequality act in different ways on the local level, putting imprints on the lives of young people in Sofielund. Drawing on a number of the prospects of social innovations from WP2, we have seen that young people seem to value a potential-oriented approach, combined with ambitions of safety and certainty in terms of employment and/or education – also in the direction of the principles of discretionary learning. Young people need to feel that they are met with a certain approach, but are also critically asking “what’s in it for me?”. This combination appears crucial for innovative social practices in Sofielund.

In the analysis, we have stated that a number of useful practices for young people are present in the area. Several measures, especially those driven by the civil society appear to have a good personal approach, making young people feel included. This could be regarded as a potential-oriented approach. What however seems to be lacking in the activities arranged by the NGOs is the connectedness to the labour market. It is unclear if the NGOs are creating increased safety for the young people, and what kind of safety.

Some of the social policy measures could be said to provide safety in terms of guidance to jobs and education. It is, however, unclear if this safety corresponds to the principles of discretionary learning. Furthermore, the potential-oriented approach seems to be weaker at these initiatives, with a few exceptions.

To conclude the analysis of these narratives, we will relate to the five questions from the WP3 Malmö report (see text box). Asking these questions gives us the opportunity to also look ahead. How could the social innovations identified in this work package be developed further?

As we can see, the civil society and the public sector appear to have different strengths. NGOs seem to be better at the potential-oriented approach and the municipal sector appears to have advantages in creating safety for young people.

### Five questions from WP3

1. How can the potentials of civil society be realised, made use of, supported and developed?
2. How can the complementary function of civil society be strengthened and the tendencies to become compensatory counteracted, on the basis of a long-term and sustainable relationship with the institutions of the welfare state?
3. How is it possible to retain the potential of young people when ownership and management of a social innovation is transferred from being self-organised by young people to being managed by an administration within the municipality?
4. How can knowledge be created, developed and disseminated on where society is heading, how the neo-liberal causes operate and how an individual may enact these causes unwittingly?
5. How can the agents of the other strategy, supported by the social investment perspective, be encouraged to continue pursuing this strategy and made aware of its implications for the development of society?



Thus, practices aiming for *innovative cooperation between different sectors* – civil and public as well as the private and academic sector – could lift the potentials of the civil society (as well as the other sectors) and making them more useful for young people facing inequalities. By enhancing cross-sectorial cooperation, the competences of the different actors could be strengthened but still demarcated. By increasing cross-sectorial cooperation with clear aims and responsibilities for all actors, the welfare system could be strengthened and the compensatory tendencies of the civil society at the same time reduced. Cross-sectorial cooperation could also make transitions of ownership possible without losing the built-in potential of bottom-up initiatives. In terms of counteracting financialisation and promoting the social investment perspective, such cross-sectorial cooperation, which could be referred to as *knowledge alliances*, could play an important part in setting up joint aims of developing a labour market centred on discretionary learning.

## 6. References

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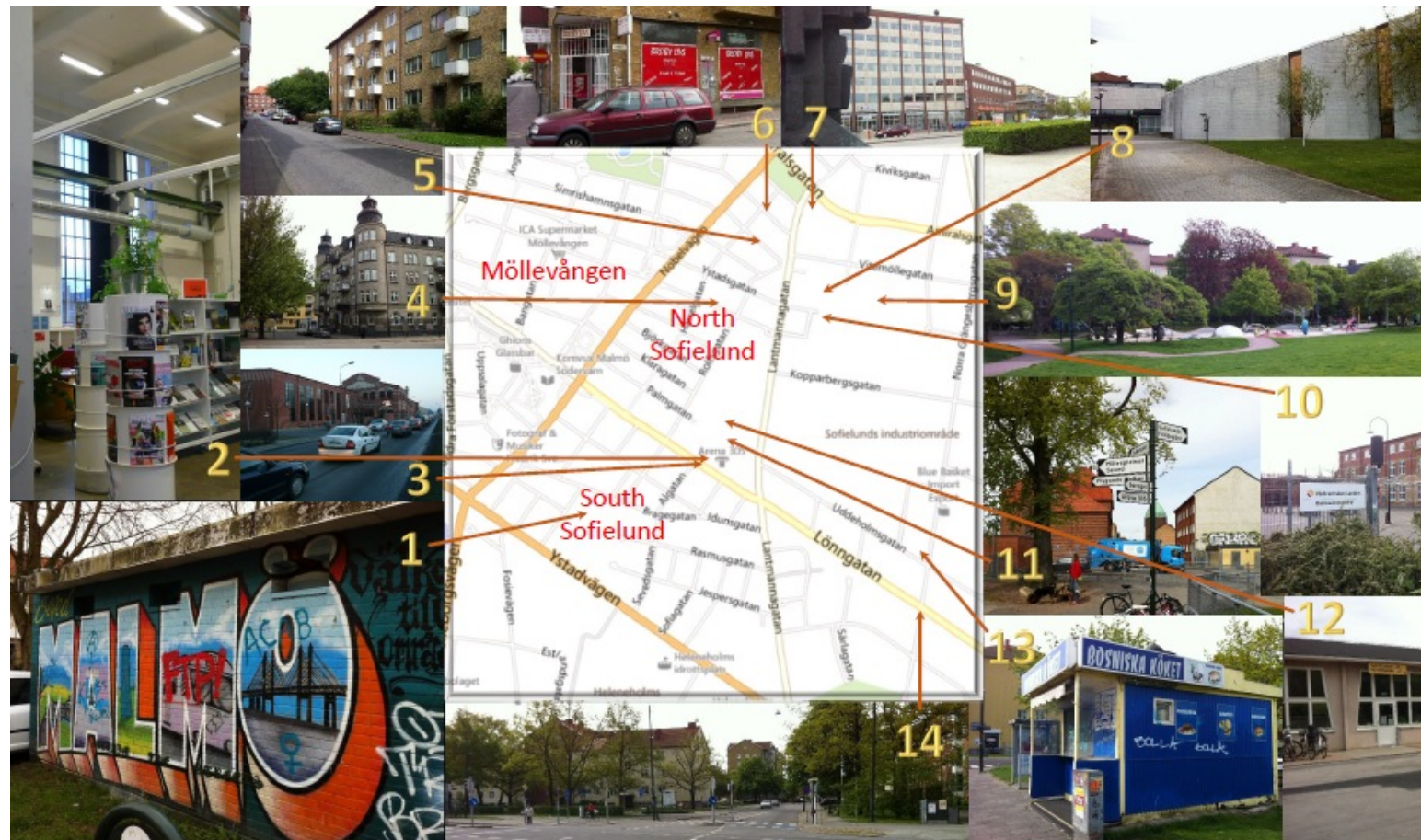
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## Appendix

### Sample Bio-Data

IV Code	Age	Gender	Neighbourhood	Activities	Innovations
SE-IV-NS-Y1	21	M	N Sofielund	Unemployed	Boost
SE-IV-NS-Y2	23	M	N Sofielund	Unemployed	Anonyma Narkomaner
SE-IV-OTH-Y3	20	M	Other	Education	Spinneriet, Kontrapunkt, Studio
SE-IV-SS-Y4	23	F	S Sofielund	Education	Glokala, Barrikaden
SE-IV-NS-Y5	23	M	N Sofielund	Education	Glokala, Spinneriet, Sofielund Agency
SE-IV-SS-Y6	21	F	S Sofielund	Education	Public meeting place
SE-IV-SS-Y7	20	M	S Sofielund	Education	Public meeting place
SE-IV-SS-Y8	19	F	S Sofielund	Education	Garaget, Public meeting place, girls' group
SE-IV-OTH-Y9	18	M	Other	Education	Arena 305
SE-IV-OTH-Y10	18	M	Other	Education	Chilenska föreningen
SE-IV-OTH-Y11	19	M	Other	Education	Glokala, Seved Football club
SE-IV-NS-Y12	25	M	N Sofielund	Work	Glokala, Seved Football club
SE-IV-SS-Y13	22	M	S Sofielund	Education	Seved Football club
SE-IV-NS-Y14	25	F	N Sofielund	Work	
SE-IV-OTH-Y15	20	F	Other	Education	
SE-IV-SS-Y16	21	M	S Sofielund	Education	
SE-IV-NS-Y17	18	M	N Sofielund	Education	Barrikaden
SE-IV-OTH-Y18	18	F	Other	Education	
SE-IV-NS-Y19	22	F	N Sofielund	Education	
SE-IV-NS-Y20	25	F	N Sofielund	Education	
SE-IV-NS-Y21	25	M	N Sofielund	Education	
SE-IV-NS-Y22	25	F	N Sofielund	Education	
SE-IV-SS-Y23	22	M	S Sofielund	Work	
SE-IV-OTH-Y24	25	F	Other	Education	
SE-IV-OTH-Y25	26	M	Other	Work	Allaktivitetshuset
SE-FG-OTH-Y26	23	F	Other	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-OTH-Y27	22	F	Other	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-OTH-Y28	23	F	Other	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-OTH-Y29	21	F	Other	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-SS-Y30	22	F	S Sofielund	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-OTH-Y31	24	F	Other	Unemployed	Malmö akademiska förening, Boost
SE-FG-OTH-Y32	22	F	Other	Unemployed	Boost
SE-FG-SS-Y33	16	F	S Sofielund	Education	Girls' group
SE-FG-OTH-Y34	16	F	Other	Education	Girls' group
SE-FG-SS-Y35	16	F	S Sofielund	Education	Girls' group

## Images of Sofielund



1. "Malmö": Graffiti at Sevedsplan
2. The Garage, Lönngatan, interior view
3. Lönngatan
4. Street view, North Sofielund
5. Street view, North Sofielund
6. Street view, North Sofielund
7. Folkets hus (centre for the labour movement in Malmö)
8. The Church of S:t Matthew
9. The park Enskifteshagen with playgrounds
10. The Sofielund Industrial Area
11. Signpost marking numerous activities in North Sofielund
12. Sofielund's youth club
13. "The Bosnian Cuisine", a sign of the strong former-Yugoslavian presence in Malmö
14. Leaving Sofielund, facing the better-renowned area of Augustenborg