

YouPrev – Local Interview Studies / Spanish Report.

Maria J. Bernuz / Daniel Jiménez – Spanish YouPrev Team

1) Introduction.

Aims, context, and topics.

Local approach.

Future challenges and developments.

2) Methodology.

Time frame of interview study and group discussions.

3) Sample descriptions.

Sample of interviewees in urban and rural region.

Composition of group discussion participants.

4) Findings.

A. Perceptions of problems and key features of youth crime in the research areas.

B. State of youth crime prevention.

C. Main activities/approaches.

D. Target groups.

E. Types of addressed problem behaviour.

F. Interagency cooperation, funding, etc.

G. Perceptions of effects and efficiency of prevention activities in the areas.

H. Future challenges and opportunities for prevention in the eyes of interviewees.

I. Recommended approaches/strategies for prevention and control of youth crime.

J. Group differences with regard to perspectives on youth crime prevention.

K. Recommended approaches.

5) Summary and conclusions.

6) References.

7) List of interviewees –professional areas.

1) Introduction.

Aims, context, and topics of YouPrev local interview studies.

The main idea with the interviews and group discussion was to get a deeper knowledge about subjects and themes observed through institutional survey. Mainly we wanted to have expert opinions --both in rural and urban areas, and from all the experts having contact with young people (protection, juvenile justice, street education, formal/informal education, police-- on juvenile violence and delinquency in their area and on measures and programmes on prevention of the juvenile violence and delinquency implemented. And mainly we wanted to have a better knowledge about challenges and concrete proposal to prevent juvenile violence.

It's necessary to add that the current context of economic crisis hide other social problematic elements and the funds given to social prevention have been dramatically cut. And that's an idea very present in the speech of most of the participants, very implicated with the young people and their problems.

The proposal of organizing two group discussions was to have a deeper knowledge about young people perceptions on delinquency, violence and the prevention projects they know about. We think it is important to contrast adult opinion with youngsters' perspectives to plan efficient prevention programs.

Local approach.

In addition to those specifics noted above, we wanted to have a better knowledge about some subjects that can be considered as specially relevant in our country (violence against parents, drug and alcohol consumption and production among young people, family and school influence in the prevention of juvenile violence) and about how they can be linked to some social changes today.

It is interesting to note that expert views can also be connected with some data from the school survey.

Taking future challenges and developments into account.

Some statements included in the group discussions' and interviews' main results are also giving useful information about how professionals and youngsters are looking at the future --*violence is not an issue that will be easily reduced, in most of their eyes.*

2) Methodology.

Interviews: the chosen method for this stage of the research was a semi-structured interview around the subjects noted above (delinquency, violence and prevention). All of them were conducted by a common script given by the German team for an international comparison.

Those 20 interviewees were all chosen according to their relationship with prevention of violence and delinquency, looking for different areas (Children's Protection, Juvenile Justice, Police, Social Prevention, Education), different training (education, social work, psychologist, lawyers...). And working in rural and urban areas. Most of them work in urban areas because in Aragon the population live principally in cities (and mainly in Zaragoza). All the interviews –except for the urban children's police, who preferred to answer in writing the interview– were conducted by the researchers personally, registered, completely transcribed. The length of the interviews was between 60-100 minutes each.

The recruitment strategy has been mainly the snow ball one, beginning with a crucial person in the area of prevention and intervention in juvenile delinquency and trying to get all the areas implicated in prevention of the juvenile violence.

Group discussions: we have replaced the interviews with young people by the organisation of two group discussions with 12 youngsters in the first one, and 5 youngsters adding some adults in the second group. Face to face interviews with young people have two difficulties: one of this, it's very difficult to find out young people representative of the youngsters; other, young people feel more free to speak when they are with other peers –even if in this case they may be carried by others' opinions. The attendance to the 1st group was 100% of the expected participants and the 2nd discussion was reduced to 5 youngsters and 2 adults –from a list of 20 guests.

Time frame.

Interviews: january-31 to april-12th 2012 – equivalent to school survey's frame.

Groups discussions: may-2nd 2012 to september-2nd 2012.

3) Sample descriptions.

Interviews.

As indicated above, the survey's sample for the interviews consists of a multi-professional group of participants.

Professional spheres.

Juvenile justice/police –interviewees 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10.

Protection/ social work/ social (non-formal) education –3, 7, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20.

Psychology – in different areas: health, family therapy and drug consumption: 4, 9, 12.

Secondary (formal) education –15, 18.

Urban and rural areas.

Trying to keep the school survey's rate (22.54%, based on the current urban/rural rate of 21% among Spanish population), the rate of interviewees working in rural areas rises up to 20% (4 people in 20 interviews). All of them belong to different professional disciplines.

Group discussion participants.

Finally, we have organised two discussion groups. The first one [GD1] brought together 12 students between 14-18 years old (5 girls and 7 boys) from a public school in a working-class suburb in the city of Zaragoza. The second one [GD2] was held with 5 kids (boys) between 14-18 years old and 2 adults (a teacher and a social educator), at a non-formal "socio-labour" education centre in a different working-class neighbourhood¹.

Note that questions are mainly focussed on youngsters' perceptions on violence/delinquency and also on prevention activities. This is why most of their answers are focused in these areas –if there is no significant answer, the "group discussion" section in the findings will remain empty or eliminated.

Key elements in the reported information are taken from the interviews and eventually completed with the contents of group discussions and some references/allusions to the school survey.

¹ Quoting: YF (Young female), YM (Young male), AF (adult female), AM (adult male). Finally we haven't distinguished between GD1 and GD2.

4) Findings.

A. Perceptions of problems and key features of youth crime in the research areas.

Summary:

- Increase of intra-familial violence rates.
- Increase of mental health problems².
- Increase of (legal and illegal) drug consumption –see a.2.
- Technology and cybernetics as “social amplifiers” more than a strict influence on criminal acts. This sometimes produces a gap between experiences and perceptions as shown in some statements from the group discussions –see a.2.
- Absenteeism and dropout as serious environmental problems –directly linked to potential crime as a cause or a consequence³.

a.1 INTERVIEWEES’ OPINIONS –keys:

Urban space segregation, ghettos, and the role of gentrification in the evolution of violence and crime rates are three of the most commonly stressed factors referring to a “general urban context” of conflicts. These elements much less important when applied to rural areas where social control is closer.

Therefore, the first basic influences on children’s biographies have been mostly placed in precarious work, *unstructured* and marginalised families; changes in family education models: from the authoritarian to the protecting-justifying (14) negligent ones, “lack of limits” (ambiguously stressed), lack of communication, lack of knowledge about their children’s lives (13); and inhibited social policies as different part of a wide and reinforced process of exclusion⁴.

Media/ school environment/ patterns of consumption⁵ and success are often stressed as main influences on social relations too –see a.2. In addition, this so called “crisis of values” and the cultural phenomenon of consumerism are mostly considered as the two main elements of the process in which violence is constructed as a mean for self-affirmation among youngsters. The cultural element of hyper-consumption⁶ is, in the interviewees’ eyes, one of the factors explaining delinquency.

Most of interviewees do not consider that quantitative or qualitative crime as a “social problem”. Some of them note that the delinquency hasn’t increased and young people in closed centres keep stable or have decreased. Culture of fear, influence of media and social alarm are presented as the main factors to distort reality: increase of violence is not translated into higher crime rates (neither crime nor imprisonment rates have grown during the recent “crisis” years), although the current trend nowadays is mostly described as a reinforcement of criminalization (by media and politics) and a greater reliance on denounce and trial to solve conflicts in which youngsters get involved.

In the other hand, some talk about violence as a serious problem, but most of those latter experts’ perspectives look at children as main “victims and witnesses” of violence (see a.2), treating juvenile crime and violent behaviours as a matter of “reproduced attitudes⁷”, “frustration”, “lack of care or communication⁸”, “media influence” and “widespread violence⁹” –either *institutional and relational, psychological and physical, passive or active* –see a.2.

Some professionals have agreed in mentioning “self-aggression” as a relevant factor in order to understand violence-related problems nowadays, some identify the “times of change” from primary school to secondary education as the most conflictive period for adolescents in this sense –sometimes

² “50% or 60% of our kids could perfectly be in a mental institution” (8).

³ “The streets are very dangerous” (3).

⁴ Most of interviewees stress the facts that unemployment rate is 25%, half of young active population is unemployed or poverty rate is over 25%. These are seen as some of the best examples for a sort of worst case scenario which is being generally perceived nowadays as a pathogen or criminogen context.

⁵ “There is a curious phenomenon which consists on using consumption to compensate children for a lack of attention by those parents who spend few hours at home” (9). “The so called crisis of values among youngsters is not a crisis of values belonging to their generation. Crisis of values is adults’ crisis, I mean, we’ve withdrawn from education tasks, or we’ve been super-complacent, we’ve given them everything in order to get rid of them [...] during these last years, the wallet is what’s present, isn’t it? And when it isn’t, then the most absolute indifference” (1) –see a.2.

⁶ “Social hedonism” and “delinquency for fun” –(14) (15) (16).

⁷ “Some learn to play tennis and some learn how to deal with their own business in order to obtain some rewards, that’s it” (17).

⁸ “We live in the communication era, but there’s also something wrong among peers” (12).

⁹ “We live in a violent society. Children are violent because society is violent” (19).

added to the fact of a hard experience of living as an poor and young immigrant in a strange context during the most “difficult” years of a person’s life.

“Democratisation” of violence, familiar conflicts and specific mental health problems among different social groups¹⁰ is mostly linked to some rough idea of “middle classes’ collapse”.

By their own/in group: Therefore, “the group” is considered as the usual way (more usual, at least, than individual crimes) to commit those illegal acts that normally take place in public spaces or any other context which is placed out of the private-familiar sphere –see a.2. It’s a way of overcome fear (4), or a way of feeling strong (12). A minority of professionals talk about the existence of bands in concrete areas of urban cities as a relatively minor problem, but the role of media as a mean to distort social perceptions of this phenomenon appears again, even in this few cases.

Urban/rural: In rural areas, social control is stronger and the amount of delinquent or violent behaviour is minor. In any case they note that thefts and serious aggressions can be considered as a not so serious problem compared to urban conflict scenarios and the little attention given to this acts considered as *gamberradas* in rural areas (that in urban context would be reported to the Juvenile Justice. An interesting emergent question has not much to do with delinquent behaviour but with “problematic” leisure time (drug and alcohol consumption). They speak about *peñas*, those rooms or tiny buildings where youngsters follow the rural tradition of meeting and having party. A more close-knit condition in rural contexts make that these *peñas* are a place in which drug and alcohol problems can be seriously considered very often.

a.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS’ MAIN RESULTS.

“We are all violent in some moments” (B –YF)¹¹.

“I don’t know, it depends. At the places I usually go there is not much delinquency at all” (E –YM)¹².

(...) – What I think is that you must distinguish violence from violent. (...) I mean, I can be violent when saying something to a person. But violence is hurting someone, I don’t know. Attacking his/her living space, psychologically or physically (M –YM).

– And then delinquency too, which is also... like... two controversial concepts. Because mixing delinquency when you’re already doing something that is against the law or... in a legal plain... (E –YF).

– If a child, from the beginning, is seeing how his parents have many arguments, or among other relatives, with his brother... then the child will grow just saying “huh!, this is it”... (C –YF).

– And he’ll grow, and he’ll start believing that this is the normal way to act (B –YF).

– I’m not from Spain, I am from Rumania and there is something you hear a lot there... and you say, when you see someone, even if he old... and he has a weird behaviour for some reason, it is always said the he doesn’t have the seven... *the seven years at home*. Those first seven years when you don’t go to school and parents teach you. And this is what I have seen... what I have lived in my country, I have lived this here, there’s a big influence on it (B –YF).

– (...) many parents think that children must be educated at school, but this isn’t true. You must be educated at home first; they must give you the basics. What you are being given at school is some knowledge, not education (M –YF).

– Parents and teachers don’t talk to each other very often... they don’t realise that they’re leaving their children at school. This is complicated (A –YM). (...)

– (...) Some parents... whatever teachers say, they always will agree with their children” (M –YF).

– Yes, that is the worst point (P –YM).

– Do you usually consume? On weekends...

– Alcohol (E –YM). – Alcohol (B –YM). – And joints (E –YM). – Yes, joints too (B –YM).

– Mostly joints and alcohol (E –YM).

– And is that easy or not? – Easy... we can get it... if you know... (E –AM). – You’ve got a dealer in every corner, here in Zaragoza (E –YM).

¹⁰ “Middle classes didn’t use to get to courts, and now they are usually there” (6). “Some of those children come from middle class families, and they are... absolute portraits of their families. You can notice more and more that the family is turning to a big mess, that the mother is unemployed, the father is unemployed, and there comes the *show*” (18 –secondary education).

¹¹ – Violence is harassing a schoolmate everyday... you can spend all days abusing and abusing, and he... he can’t defend himself (C –YF). – But violence can also be... (S –YM). – Psychological (E –YF).

¹² Which are the main problems? –Theft, hitting... without a reason, just for looking at them, 80 of them come and beat you (B –YM). –Have you lived that? –No (all). –But does it happen? –Yes (all). [...] –You can’t expect this... we might go out now, and four of them come and beat you. You never know (B –YM). –But does it happen very often? –No (B –YM).

B. State of youth crime prevention.

Summary:

- Less money invested in social prevention in economic crisis context.
- Family, schools and peers as the main actors in prevention of violence and delinquency –see b.2.
- Not very clear objectives in prevention.
- The role of children as helpless victims and witnesses of violence without decision-making capacity¹³.
- Intervention in classical violence (the one causing alarm).

b.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

"I don't think there is any real prevention policy, because you need money for this... and commitment, I mean, taking in account that they are people and... and they all need help... since they're born. They don't arrive suddenly. And, well, 'your father has beaten you... come on, done'. Of course, his father beat him/her, but he had been beaten too, and what is happening there inside? We're only feeding the wheel, nothing else. For now" (7).

"About why and how something happens... let's say... the situation eternalizes... this situation, these ghettos, this is crystal clear, isn't it? I think there are places and families and collectives in which investment is still non-existent and prevention plans are established, policies are merely assistance. With regard to some resources that always suffer budget cuts, in the current crisis... [...] they're trying to turn them in simple toy libraries... kindergartens" (20).

"In [ref. the area of] prevention, I think there's a lack of criteria, resources, coordination, unity, convincement (laughs). There can be no specific resources only, I insist. That should be in everyone's head" (9).

The general portrait of the state of youth crime prevention describes it as weak¹⁴ and deficient¹⁵. From a second level of analysis and depending on which area they speak from, the interviewees point to different problems and conflicts which are strictly related to the principles of intervention¹⁶, to the professionals who are responsible for the plans or to those who are in charge of putting these principles and plans in practice. The two main issues that should be underlined at this point are the frequency of self-critical allusions and the general perspective adopted by most of professionals when facing the reality of violence and crime prevention –pointing to structural¹⁷ and institutional¹⁸ matters (both at a political¹⁹ and financial²⁰ levels) rather than technical²¹ issues –see b.2. One of the emergent conflicts in this area, which is clearly identified and located in the field of mental health²², will be analysed below.

¹³ "The kid is always the one who leaves home. He/she is the one who carries the can [...] There are no institutions for parents, you can't take them out... you can't enclose the parents in an institution. You take the child, even if it's not his/her fault or main responsibility" (17).

¹⁴ "We're investing in the last links of the chain and not in the first steps (laughs) [...] There is no system for detection, because the whole protection system is based on abandonment and mistreating. Those kids who mistreat themselves are not in this system, are they? [...] nobody is working with them" (6).

¹⁵ "From the social services, nothing... nothing. What social services make is reports. First of all, there are few people for the area, there's a lack of human resources and then... well, the typical practice of social services is presenting reports, reports, reports. Reports on absenteeism, reports on whatever... reports come and go from schools to social services and back. In some cases they can get to childhood service, but no action is applied" (18). "Some time ago, they [ref. the childhood service professionals] designed a policy that was supposed to draw an intervention plan for youngsters, which would have been the ideal plan in preventive terms, but it hasn't been developed [...] Nowadays our work is a palliative treatment and the resources we are in are being dedicated to plan a bunch of measures that don't go beyond habits and attitudes" (20).

¹⁶ "Honestly, when you try to face violence looking for immediate results, there is just one way and it's more violence. So often we don't stop and think that... our plans are exercising violence" (4).

¹⁷ "The goal would be returning to a starting point, as far back as possible. Try not to make this all happen. It's hard because the current trend is to build institutions like this [ref. to prison]. High walls. Among other things, because in a society heading to liberalism, this kind of institutions are part of the reasoning, aren't they? Work in a communitarian context generates insecurity or you don't have a accurate feeling of what's happening, and you know what?, you enclose him/her not to realise what happens, and..." (8).

¹⁸ "Half of crimes that get to the juvenile prosecution are solved by reparation, i.e. they don't include any form of violence against people" (1).

¹⁹ "Here [ref. juvenile justice system] the only thing they do is cut, cut, cut. Resources are cut and, logically, where to cut? Let's cut here. I always say: the child doesn't vote, the child doesn't talk... so... it's easy to cut here, isn't it?" (14).

²⁰ "Well, here [street education center] we're being taken money (laughs) as the years go by. We used to manage many situations and areas and... now less and less. But we receive some money from the city to get focused on follow-up issues, both families and children, at three levels: general, group and individual" (3).

²¹ "Those measures we apply to children are focused on the act rather than according to the child" (8).

²² "I guess there is one child and adolescent psychiatrist per 150.000 inhabitants, more or less. This is nonsense. And when you have to go to these resources at the healthcare net, deadlines are tremendous... and they can be completely inefficient [...] there

The most stressed areas for prevention work are education system (school and non-formal/ socio-labour centres), and street education (leisure centres and social education). The three general references where professionals' opinions have been focused on are social environment (families without abilities to educate their children because of changing values and social transformations), school²³ and social services (reduced because of economic crisis, increase in management's privatisation and working with the most urgent and alarming cases). And the main detected problems (either at a social or institutional level) are stated in the summary –above.

b.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

- Violence starts in the domestic sphere. If parents don't cut this, schools cannot stop it (E –YF).
- This is not necessarily true. You may have a good familiar environment, but then you go to school and you start joining people who get into troubles, and... (M –YF).
- But if parents don't do anything... (E –YF).
- If family education is bad, you won't be able to change (B –YF).
- Of course (E –YF).
- If it's good, you can change to worse; but if it's bad, changing for good is much more difficult (B –YF).
- Why not? (M –YF).
- That's my point of view (B –YF).
- But some people's behaviour at home is very different to their attitude here –at school (P –YM).
- Yes (E –YF).
- And this is different in the street too (P –YM).
- Yes, attitudes change (E –YF).

are many problem in the sphere of mental health that are relevant but not detected in time, or not given the answer they need. And this also bring some discomfort" (2).

²³ More and more deresponsabilised about educational tasks (12), about school failure, absenteeism and dropout.

C. Main activities/approaches.

The following list will be analysed in chapter G –what works/ doesn't work. This chapter is dedicated to discussions and perspectives on different practical approaches to juvenile violence and crime prevention.

As a result of the just described state of prevention (see B above), a permanent feeling of “minimum objectives” work is present in many professionals’ statements²⁴ –apparently more stressful as their daily work gets closer to the target population.

c.1 INTERVIEWEES’ OPINIONS.

Main activities/ most mentioned approaches and prevention projects (not ranged in order of preference).

Leisure time: leisure centres, street education –*Mimbres* project (as an example: young girls looking after other children's girls without social network), sports...

School: “PIE” school programmes, school “tutors” –see c.2, teachers, sport coaches, programmes against absenteeism –*Camino* project²⁵.

Institutions: youth centres, youth houses, EMCA (Team for children under 14): warnings, repair and conciliation (with or without the presence of the victim), pro-social behaviour abilities²⁶.

Special courses –see c.2: against sexist/domestic violence –*Brote*; against substance abuse –*Tarabidan, Cemapa*...; non-violent conflict resolution; safety education; “Plan Director” –project consisting on speeches (on bullying, drugs, sexist violence, uses-misuses of internet...) given by police officers in the classrooms²⁷.

Family: Family therapy, school of parents, punishing families by taking off their social assistance in case their kids do not go to school.

Agents joining these main activities in the interviewees’ eyes: “PIE” school educators, school “tutors”, teachers, sport coaches, juvenile attorney education teams, psychologists, family educators, policemen...

c.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS’ MAIN RESULTS.

Participants’ opinions show some confusion between what is supposed to be a teacher or tutor’s responsibility and those speeches that some visitors (psychologists, policemen, etc.) are doing at school –examples: eating disorders, new technologies and social networks, sexuality, gender violence.

²⁴ “Interventions are directed to families we already know in the area of social exclusion, those who need a direct intervention... with several children in their charge and not able to give them a proper education or send them to school and give them the right hygiene... I mean, but... at basic levels, that is where we are working, in those extreme situations [...] You don’t work on solidarity values with the kid, or on not to have the need for a fantastic mobile phone, just on helping him to wash himself and get rid of the lice” (7). “Intervention with families has been frozen for years and there are only 4 family educators in the whole historic quarter of the city” [...] “We have the information but this is a matter of means, there are no means, there is no will” (11).

²⁵ Community services working with youngsters from rural areas who have been sent off school (15).

²⁶ This is one of the institutions that seem to be considered as an especially efficient one by those who work in prevention. Their spectrum of measures include some of those options contained in the juvenile criminal law but not applied in most of the areas and conflicts –which appear to be the most efficient ones, by the way. Some of their basic elements are: a proper and careful treatment to victims (who are frequently given an active role in the process, far beyond the limited status of a *claimer*), continued interventions and diversion to therapies.

²⁷ See chapter G.

d. Target groups.

Main agreements are closely connected to the statements previously collected by the general analysis shown in section A²⁸, since the 'members' in any of these target groups are usually identified by these concrete 'problems' (call them psychical, behavioural, learning, financial... or psycho-social 'conflict symptoms') they have in common²⁹.

Two different categories could be also distinguished in this chapter. Firstly, institutional itineraries and target groups are mostly defined by labelling, segregation factors or socio-geographic distribution among those professionals working in justice institutions or formal-institutional tasks. In second term, social evolution of violent behaviours and 'democratisation' of conflicts (beyond any classist standard) is mainly stressed by those who work 'on the ground' or in touch with extra-judicial areas and experiences.

d.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

Some standards in the general target profile: 16-18 years old; majority of boys (but considering a certain increase among girls, sometimes as violent as boys³⁰); school failure/ absenteeism³¹ (*added controversy: ¿is it a factor or a symptom of the problem?*); either coming from "new poor Spanish and normalized families" ("failed class stigma")³² or becoming "excluded among the excluded" in case of poor migrants; etc.

Mental health³³ seems to be a specially undefined area which recently became central in terms of so called "groups at/of risk". Some of them because of drug consumption, because of a general tendency to diagnose and medicalise everything³⁴.

On the subject of violent behaviours or aggressions against parents –mainly mothers³⁵, the identified target group belong to those profiles we can include in the conflictive processes shown above (A)³⁶. Although this same question has already been mentioned previously, a larger number of aggressors living in socially included ("middle class") families or richer social environments³⁷ is, in the opinion of professionals, one of those questions that should be carefully analysed.

Gender differences are frequently described in terms of role-assumption and distinguished at different grades or intensities. Some warn of an increase in violent behaviours among girls –see d.2, but those mentioned differences are still the main factor. That is why subordination and dependence also appear as serious problems which help unequal gender relationships to keep on reproducing themselves. "Double-discrimination" and "female concealment" are, by the way, two other cross factors explaining a different social treatment and institutional preventive intervention on girls or boys³⁸. In Spain, the subject of violence against women are an important one (some experts relation this kind of violence with migration youngsters (1), others consider that youngsters don't consider violence against their

²⁸ "If I do want to get something, then I use the force. And when they use the force to get something, violence is about to appear, because force... how can you measure it? How do you measure the right force to get something? Your goal is taking it, so you'll force as much as necessary and, evidently, you're already using force on something or someone, to get what you want" (4).

²⁹ "We work with classical children that can *darte un palo* (Spanish slang for "robbery")... we work with what produces social alarm" (4).

³⁰ A psychologist notes that among boys violence is exterior and in girl inside violence (4). From other point of view, another interviewee explain the minor amount of girl committing crimes in the fact that they, in their leisure time, are 'obliged' to do other things –looking after old people or younger sister/brother, cleaning... (20).

³¹ Mostly related to gipsy children (14).

³² "Social environments are, not always but in most of occasions, low-class environments... people with low cultural level... with problems at home. People with separations... with alcoholism problems. This is known, ¿isn't it? And then there are a lower percentage of normal people who simply lost control of... This is also true, I can tell you" (13).

³³ "The level of mental disorders is rising... among the general population and of course among children... I think there is one psychiatrist for children and adolescents every 150.000 people, that's a nonsense" (2).

³⁴ Contributing to manage many problems far from social perspectives or methodologies and taking the analysis on responsibility out of the families (4).

³⁵ Reported only in some small crimes (5). A psychologist affirms that sometimes this violence is a consequence of a continuous psychological violence (humiliation) from the mother to the father. It's a way for the young people to react to that (12).

³⁶ "That boy who's been given objects instead of attention... huh, when he reaches a certain age, he reclaims thing with the same violence he used when he was four years old, but with 80kg." (9).

³⁷ "The emergence of the posh within our sphere has attracted us much attention (laughs), you know what? Because you don't know very well what to do, you're not ready, you're used to dealing with other individuals (...) There's a kind of violence now under the same scheme but different, that doesn't have anything to see with needs but with desire-induced needs, isn't it? We find individuals who feel very frustrated without being poor, simply because they don't have the access to very high consumption levels" (9).

³⁸ "Violence or use of force among boys is easier... that you can fight each other, that you can beat someone. At a social level, this is like better accepted... as part of manliness, masculinity, using force. A different behaviour is expected among girls" (4).

girlfriends as “gender violence” (7), others emphasize the addictive attitudes of some girls to violent boys (8), or consider that women remaining at home when battered is by their wish (15).

In the area of juvenile justice, some key data must be considered to have an idea of the general situation³⁹ and the main population sectors: 1/400 (0.25%) children is sent to prison or “closed” institutions; 50-60% of those minor prisoners suffer from mental health problems; 40% come from the protection system –mainly marginal population (8); immigrant rates in the juvenile justice system got reduced recently; and rural areas are barely represented in those *closed* juvenile justice institutions – note that their social perception of violence levels are lower and non-formal control is stronger.

“And then there are some others, but most of primary delinquents don’t appear again. Well, I mean delinquents... who... who are not delinquents, just kids who once committed an aggression and don’t appear again, with a minimum intervention and the chances given by the organic law... (...) They’re more normalized families, with a control (...)” (14).

“The measures we take with the kids depend on the crimes and not on the kids” (8).

d.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS’ MAIN RESULTS.

– I remember, every week, in first and second year of *ESO* [basic compulsory school], when we used to have a fight every week. And usually made by girls! (M- YF).

– Most of the fights were due to boys (B –YF).

– Yes, normally girls fighting for a boy (M –YF).

– (...) when I arrived to this school (I was at *private school’s name* before), they presented it to us as something marginal, and then I got here and I found normal people. There are just four junks (M –YM).

– Yes, I agree, I come from *private school’s name* and... I mean, when I told my friends I was coming here, they told me... but you have normal people here, there are just some particular cases (E –YF).

– When I was studying the sixth year at the primary school, one of my mates who knew I was moving here said: “wow, you’re going to end up like I did” (...) and now I see older people who were here, and they’re pretty happy (B –YF). (...)

– I have been here for a long time and you could see things that... I have seen people carrying knives here, in the school. (...) I have seen how they burned and punched tires... I can’t be surprised if people talk like that. There are some individuals... (A –YM).

– But this can happen here... and everywhere. Also at *private school’s name*... I have heard about knives there too (B –YF).

– Yes. But it’s also true that some have permanent conflicts and so on, but it’s the same thing everywhere. The difference is that this is known in some places and not in some other schools, but in the end you have it everywhere. And always due to one or two highlights... barbarians. You cannot put everybody in the same group (E –YF).

– (...) As M says, bad company is a big influence (C –YF). (...)

– (...) influence is influence, and maybe, if you want to leave a group they start pressing you and saying things, and if you leave, then they harass you and so on (C –YF).

– But... I think... the type of family affects, because if you go to *name of a school*, where they are... playing football every evening, listening to music and smoking joints... huh... their parents don’t give a damn about them. At all (B –YF). (...)

– (...) Many people fall down under the group’s pressure (A –YM).

– Maybe you do something because you have no power and they do have it. This can happen. If you are an outcast and they are cool and strong, then you join them (B –YF).

The group, both as a concept and as the central *locus* where relationships are established, is the starring of the discussion at and about the formal public school. The *others*, either as a concept or as the first resource to point at when talking about violence, are the most mentioned element to focus on and talk about serious crimes on the street.

³⁹ “Once you get to the juvenile justice system, prevention has failed” (7). “The profile of kids we work with has changed a lot (...) ten years ago, 80% of them [minor prisoners] came from gipsy families. Then it changed to a high number of kids with foreign origin, (...) and nowadays 50-60% of them could easily be sent to a mental institution. (...) We don’t have almost anything from rural areas (...) there aren’t but a few kids in rural areas, and there’s much more social control” (8).

e. Types of addressed problem behaviour.

“How can we define crime? This term is so perverted, nowadays. Crime has been first committed against them, I mean; we need to find out where the circle starts” (20).

Some basic elements showing a big consent among interviewees:

Violent acts (which are extremely underrated among the total number of crimes) committed by youngsters are generally described as “spontaneous” or “non-planned”⁴⁰. Use of weapons (like guns or knives) is barely mentioned by one of the respondents as an eventual matter⁴¹ and the group is mentioned as a “natural” context of young people’s social activities and relationships –including delinquency. They are committed in the outskirts or in around malls and big commercial areas.

Victims are mainly young people with the same age or younger or old people more vulnerable –see e.2.

e.1 INTERVIEWEES’ OPINIONS.

We must note that crimes against property⁴², aggressions, vandalism, abuse or harassment (at school) and mistreating (mainly focused on violence against parents) are the acts that all experts agree to stress as the most frequent problems to deal with, regardless of what is the professional perspective they speak from.

Crimes against property: a big amount of responses (coming from any professional experience) simply connect crimes against property with the two main contexts (see A) of purchasing disability and frustrated consumerism (20). Despite all, since “institutional mistreating”, “consumerism”, “poverty/social exclusion” and “learned violence” (performing reproduced patterns of behaviour) were shown as the main compiled factors⁴³ in the analysis of juvenile violence, the interviewees’ statements on violent and criminal acts will obviously be closely connected with them. The psychological perspective shown in three interviews clearly tends to consider these attitudes (specifically theft and violent acts, either the passive or the active ones) as a result of the same process, and taking both of its symptoms together: in one hand, those youngsters who try to obtain by other means what they cannot buy; in the other hand, those whose material “needs” are fulfilled and focus their impulses on destroying things.

Therefore, a minority of professionals talk about the existence of *bandas* in concrete areas of urban cities as a relatively minor problem, but the role of media as a mean to distort social perceptions of this phenomenon appears again, even in this few cases.

Rural areas present their own characteristic in *peñas*, those rooms or tiny buildings where youngsters follow the rural tradition of meeting and having party. A more close-knit condition in rural contexts make that these *peñas* are a place in which drug and alcohol problems can be seriously considered very often, but in the other hand, thefts and serious aggressions can be considered as a not so serious problem compared to urban conflict scenarios

Aggressions (which seems to be stressed by many respondents as the most worrying problem in this area) are considered the “newest” and most serious symptom of a widespread social problem and a product of the general conflict stated above (imitating behaviours and roles, *unleashed* frustration...)⁴⁴, usually committed against those who are seen in the aggressor’s eyes as “weaker” than them –either at school, on the street or at home. Professionals working in the juvenile justice area stress robbery with force/violence as the main aggression and professionals from basic levels of primary prevention, education and protection system point to violence against parents, vandalism, theft and minor offences⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ Much more planned when committed with adult people (6).

⁴¹ In addition to being a statistically little-relevant element –as shown by the data from the school survey.

⁴² From a wider point of view and referring to marginalized situations, we find some *exceptions* to the main description: “when a family doesn’t have the essential resources they have to get them somehow. Then you can make a living just stealing things to re-sell them; this is practiced very often in the neighbourhood, to sell stolen things, ‘I steal mobile phones or ask someone to steal them, and then I re-sell them’. So there’s a spectacular black market (laughs), you can get anything here. I mean, ‘don’t worry, I get it for you’, and if there is some money... this is it” (3). “For example, here... car theft disappeared almost completely. Those times when they stole cars and run races along the ‘third belt’ are... are gone. Now we many... many bicycle thefts. Lots of them are ‘commissioned’ thefts, in many occasions” (8).

⁴³ Respectively classified as “institutional”, “cultural”, “environmental” and “relational” levels.

⁴⁴ “What is sometimes a bit worrying is how easily aggressions can happen, isn’t it? (...) who knows, sometimes with the most banal excuses and very violent and aggressive reactions. This seems to be a part of this generation’s education. And even if it’s a minority phenomenon, this is something to be worried for...” (2).

⁴⁵ Every aggression (family, school, street...) is obviously produced by different causes.

Drug consumption: not all young consumers are violent or commit crimes, but most of young people committing those crimes or violent acts are drug consumers –see e.2. It is clearly seen and explicitly (but not dramatically⁴⁶) stated as a general problem which apparently gets more and more serious (even wider than violent attitudes, much more important than other criminal acts and especially higher in rural areas), although no consent is theoretically shown on direct connections between drug abuse and criminal behaviour. Only those particular cases in which youngsters are using drug deal to make easy money are obviously stressed as a criminal problem.

Sexist violence is described as a relational problem (sexist behaviour patterns and female roles) more than a matter of physical aggressions⁴⁷. In any case, most of the professionals' answers point at sexist violence and gender questions as an important problem to work on.

Technology⁴⁸ and cybercrime seem to be placed at a methodological level by the interviewees' analysis, more than being considered as a criminal problem itself. The majority mention this use of mobile devices or social networks by youngsters as a new mean to "publish" some acts, but barely some of them face these "new technologies scenario" as a matter of crime itself –in the same vein (see C), either conflicts or prevention activities related to cybercrime can't be considered but an insignificant item among professionals' points of view. It can be considered as an emergent subject, but children are not conscious about the consequences for them or their parents –when committing through their computer.

Some other rural specific elements appearing in the interviews (but very minority ones): recruitment of boys by adult members of neo-nazi bands, more serious episodes of juvenile violence in private-concerted schools than in public schools... –see e.2.

e.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

- I have suffered some theft attempts, more than once (A –YM).
- Me too (M –YM).
- For example, there was a shooting the other day... (C –YF).
- Above all, people who take drugs are usually violent (A –YM).
- Not necessarily... man! This also depends on everyone's attitude... who do you join... (E –YF).
- Well, there is harassment in primary school too, kids don't take drugs in primary school and you have harassment there too. And there is violence and discrimination (C –YF).
- But I am talking about crime... (M –YM). (...)
- (...) Anybody can suffer abuse at some point. Some people is abused when they are young and then, when they're older, they "take revenge against the young ones", as some say (C –YM).
- Yes, some people were abused at the primary school and now... they're the ones who go around... with people [committing crimes] (M –YM). (...)

Some acts such as theft, assault, vandalism, aggression, drug deal... (mentioned in both group discussions as those things happening around) are seen as serious problems but mostly located out of the school ("in the street"). Those crimes or violent situations that take place at school are not seen by participants as a too worrying problem, although they assume most of these acts and attitudes are going to grow up among next generations.

⁴⁶ "There are a few kids involved in crimes against public health" (1).

⁴⁷ See answers about young people's perceptions in the school survey report.

⁴⁸ "Violence is violence. The *plastic* expression of violence doesn't imply big changes" (4). "Internet is like the contact that justifies what happened" (12). "What used to be a boyish prank between two of them can be now said by phone, sms or email. I mean that we might be exaggerating or... if we're going to criminalize this acts too, well, ok. We've never received any denounce about it, I must tell you" (13).

f. Interagency cooperation, funding, etc.

f.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

Financial situation⁴⁹.

"Funding levels are survival levels... professionals are working for the realisation of rights" (16). "Money is never enough; to be honest (...) what is clear is that investment [in open social environments] makes thing work better. This is clear" (8).

Weak, insufficient, non-existent, mainly in the private sector depending on public funds (associations, foundations,...) and in the context of social prevention and social action. The general consensus on the critical situation of resources in the sphere of prevention is specially stressed in the case of outpatient treatments and specific areas like drugs or psychiatry. Also the progressive reduction of leisure projects and the suppression of non-formal education instruments ("day centres", "street education") have been noted as a negative consequence of this financial status. Financial problems are also frequently linked to technical and institutional handicaps in the areas of supervision and coordination.

Supervision-evaluation⁵⁰.

"We don't do, in Spain in general... I've spent 25 years working in social services and we don't do, we don't have any evaluations" (8). "[Evaluation] is a mere formality. I shouldn't say this. (...) Evaluation is badly done" (12).

Evaluation is only practised as "self-evaluation" for self-control in certain teams and projects –some professionals argue that there is a lot of self-evaluation but "zero external control". When put in practise, this evaluation is always quantitative and never qualitative. According to the interviewees' experiences, institutional control (from the administration towards projects and resources-management entities) does not exist. One of the reasons advanced is that in prevention programmes, the objectives are not clear, "protocols are inexistent" (1) and in this situation it's very difficult to evaluate.

Reasons hindering coordination: no money to dedicate time to evaluation, nobody asks for that, no interesting for institutions because it can question their programs (8), no clear objectives (8), too much bureaucracy (15)...

⁴⁹ "The departmental government used to have the competencies [in prevention], and the government gave us money for prevention, but some years ago competencies were transferred to the city council and it's cutting, cutting... a curiosity: this year we've been given more money than last year, but this means nothing, i.e., they can take the scissors in 2013 and blow us. For now, we have a small budget, not much but something, at least..." (3). "Means? There's a huge lack of means. Problems here are more and more specific. (...) There are no resources, no money, no possibilities" (14). "We have 110 euro per month to do things with kids in the neighbourhood. There are no resources, this is due to the competition for the service and entities taking a good money for it, but the money left to be used on work is not enough, the question is that it's a business" (11). "The following quote is enough. It's a pity, the current deputy mayor stating that social services are not a basic service for the population. Then, I suppose, services for children are even less" (17). "Public investment should be higher, to make it... for example, as I told you there are four [family] educators to assist the whole population in Zaragoza" (12). "Prevention doesn't produce political revenue, that's why it's not interesting. The plan for youth in this city [Zaragoza]... is a copy of the one they made years ago, but it doesn't go further than... (...) let's call it continuity, they don't evaluate what is happening. Politicians live the revenues, immediacy and... And headlines, what do I get and how much I must invest. (...) These projects also turned into business (...) a way to make money, with the perversity this implies. When the city council externalises some services or the City Council determines continuity to precarious contests where [private] entities apply... without experience in this area but much experience in minimizing spends, optimizing utilities and making it cheaper for the administration (...) and, when the target social group becomes an excuse to make money, then it's all already perverted (...). We have created and we're still creating ghettos, unfortunately. I mean, families hat only accede these resources and will be excluded when a poorer family arrives" (20). "Education cannot consist on spending lots of money for an advertising campaign against drugs... this is not valid if you're not educating from the bottom on what drugs, where do they come from, what's happening there. Those campaigns need three million, two million euro. Those two millions can be used to employ a lot of people so they could be rocking it on and working on this question with the children and that would be a good work. But this is... this system. Making a bundle" (19).

⁵⁰ "Detecting mistakes, bet for quality, keep a permanent evaluation of interventions... all that is not being done (...) and I don't agree with the privatisation of services, I guess... except for making costs cheaper, it doesn't imply a better attention to citizens at all" (2). "The volume of work has grown a lot and now... Those reports we used to do every year... now we don't make any report" (5). "The general trend is to transport measuring techniques from business areas to social areas. Objectives-based operation and things like that. Hoping that the administration will give the funds again, and concert the programs, and so on. This has more to do with funding than with results, surely" (16). "The law is, in my opinion, a double edged tool. Protection is ok, but in the other hand it's like contributing to obscurantism (...). The excluded kids who come to our centre are almost invisible. (...) Zaragoza, Spain, fist world..." (7).

Coordination⁵¹

Coordination is highly appreciated by all experts to improve the intervention and to avoid overlappings (2) and burn-out of professionals, families and children (15), but it is difficult to get it. They consider coordination is the basic condition for a good work on prevention, in some cases described as more important than financial conditions. But the state of coordination is only qualified as “good” or “quite good” by a few professionals from certain areas and levels.

Reasons hindering coordination: children's rights to privacy (7), self-defence, avoid intrusive practices, distance, professional secret (1), personal reasons,...

Coordination seems to be seen as more precise (maybe more “formalised in protocols”) for tertiary prevention areas and more precarious in basic primary areas –where interventions can be much more efficient. From a general perspective, we can conclude that those areas which are supposed to compound the crime prevention sphere do not include any general and comprehensive planning or do not take in account any design of medium-long term itinerary for young people.

From a general perspective, we can conclude that those areas which are supposed to compound the crime prevention sphere do not include any general and comprehensive planning or do not take in account any design of medium-long term itinerary for young people.

⁵¹ “The more precise or tertiary is prevention, the more institutional coordination is held. And the more primary, the less coordination (...) More networking is needed, a better knowledge of our resources... this is how we [*central’ service of attention to minors in social conflict*] have always worked. (...) There have been many problems, i.e., between the city and the provincial services (...) they are closed compartments, there should be more communication amongst all of them, not only with the city: school, municipal centre, mental health centre, family doctor, paediatrician...” (1). “We [*open environment education team*] are coordinated with everybody” (5). “Coordination exists, but weaker and weaker because our time is being reduced” (3). “Protocols... there are lots of papers. A different question is that we all know them, me included. We are very busy... all of us” (7). “A joint work doesn’t exist. We don’t share the purposes, neither a specific goal, which means that collaboration is... strange. It’s hard to collaborate in something that doesn’t pursue my own goal. Besides, without the same means, if we don’t speak the same language... it’s even more complicated” (17). “The is no permanent and fluent information” (16). “There is a network of resources trying to filter people at risk, ¿right? But the net is not dense enough, it has lots of holes, it’s not well coordinated, ¿is it? It should be much better coordinated. (...) It’s a matter of resources, coordination and attitude too. It’s the problem of specialization, hyper-specialization” (9). “Social services pass the absenteeism reports to each other and compile the absenteeism reports sent the centre [*school*], and then you expect the social services to act, but they don’t, and then it’s over” (18).

g. Perceptions of effects and efficiency of prevention activities in the areas.

Main agreements:

Primary prevention works –communitarian, educative, extra-judicial, “open-air” interventions...

Specific and institutionalized prevention doesn't work –internment, penalizing, psychiatrization (psychopathologization), labelling...

g.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

What works.

“Classic” communitarian resources, neighbourhood coexistence and family support and “work on the ground” are the most effective means for prevention –see g.2. In addition to a good coordination network where professionals from different areas can keep a close and permanent communication. Social environment is the key word at a primary prevention level, and prevention measures to protect it must be applied as early as possible –through detection' protocols, through the implication of sanitary experts as the only ones having knowledge in very early ages). In the same sense, see the school survey results.

Therefore, leisure or socio-labour centres, youth centres and every mean to “organize leisure”, work. After leisure centres, street education and “open-air” prevention in general (or with children under 14 having committed a crime), family therapy is the most stressed area.

Programmes to reinforce children's responsibility: kids should manage collectively those conflicts affecting them, as the best way to turn problems into an educative resource to make youngsters feel responsible for their acts, able to face their consequences and part of the solution by interacting with their peers.

School: social educators in the schools and some specific projects (on drugs, conflict resolution, road safety, sexist violence...) work. As seen in the school survey young people don't appreciate so much this kind of activities.

Juvenile Justice: restorative justice, mediation and conciliation (extrajudicial measures in general⁵²) reduce recidivism. These alternatives have their most successful impact among youngest aggressors. Probation (more than three months length) and community services (related to committed crimes) are the two most effective measures in the juvenile criminal law catalogue.

Methods working well: work with small groups of children, trying to mix people, always working with a systemic perspective (12), using normalised institutions to avoid stigmatisation (17), and working process (20).

What doesn't work –see g.2.

Judicialization⁵³. Any measure tending to increase penalties and reduce the criminal age of the child. In the opposite sense, school survey shows a tendency among young people to prefer severe sanctions as a means to prevent violence.

Weekend detention measures and/or domiciliary arrest⁵⁴.

Diagnosis and diversion through itineraries of psychiatric approaches and resources –“either penal or psychiatric internments are just containers”.

“Big masses”. Large-scale and/or institutionalized work⁵⁵.

⁵² “Extra-judicial reparations are one of the most efficient programs at a preventive level (...) Supervised release [*probation*] has always been the superstar measure (...) but terms must be long. Six months, a year, they're effective. You can't do anything with three months of probation. Services for the community also imply a very low rate of recidivism” (5).

⁵³ “This is about punishing poverty. Poverty is punished. Here [*prison*]... kids who have a good lawyer, a family... usually don't come here. They don't come here” (8). “The problem appears when you are 17 years and 364 days old, but 2 days later you are already an adult and the law is absolutely forceful and unfair. Because you still are the same person you were 5 days before” (14).

⁵⁴ “Continued measures of weekend internment are a disaster for us [*prison*], this measure is useless” (8). “Or house arrest on weekends, this measure has no educative content at all” (5).

⁵⁵ “You take them out of their families, take them to the COA [*central protection resource for 'taking in and observation'*] and you add (laughs) all the problems they have there. By the way it is horrible there, then... they incorporate everyone's problem in there” (5).

Labelling, estrangement, behaviourism, prize-punishment methods⁵⁶.

Police inside/outside schools, giving a too populist version (not very severe sanctions) on intervention with youngsters in the juvenile justice, little social sensibilisation only worried about detention (7) (17).

Making social aid (to families) depend on their children's absenteeism problems⁵⁷.

g.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

"What must be done is to raise awareness. You must know the game you are playing, you must know it's about your future. If they punish you... you know you can lose something like... they can remove the internet... then... but you must know this can happen if you don't study. If you don't get the primary school degree, this is bad for your future" (A –YM).

By supporting educative measures instead of punishment, participants show their agreement with the main results from the survey. As also seen above (i.2), raising awareness and listening to youngsters' sorrows are a priority for them, and not punishment or disciplinary measures.

– Today, the only thing we try to... to improve a wrong behaviour, is punishing, but with this punishment parents won't... they have not enough authority to make their children carry out the punishment. For example, every time... [when there is a conflict] with notes [school qualifications]... and they don't let him/her go out. But this depends on how they go out. Or another example, someone who practises sport and stops doing it because of the bad qualifications. But sport keeps you healthy. If you stop it to make him study more, this might be worse. (...) You study because you have to, not because you know that you are having a prize for it. You already have this prize because you'll be able to do something in the future (B –YF).

– Many people don't see it (M –YM).

When asked about prevention activities at school, some critical views point to those activities –speeches related to drugs are one of the examples:

– This is very difficult, apparently. If you sit by your mates in 1st course of ESO [primary school] and you're before a guy who's talking to you... whatever, and you laugh at him and so on... (...) I'm talking about drugs. For example, I remember that those to which the talk was focused were the ones who laughed louder. And they took it all as jokes. Then a different awareness method should be found (M –YM).

⁵⁶ "What 7 years ago used to be successful for us and everybody would have valued as an achievement, now we must have the criticism to recognize this wasn't success. They're youngsters who were used by the market for a while and now they are sent back to us, with the problem that we don't have any prevention or service in this city for 25 year old people, and this all must be reinvented (...) we might be excluding this social group ourselves. We are the same ones who inserted them in precarious conditions, now we are excluding them for not accomplishing a certain profile" (20).

⁵⁷ "This happens very often, i.e., to gipsy population who are the most absentees. The pressure they receive to... to withdraw the social aid they receive. No attendance to school means 'no aid', and that's all. I mean; why does he go? Why is he away? No different work is done to make gipsies get in the classroom" (18).

h. Future challenges and opportunities for prevention in the eyes of interviewees.

Main agreement: pessimistic mood (see h.2), very concrete proposals.

h.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

Employment: reduce the actual 50% of juvenile unemployment⁵⁸ *-ni-ni* generation (Spanish slang for "neither work, nor studies").

Social values/context: "social involution", absence of limits⁵⁹; increase of violent behaviours –including self-aggressions⁶⁰; increase in the number of children at risk (enlargement of the 'at risk child' concept) and children in distress⁶¹; punitive populism, social alarm and culture of fear⁶²; role of media and trivialization of violence⁶³ and "selective dramatization" of violence. Criminalization of socially disruptive and antisocial behaviours.

Prevention Actors: increase in police presence; importance of family education; responsabilisation of school in educative/formative tasks.

New violent behaviours: higher increase in violence than in crime⁶⁴.

Migrant population: immigration impasse and "second generations".

Drugs: more drug traffic (domestic growth and widespread consumption) –see h.2.

Mental health: psycho-social symptoms (anxiety, depressions) and medicalization/psychopathologization; increase of addictions –social networks included.

Protection and juvenile justice systems get closer and harder to distinguish (12) –mental health and juvenile justice are the two "containers" in which this closer relationship between areas is more clearly shown.

Public funding in social resources gets reduced⁶⁵. "We are working harder with poorer means"⁶⁶.

⁵⁸ "If at least 40% of young people are unemployed, honestly, with this future waiting for them... reactions can be so diverse..." (2). "If the current trend is kept as it's been until now... the question is not gender or religious or ethnic or anything else. This is a merely economic question. Being poor is dangerous, dangerous for the poor" (16).

⁵⁹ "One of the most identified problems in the core of violence nowadays is absence of limits. Lack of education in limits is the main characteristic of consumer society. This is not only something that affects youngsters, this happens to all of us (...) not accepting delay, dilemma or conditional. These are the three fundamental conditions of education" (9).

⁶⁰ "Violence is transmitted. It can be exercised against others or against yourself. Here at the consultation, many cases are of self-violence. During adolescence, violence always seems to be focused against others, but lately I am seeing many self-aggressions. What happens is that, once it fills the glass, it becomes violence against others, because you have to throw it in some direction" (4).

⁶¹ "With the crisis, evidently, we'll get focused on healing and assisting the most serious cases, and all these preventive stages... communitarian... and educative... is going to be neglected" (2).

⁶² "We cannot live with fear. We cannot see only the 5% who commits serious crimes. That's the problem. Let's work with the rest of them, and this 5% will surely... actually, the fact that social conflict has lowered among youngsters... and now the crisis is so serious that talking about youngsters is not so interesting" (1).

⁶³ "Adult world make some things but say different things. Adult world has some behaviour rules, some standards for social success, its own morality play about what to tell them and what to do actually" (17).

⁶⁴ "Last three years have shown a very strong downward trend. (...) This is important. The reform centre has 69 places, we've had it full for years... some time ago... full, and now it's less than 50% occupied" (14). "The problem is a rooted one (laughs). As long as the system works like this, there will be violence... among kids. Because frustration for not achieving your goals must be freed somehow. It can be educated, but anger can't be educated... when there is a lot of it. You must liberate it" (19).

⁶⁵ "The number of children in distress we receive is growing. The administration tries to cover this despair giving the child a place with basic conditions, but even the administration is cutting... this paternalistic attitude is not parental but paternalistic because doesn't give them much else. Then, if the administration is not able to take care of these kids, they will have to cover their basic needs somewhere" (7). "To cut public funding is an absurd and perverse decision because you create problems, or you contribute to create problems that will have to be solved (or you will fake you try) with a *hypertechnified* response... a mega-structure... and a much more expensive cost" (17).

⁶⁶ "The current dynamic is *involutional*. Now everyone clings to the crisis... what comes down first is everything that doesn't give immediate results, what doesn't give a result *right now*, an outcome which can be used. i.e., every politician, every institution that spends money is expecting to use this money for his/its own benefit. This has more to do with the institution itself than with the kids –because with the kids, what doesn't give an immediate result..." (4).

h.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

"I have always paid attention to a very curious thing: this is always cyclic. I mean... those who are one year older are calmer than me... those who are one year younger... they are worse than us. My generation is bad enough. We are rather naughty. I don't know why, this is cyclic. I think the same steps always come back" (S –YM).

- I think that [*the main problem related to violence and crime*] is intolerance (S –YM).
- Yes, lack of respect (E –YF).
- When you don't know how to appreciate others, you think they are... weird? They are bad. You link what is different to what's bad, what can get to harm you. If you don't know something, then... you won't try to know it and you're going to hate it, as a reflex act (M –YF).
- Trying to feel superior (A –YM).
- Not accepting different opinions (E –YF).
- Some feel superior (P –YM).
- And not respecting others (E –YF).
- And if you don't tolerate them and you feel better, then you are going to push the guy who... (M –YM).
- Physical and psychological violence (S –YM).
- You make them feel bad so you can feel more important. You mistr... well, you exclude others (M-YM).
- I guess that this generation that's coming... wow (C –YF).
- Yes, this is getting worse (A –YM).

- Now it's double... those who traffic don't have a job at all, and... the fastest way to make money is... dealing (E –YM).
- As long as we stay in crisis... I think this will go worse (B –YM).
- Worse (C –YM).
- Because... if you don't have any money for a pair of shoes, you'll have to manage to make it, won't you? If you don't have any money, you'll have to do something to solve it, won't you? (B –YM).
- Robbery is going to grow (P –AF).
- Yes (B –YM).
- Evidently (E –YM).
- And mainly among the *moros*⁶⁷ (B –YM).
- Those who consume, since they spent so much time smoking joints and anything else, they'll get to a point when this doesn't affect them... Or this might hit them stronger, though (E –YM).
- And more, and more, and more. What *moros* do is sniffing this glue (B –YM).
- They have no money to buy any drug... then they go for glue (E –YM).
- Yes, yes, dissolvent liquid, and such... (E –AM).
- Yes, with... something they buy at the Chinese shop. You know what it is (B –YM).
- And they go totally drugged for one euro. But I know *moros* from... Arrabal [*name of a neighbourhood*] who are friend of mine and they don't know me when they get so high. They can try to fight a friend of theirs (B –YM).

⁶⁷ Mean-slang word for *Northern African*.

i. Recommended approaches/strategies for prevention and control of youth crime.

Main agreements:

- Social policies: less criminalization and more intervention in social causes of violence and delinquency; improve and reinforce social justice policies as the necessary way to face the structural phenomenon of social exclusion. More precisely, more investment and better resources in the following areas: mental health, assistance-support-therapies, school sports, leisure centres/ youth centres/ street education, committees on school coexistence, early childhood education⁶⁸, restorative justice, supervision and institutional inspections, continuous professional training (2) –mainly for teacher with a very good curricula, but without abilities to solve conflicts in the classroom (15), primary prevention and “open-air” education...⁶⁹
- Family –see i.2: family education on how to manage with youngsters⁷⁰; focus-centred intervention with families: general measures don't reach problematic families.
- Education system: more and better educational system –see i.2.
- Experts: better coordination⁷¹-supervision-evaluation between experts working with young people.
- Social commitment, responsible citizenship: prevention by everybody (social compromise with education and prevention) and down-top oriented (7) (19).

i.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

More coordination and planning: the *sine qua non* condition for a better work on prevention is mainly located around a complete network in which professionals from different areas can keep a permanent communication and know the available resources to manage every situation as efficiently as possible; at a higher institutional level, many interviewees mention the need of a “general plan” for children and adolescents made by the administration and focused on a medium/long term.

More public investment is needed on education and social assistance.

Educational system: better training for teachers and better coordination among themselves; the role of education should be kept in schools far beyond the idea of being replaced by other professionals –ex.: police; educative perspectives should avoid labelling approaches, as well as punishing children's absenteeism by expelling them from school or cancelling the economic aid to their families.

Social protection: some statements also insist in the need of a new (and wide) concept of “social risk”, a better differentiation between protection and criminal institutions, a need to adjust some specific resources to certain areas (ex.: mental health).

Even if family keeps the most important way of preventing violence in adolescent population, groups of peers are the best educative contexts.

No more changes are proposed in the criminal law: “keep it as it is”⁷². Restorative justice as the best tool to reduce recidivism and pay attention to the role of the victim. No criminalization, normalization of situations, social integration. Legalisation of drug consumptions –minority.

i.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

On segregation/ expulsion/ punishment/ conflict managing: participants' majority opinion is against segregation and formal/ institutional rules or managing principles. Based on their own experiences, participants underline maturity as a very good tool to improve their attitude and habits.

– There is a lot of permissiveness today. For example with... someone who had a very bad behaviour and they were waiting, waiting... he wasn't expelled from school. But then... at the first thing he did, he was expelled. The problem comes from the root. They should get focused on other things (A –YM).

– He wasn't expelled because they tried to keep him at school... they tried to make it get better (...) when you expel someone off the school, they feel they are cool (B –YF).

⁶⁸ “From the open environment system. If the work outdoors is good, much fewer cases arrive here [juvenile justice institution]. This is crystal clear. (...) The earlier, the better. I would start with pregnant women” (8).

⁶⁹ “Losing fear of being in touch with people who are different to you is the key factor to generate a more equalitarian society, a more real one, isn't it?” (3).

⁷⁰ “I wouldn't do a campaign of prevention for youngsters but a prevention campaign for parents, focused on a responsible parenthood” (1).

⁷¹ “If we really want to do something useful for the person we are with, we [professionals] must stay connected or we'll always work in a fragmented way” (4). “We can't turn the first step of prevention into a matter of chance” (20).

⁷² “No, no... adolescents' problems must be solved by psychology, education, pedagogy... we can't solve them by laws” (1).

- Expel them forever (A –YM).
- But if you expel someone forever, education is suppressed (P –YM).
- Let's see, if someone is messing around all the time... keeping the teacher's attention all the time, what about the others? Getting rid of this person is the best you can do... But you are not rejecting him, he's old enough and he knows what he's doing (C –YF).
- But, what do you want? Should we take all the problematic ones and put them in the same place?

On some improvements that should be applied in the activities at school:

- (...) what people need to change is to know the effects (...) if you bring a proof, that's the real... shock, when you realise (C –YF). (...)
- Yes, now it's like more theoretical, instead of knowing what can happen to you if you consume (A –YM). (...)
- But they're normal people whose lives suddenly changed, and this makes you say "it could be me", and then... (C –YF).

When referring to some handicaps at school, participants underline a certain lack of communication or knowledge among teachers, suggesting (with no total consensus) that a better surveillance should be necessary to prevent conflicts and claiming for *better control –instead of late punishment*:

- For example, more surveillance at the courtyard. Surveillance. They could put teachers there. Teachers stay by the wall... yes, they walk around, but... they don't catch everything. The point is not what happens... (A –YM).
- About the kids, what do they control, what they don't... they know a 30% of what happens... (J –YM).
- In recess times, I guess they know less than half (B –YF).
- Some time ago, people stayed in the toilettes during the recess and they did what they wanted there. Then they installed cameras. They don't let everybody out; you need your ID to get out. Now there's a bit more control (M –YF).
- What happens in here is not too important, because we can do whatever we want outside. What if they control us here, when, for example, you can wait to get out and have a fight out there? I think the point is having some influence on their consciousness, even if it's harder, rather than having them here under control with cameras and a teacher saying "don't do this, don't do that" (S –YM).

– What works best for...?

- Police (C –YM).
- Police works?
- A bit, but... Because they cannot be everywhere (C –YM).
- Yes. They can, there are lots of them. But they don't want (B –YM).
- They prefer to stay in the car, it's warmer there (E –YM).
- They always stop you more in summer, although they say they don't move. What a coincidence! When it's hot... they get out of the car (B –YM).
- Policemen stop you because of your look (E –YM).
- Then I must have changed mine, because they don't stop me already (B –YM).
- You should glasses and a backpack (E –YM).
- Glasses and a backpack?
- Laughs (group).
- Like the ones who are... always... the best students. Students... they never suspect them, since they look like this, normal... (E –YM).

– If parents don't educate them well, who is going to do it. When they do something they'll be sent to the reformatory and, there, then... (E –YM).

– When they have a bit more consciousness, I would tell them. I would tell them "don't do this, because these are its consequences. If you are minor age you'll be sent to a prison for children. This is your choice" (B –YM).

– Of course. Parents are the first in having to educate them. If they don't do it, who's going to do it later (E –YM).

"More money for the schools, because if the kid grows in the streets, you can see how he's going to come out. If you can, at least, keep him at home and push him to study and such things... I don't know, he might be like me, I didn't pay attention to my parents at all" (B –YM).

j. Group differences with regard to perspectives on youth crime prevention.

j.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

Psychologists: most of them do not consider juvenile crime as a social problem.

Educators: importance of social experts in the prevention area against less importance of justice/police experts (the idea of "take off the robe" to work with youngsters (1).

Regardless of the professional area represented by every interviewee, the majority of opinions frontally oppose internment and institutionalisation. This is the main agreement or "general consensus" for this chapter –see list of disagreements or controversial matters below.

Many statements make a strict difference between violence (as an important social problem) and crime –as a phenomenon that cannot be seen as a big problem since crime rates have not grown during the last years.

In the other hand, the most stressed controversial issues by all the groups are:

The role of policemen in the area of education. Both social educators' and formal education workers' statements show a certain dissent on this matter, depending on the context in which they have to deal with violent children and manage to solve "daily conflicts"⁷³.

Efficiency of internment and "new less eligibility": "We have some kids... unfortunately, lately we're having some dramatic cases. Kids who commit crimes to be brought here. This... also happens in prison, sometimes (...) Because they have nothing else. There's nothing else. They sometimes find here someone who took care of them... well, this is an institution... But there is nothing outside. They feel bad when they are here, but they want to come when they're outside" (8).

On coordination protocols: depending on the specific area, professionals give a different description of their coordination, although the general valuation is low –as seen in chapter F.

On bands and organised crime: the majority of interviewed professionals don't point at the existence of bands as an example of collective behaviours in local areas. The group of peers is naturally seen as the "social context" in which youngsters must grow and develop their social skills. Just a very few comments stress the problem of youngsters being caught by adults in order to commit such crimes as prostitution (victimisation of children), racist aggressions (neo-nazi bands), fights and robbery...

On "lack of authority", some statements describe the problem as a more complex one, suggesting an "overload of certain values" rather than a "lack of values" itself –and closer to a lack of "non-authoritarian authority" in which push to consume and lack of contention feed each other back: "Education, mostly in the familiar context, turned from an authoritarian model to an indulgent-negligent model. Here, in this country, no democratic model has been developed, neither in people's minds nor in the domestic sphere. Everything is translated to consumption; I am what I can consume. My father is better if he can buy more for me" (9).

⁷³ In one hand: "My experience says this is valid, I know a couple of policemen who are in charge of the road safety education and they do it with a very good taste... how they present it and talk to kids. We've been doing this for the last four years" (20). "With cops... and kids... actually... the situations we've had to... I have no complaints at all. At a personal level, you can find all kinds of things, though" (19).

In the other hand: "We must work from an educative perspective, an itinerary with concrete goals and a plan. If the plan is reduced to police intervention, even with the best cop ever (...) this is not prevention, this is sanction" (20). "The most visible daily task is stop and search, routine controls and so on. This is very badly seen by kids, because they feel they are permanent suspects, no matter if you are committing a crime or not. But this coincides with a certain profile, being poor is dangerous" (16). "Our relationship with the police is bad, very bad. They have gone too far during the last two years. There are kids [*in the neighbourhood*] who are known, and if they don't catch them, then next weekend they find them on the Street, they take them to a portal and give them a beating, or tell them: 'I'm waiting for you to take you to the reformatory. They are going too far, but here comes the problem of denouncing again. They don't speak because they find it normal or they prefer not to denounce, and it's us who have to do it" (11). "What does Civil Guard do? They chase, this is all. And then they also work on talking to the kids (I totally disagree with this, I find it an atrocity), they come and do speeches, to children and to parents, on three matters... well, on four. Internet dangers, street bands and drugs. And then a fourth one, when they bring someone on a wheelchair, about road safety. (...) In some occasions... they even presented cocaine as a girl who walks by the shore in a beach... (...) a beautiful girl walking along the beach and the boy walking after her. That's in one of the Civil Guard's power points" (18). "Q: What is the role of police in prevention? A: In this particular area? No. We don't need control... well, you know. We need soft controls, with professionals, educators, psychologists... in a different way" (8).

k. Recommended approaches.

k.1 INTERVIEWEES' OPINIONS.

“Control crime control vs. improve non-formal control”: less formal/institutional control vs. better social/communitarian control. The keys are education and communities/families: “Protection must be in the minds of every person who interacts with children (...) we should pay special attention to school as a key factor to prevent violent, humiliating, ridiculing attitudes, etc. (...) As a health worker, I expect to be respected, but the best I can do to be respected is to respect, right?” (9). “If you prevent, you avoid theft and violence. That is an expense to the public safety. (laughs). As easy as that” (12). “Personal commitment from every person living together in society... going from general to small issues... Commitment from those who live in the child’s environment and know his/her case, and real commitment from institutions that play the role of support” (7). “Family, school, leisure time centres and youth centres are part of the environment for a normalized socialization and that’s what has to work as a prevention system” (17).

Not to privatise public-basic resources. Better means for public interventions.

Social justice must be the central criterion for a necessary change on structures and institutional designs⁷⁴. The structural dimension of violence is linked to a structural problem in society⁷⁵ which must be solved from a political approach first than a technical matter.

Higher investment in professional training and improvement of coordination between areas.

More resources for therapy assistance and outpatient treatment.

Working method: general, early, familiar⁷⁶, primary and “open environment” prevention. Widespread plans for long-term processes –vital processes instead of punctual interventions (4), insertion itineraries (20) and political will to support childhood and adolescence.

On juvenile justice: to develop a better and more complete performance of the tools and resources included in the juvenile criminal law⁷⁷. Not to respond violence with violence: “Once a 15 year old child is sent to prison, he will get out much more than before, because he has been labelled as criminal and this means a threat for the rest of youngsters, for the peers. This means that he is already one step beyond. And many of them stay in this step beyond until they suffer the final shock [ref. to prison] but.. they live in this paranoia for years” (19). “We are in a boomerang. We cannot turn back to... stay in the summit of [the iceberg of] violence, then we respond violence with violence, they are still frustrated, expectations remain unaccomplished and, besides, we are stigmatising them. This is perfect to keep them in... in the wheel” (20).

Youngsters must be the protagonists of their educational processes and in the solution of the conflicts affecting them: “The goal must be the kid. The goal cannot be focused on our comfort” (...) “Prevention must work with children from a process” (20). “They must be the axis” (18).

⁷⁴ “If this is about make chances for crime disappear... the way to prevent it directly is to stop the cause from its source, which is an economic matter. Inequality is brutal and, in the end, these kids do what they do, they behave as their situation... is located in a specific system... a means of social relationships... which are connected with hierarchies, exploitation and denial of the individual (...) they can become a commodity for all the people who are making a living from social intervention area. And this economic area should disappear” (16). “There should be a general change in the structure of the protection system” (11).

⁷⁵ “This is clearly a cultural matter, about education and building a model. A model of responsibility, not only for children but also including responsible citizenship in the pack. Everyone has some responsibilities, right?” (9). “It is impossible to separate youngsters’ violence from society’s violence. This doesn’t mean that juvenile violence must be hidden, just saying that society... no, no, no. but things must come and go. To face violence, there must always be a dialogue between two parts. If we keep on focusing on one side, looking for solutions will be useless” (4). “Violence is everyone’s business” (12).

⁷⁶ “I am talking about 14-16 year old kids, for whom school is already more important than family. I see this very clearly here. But what happened in the family during the first 12-14 years cannot be fixed. This is impossible to be fixed at school” (18). “You know what? In the end, only mothers attend to school for parents” (12).

⁷⁷ “We still have a judicial power which is completely isolated from people... it will be extremely difficult to make this law accomplish its role... And the law must be used to improve the situation of adolescents and fight crime, as simple as that” (1). “We must ask the administrations to be able to sit and use their minds (that is why they have some very valid technicians) and check the itineraries and... the insertion of adolescent people at risk of social exclusion. But I mean itineraries from early childhood, because there must be available resources if there is a will” (20).

k.2 GROUP DISCUSSIONS' MAIN RESULTS.

On prevention levels and efficiency:

- Tackling harassment or abuse seems to be a hard job, but if you observe... they [*the abusers*] are isolated people and just a few of them. I mean, you can... if you observe (A –YM).
- But they don't try to cut those problems, actually... (B –YF).
- Of course (A –YM).
- ... not from the root, but when they are in their highest level (B –YF).

The portrait which has been produced by the group discussions can help us to take some useful elements in order to have a closer idea about participants' perspectives on how adults (educators, in this particular case) try to manage conflicts and how these conflicts affect them.

- Sometimes, to be a teacher you must have some... some more psychology to be able to withstand the pressure... I have had some experiences about... they [*students*] literally "eat" them (S –YM).
- You need some presence, I mean... if you don't impose some respect... (M –YM).
- But they must have it from the very first day (C –YF).
- This is not physical; this is psychological, because I have, well... I used to have a teacher who was like this [*small*]... her bad temper could keep all of us like this [*compliant*], and then a big guy doesn't... (M –YM).
- We all know about some teachers in the school who had been sick leave for depression (M –YF). (...)
- It changed. Teachers who studied 30 years ago... let's compare people who studied 30 years ago to students of today (B –YF).
- You can't compare them (E –YF).

At a general level of analysis, we must take into account how seriously the participants exposed his criticism to the media in general and television in particular. The sphere of mass communication, in addition to families and early intervention, was the most *emphasized* problem in the GD1 –and somehow unwillingly *confirmed* by participants in the GD2.

- We can make some influence from the TV. You play your TV and they show you a society where you must... the reference is bad and... in the end, that's fashion and being trendy is good and they always discriminate... it's impossible that a person doesn't discriminate, you don't do it on purpose, because you watch TV and... (C –YF).
- They want to solve the problem of violence, but if on TV, when everybody watches TV, everything is related to violence... you are shown that being violent or violence itself are normal things. Then you won't try to stay away from violence (B –YF).
- Or if... on TV, in action films, when they shoot each other, then there is a happy end, isn't it? Is this pedagogical? Just the reverse (S –YM).
- When I was a child my parents used to control what I saw on TV. They don't do it now to my brother. He's in first degree of ESO [*primary*] and he can watch anything (M –YF).
- They are creating an idea of death as if... if nothing happened. I have young cousins who play like... you see that their idea of death is... wow... "nothing happens, then you live again" (C –YF).
- People get numb because they see it on TV and not only on videogames. In the end, death is an everyday thing (P –YM).

5) Summary and conclusions.

On violence/delinquency:

-No big increase of delinquency can be expected in the experts' eyes, but different symptoms and levels of violence have been stressed in the interviews. Violence (and not juvenile crime) is mostly seen as a widespread social problem and children are seen both as victims-witnesses and future actors, since both conditions are considered as closely connected.

-The role of media and some specifics of the current social and criminal policies are also stated by experts (and shown in some examples during both group discussions) as two important elements that can distort this focus on violence and crime. Personal experiences tend to be much less traumatic than those conclusions that participants take from the media.

-The high increase of drug consumption (and cultivation, mainly in rural areas) is also seen as a serious problem by many experts –including the agreement shown by participants in the 2nd group discussion.

-Mental health is described more and more explicitly as a widespread problem among those violent attitudes which are usually carried out by youngsters.

-Violence against parents can be seen as the most emergent phenomenon in terms of violent behaviours –as noted above: *as a symptom of some deeper social pathology related to violence.*

On prevention:

-Social justice and structural intervention (carried out in social-familiar-educative spheres) are the two main ingredients participants point at when asked about prevention at a wide-general level. The importance of families and schools to prevent future conflicts is often linked to the risk of de-responsibilisation that any intervention should try to minimize.

-Both professional and juvenile collectives seem to be aware of how repressive/tertiary prevention doesn't work as it's conceived. They ask for primary prevention by using a "social" (primary) concept of security. While "adult experts" claim for a solid structure focused on social support, family training and educative effort, "young experts" ask for "more surveillance", in search of clear references, external control or socially established "limits" that help them feel they live in a careful, safe and balanced environment.

-Coordination between professional areas is described as both a key element (what should be) and the most important handicap (what is) by most of experts. In the same line, absence of evaluation is one more reason for them to show their frustration when asked about the efficiency of prevention policies, projects and activities.

6) References.

See “YouPrev - Workstream 1 – Main approaches and bibliography in Spain (2000-2011)”.

7) List of interviewees –professional areas.

1. Protection system –*service of attention to children under 14 y-old in social conflict.*
2. Juvenile justice system –*education in open environment.*
3. Protection system –*street education.*
4. Psychologist.
5. Juvenile justice system –*education in open environment.*
6. Protection system –*service of attention to children under 14 y-old in social conflict.*
7. Protection institution –*social educator.*
8. Juvenile justice institution –*director.*
9. Psychologist.
10. Police –*special group for juveniles.*
11. Protection system –*street education.*
12. Family therapy –*psychologist.*
13. Police –*local agent.*
14. Juvenile justice –*attorney.*
15. Formal education –*socio-labour advisor, public rural school.*
16. Non-formal education –*teacher, socio-labour center.*
17. Protection system –*education team manager, reception center.*
18. Formal education –*teacher, public rural school.*
19. Protection system –*educator, emancipation flat.*
20. Non-formal education –*team manager, socio-labour center.*