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*Combating Inequalities through Innovative Social Practices of and for
Young People in Cities across Europe*

CITISPYCE Final Report

Foreword

The CITISPYCE project set out to provide a representative and ‘well-rounded’ approach towards the subject of social innovation against inequalities as experienced by young people across Europe. The complementary skills and expertise of each partner within the project consortium were key to this approach. The project brought together a range of academic disciplines (inter alia: anthropology, sociology, economics, governance, public policy) from seven universities, as well as social policy expertise and practice from three major cities, and two non-profit social NGOs specialising in work with the disadvantaged and an independent policy foundation. Coming from ten different countries within the EU, the project partners were able to share their understanding of how inequalities play out within a variety of institutional contexts, historical backgrounds and policy responses. Although there were only three cities as full members in the consortium, all partners had working relationships with their municipalities.

Such a diverse partnership has not, however, been without its challenges, with differing perspectives on methodology and the relationship between research and practice. Nevertheless, these varying perspectives have enabled the CITISPYCE team to examine the issues through a range of lenses and produce findings which are very rich and generalisable. The active engagement of municipal policy officers and practitioners, for example, facilitated access to stakeholders, particularly through their networks at local and European level. This access also provided invaluable insights into the ways of working within institutions, or between institutions and young people and how these ways might in themselves be adding to young people’s inequalities. The need to challenge traditional policy and practice and to change mindsets has

been one of the key strategic findings of this Project. Indeed, our own consortium is an example of breaking down barriers and being open to alternative ways of thinking and working. We acknowledge that it is not always a comfortable experience, but we think we have reached richer outcomes due to the collective debates and challenges we set each other.

The CITISPYCE research programme was designed so that the different research work packages followed on from each other rather than running in parallel. This has meant that all partners have been involved in each of them and have been able to adopt a reflexive approach, exploring the interplay between the findings of different work packages. Moreover, the participation of each partner at all stages of the Project has enabled CITISPYCE to produce comparative reports which draw on the findings from research and analysis in each of the ten cities across Europe.

The Final Report seeks to convey the journey on which our research has taken us. Part I sets the context in which the research took place and discusses the methodological approaches adopted, and in some instances adapted. Part II covers the programme of quantitative and qualitative research activity that moved from national to city then neighbourhood level in order to map the changing landscape of social inequalities. This is done through the inclusion of the comparative reports on each stage of research in order to illustrate the relationship of one phase to another. Part III focuses on the research findings and their application through action with young people who were involved in what might be recognised as innovative social practices. Again, the chapters consist of the reports that were written at the time, including the comparative report on the piloting phase, the evaluation of the innovative social practices offered as Case Studies and draft policy recommendations based on them and the pilot projects. The Final Report closes with Concluding Remarks and our Strategic Recommendations to policy-makers drawn from our findings throughout the course of the project.¹

¹ Individual country reports on which the comparative reports in Part II are based may be found in the Annexes attached to this report.



Part I: Setting the scene

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CHAPTER 1: Rationale of the CITISPYCE Project

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1. Introduction

This final report of the EU FP7 Collaborative Project CITISPYCE provides detailed information about the rationale for the project, its description, aims and objectives and a discussion of key findings and action related activities carried out between 1 January 2013 and 31 December 2015.

This chapter provides detail about the background to the project as well as the key concepts the project addressed: young people, social inequalities and social innovation. It includes a brief description of each of the action related activities that followed the research gathering phases. The chapter closes with new insights this project has enabled into each of the key concepts we set out to investigate: young people, social inequalities and social innovation in the post-crisis context.

1.2 Key Concepts

The starting point for the project was an assessment of the macro or structural forces *causing* inequalities in each of the partner countries. These were placed alongside what we describe as the *symptoms* of inequalities – the way social inequalities manifest in young people’s lives and in their material and social worlds. From hereon we had established a conceptual frame that would guide our subsequent empirical investigations and interactions with policy makers and practitioners: *how can the causes of inequality be tackled through learning from strategies developed by, with and for young people.*

As the research progressed to gathering first-hand accounts from policy makers, practitioners and young people themselves, it became apparent that causes and symptoms were in themselves complex. For example, what appeared to be a symptom could also be a cause. This revealed the complex workings of power manifest in the multiple layers of bureaucracy and governance that

mediated relations between the economy and young people. It also exposed the role of city, neighbourhood governance structures and key infrastructures and services as well as young people themselves as both re-enforcers of inequalities (through negative mind-sets, anomie) but also as crucial actors in helping to create spaces for change.

The project has been a unique opportunity to put the voices of young people at the heart of discussions about economic and political forces that are having a major structuring effect on their lives. Concomitantly, and in line with our findings, this calls for significant shifts in the way policy makers and practitioners apprehend young people as a category to be worked *with* rather than *on*. This in turn compels us to look anew at the underlying philosophies and mechanisms in our policy making over the past few decades, to assess what changes are urgently needed to better serve and reflect the aspirations and needs of a growing constituency of young people in Europe's superdiverse cities.

1.3 Advancing on the Key Concepts

The key question at the heart of the CITISPYCE project was:

“In the rapidly redrawn landscape of deprivation and inequalities across Europe, how might policy makers (at local, national and EU levels) be assisted in their objectives to tackle inequalities through learning from innovative strategies developed for and by young people and particularly those from marginalised groups in major European cities, including an elaboration of the resources and technologies at the heart of these social innovations.”

In our work we have mapped a wide range of the causes and manifestations of inequality in cities across Europe; we have identified, via interviewing policy makers and young people, a number of case studies of social innovation. On the way, we produced a menu of potential social innovations, matching them against causes and symptoms. Finally, we have started the important work of identifying where the social innovations address the causes.

In doing this we have identified two very important findings which must be the legacy of our work and the starting point for further work. Firstly, it is indispensable that we take advantage of the experiences, stories and reflections of young people. Previous research has not always had young people at the centre of their work as we have. Secondly, we need to make sure that what

we recommend and engender in the policy community does not just “rearrange the deck chairs on the Titanic”, or reproduce old ways of working. Of course some of this may alleviate the symptoms of inequalities and may make a bit of difference, but it is not - and cannot be - enough. Our work must make a real difference; it must change discourses, paradigms and ways of working, and of course it must have young people at its centre.

To begin this journey we set out the key lens through which we can create this new way of thinking.

1.3.1 Social Inequalities

A number of key deductions can be made about the way social inequalities impact young people’s lives:

- The normalisation of debt excludes both those that cannot borrow and those that are getting trapped by not being able to pay back. In both these cases, young people particularly are excluded from fundamental provisions such as owning a house².
- The increasing wage divisions, which lead to growing numbers of working poor, prevent young people from having what they need in order to lead a decent life, such that young people have become known as the new precariat.
- The deterioration in the quality of jobs limits the life possibilities of the disadvantaged, often young people. Furthermore, it tends to cause unemployment as it does not enable people to learn and gain qualifications and experience on the job. The concept of precariat also covers people in such situations.
- The way of accumulating capital by dispossession tends to exclude those that do not have the necessary knowledge, societal position or support to resist the fraud and predatory practices as well as the renegeing on, say, pension and health care obligations.
- The retrenchment of the welfare state/cuts in welfare benefits and services, and/or lacking social infrastructures and support to young people at the national and municipal level, de-commodification in terms of marketization and privatisation of public services further disadvantages young people. This derives from the neoliberal principle of consolidating a market-friendly constitution which lies behind austerity policies and results in new forms

² http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Housing_conditions#Type_of_dwelling_and_tenure_status

of inequality; depriving people of key social goods and in many cases also work (due to a shrunken public sector).

- The neoliberal principle of promoting individual freedom on the basis of “economic man” also plays into a discourse of ‘blaming the victim’. This has further exacerbated inequality by dividing people and making them feel that they do not belong. There is an urgent need for another perspective/imaginary/mind-set which sees young people as potentials and pays attention to more than the symptoms of inequalities that a ‘blame the victim’ discourse has come to embody in young people.

1.3.2 Young people

Given the scale of the problem of youth unemployment in Europe, it is no surprise that the category ‘young people’ has become problematic. Alongside this, representations of young people as NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) combine with general narratives about youth as free-floating and belonging to cultural worlds of their own to produce discriminatory attitudes in popular and policy circles.

Numerous policy interventions or even innovations in the areas of housing, career planning and welfare redistribution have had the effect of pushing young people away from the mainstream. A key example at the local level was that neighbourhoods that were classified as deprived were reported as having limiting effects on young people’s lives.

A contradictory effect of the recent economic crisis has been the hypervisibility of young people in statistics on unemployment and as a future vulnerable class in Europe – the precariat. At the same time, young people have been ‘expelled’ (Sassen 2014) from the new economy and from significant government spending plans to be rendered invisible to policy makers. In practice, then, young people have become an increasingly precarious group and category for policy makers to work with.

It is not surprising, then, that young people would also attempt to de-ghettoise, breakout of and expand their zones of familiarity with like-minded others. This project uncovered numerous examples of young people seeking out public spaces such as youth centres, libraries and NGOs in alternative parts of the city. Young people attributed different languages to those spaces and networks that they generated. These allowed young people to experiment and interact with new peoples, ideas and opportunities.

1.3.3 Social innovation

The socially innovative practices uncovered in this project address several causes and symptoms of inequalities - these categories are overlapping - and often multiple inequalities faced by young people in deprived neighbourhoods. As set out above, addressing the symptoms is not enough, lasting change will only come by addressing the causes.

Where the innovative practices may be seen to address the symptoms rather than causes of inequalities, this represents a means by which young people work to cope with the consequences of inequalities in their lives. It could also be described as ‘resilience’.

A key factor limiting the ability of social innovations to impact what could be regarded as structural causes of inequality is their ability to attract capital and human resources on a scale wider than the local, for example, transnational networks of young people and long-term, sustained employment support initiatives sponsored by EU or national governments. Nevertheless, at a local level, through our piloting activities we uncovered that there is capacity to influence the landscape of the policies addressing the symptoms and causes of inequalities when young people and policy makers work together.

Most importantly, the innovative practices we uncovered react to the gaps and failures in the policies and social infrastructures available to young people in the deprived neighbourhoods and beyond. These may be summarised as follows:

1. Completely lacking or (due to welfare state cuts) reduced social infrastructures in the deprived neighbourhoods. Young people lacking spaces and opportunities for social and cultural life, communing and self-expression.
2. An apparent lack or poor capacity and quality of a broader range of social services, including employment services, housing, quality schools, health care and community/social work.
3. Service providers/frontline workers do not take the needs and abilities of young people into consideration sufficiently; they focus more on “changing individuals” than on creating employment opportunities. One reason is the widespread bureaucracy and rigidity as well as punitive measures accompanying initiatives such as ‘Work-First’ or ‘Workfare’ (Loedemel and Moreira, 2014). This approach is accompanied by non-recognition of young peoples’ voices, their lack of participation in policy making and co-determination of outcomes. Hence young people are losing trust in institutions and experience alienation.

The case studies in this project illustrate that an important feature of some of the innovative practices is that they address the dimensions of inequalities or social exclusion which are neglected in mainstream policies. Their approach reflects the dimensions as distinguished by Percy-Smith (2000:9): typically, the practices are unique in that they address neighbourhood, individual, spatial and group dimensions, often in conjunction with political/civic and social dimensions as well as symbolic/discursive dimensions. More generally, self-confidence, creativity, empowerment, sociability, trust and engagement are strongly supported through innovative approaches. The practices take into account the widespread feeling of the 'heteronomy of life' (Berger, 1965) in the case of young people living in the excluded neighbourhoods, leading to low aspirations and disengagement and a lack of trust. The related characteristic is a highly individualised approach and emphasis on the process to balance relationships, recognition, mutual trust, empowerment and co-determination.

In these aspects some of the innovative practices present themselves as alternative models of policy to prevailing mainstream sensibilities. Such alternatives must influence a shift in the policy agenda by changing policy discourses, and 'mindsets' of the policy makers, young people and the public. As a result they may address one of the most important causes of inequalities, which is the inadequacy in the approach of social policies addressing young people.

2. The CITISPYCE Project

2.1 Background and Context

The global recession of 2008/9, the subsequent stagnation or decline of the economies of a number of EU member states and the ongoing sovereign debt crisis in the Eurozone resulted in serious pressures in the social arena. The numbers of people facing multiple barriers to social and economic inclusion were on the increase, threatening to derail the achievement of the goals of Europe 2020 and the Innovation Union of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. The Europe 2020 Strategy makes explicit reference to promoting 'social innovation for the most vulnerable, in particular by providing innovative education, training and employment opportunities for deprived communities'.

The climate of so-called austerity has also led to a rapid redrawing of social inequalities across Europe. This includes both a retrenchment of longstanding inequalities and the emergence of

new or forgotten disadvantages together with an erosion of the status and protections previously enjoyed by many citizens. Nowhere has this been more apparent than in Europe's cities where severe economic pressures combined with significant shifts in their demographic make-up (resulting from successive waves of migration and increase in numbers of young people) are leading to increased social, economic and spatial segregation.

This project sought to build on existing research that showed the disproportionate impact of the economic crisis on young people across Europe, including in excessively high levels of youth unemployment and threats to the social provision enjoyed by previous generations³. This was compounded by the 'coming of age' of the descendants of recent migrant communities – who now form significant proportions of the young population in major European cities. Many of these minority young people are Europeans in language, social habit and cultural repertoire, yet continue to face longstanding barriers as an outcome of membership of communities already marginalised from mainstream labour markets and wider civic life (Eurostat 2011). These descendants of immigrants play an important part in the development of youth cultures in the larger cities in Europe.

2.1.1 Young People

At the time we commenced this project youth unemployment stood at an average of 22.7% against an average of 9.8% for total unemployment across the EU. There was considerable disparity between the levels of youth unemployment across the consortium countries. Our initial task as part of producing national background reports for each EU state in this project was to identify the scale of the problem (see Chapter 3).

We were aware that a number of the countries in this project had a higher youth unemployment rate than the EU 27-country average. In most of these countries youth unemployment was double and sometimes three times the rate of overall unemployment. In addition, the youth labour market was significantly more volatile than that of mature workers and more sensitive to changes in GDP. Thus, in periods of recession, young people are particularly vulnerable and often the first to exit and the last to enter the labour market⁴.

³ See: European Commission 2011: Youth Opportunities, Com (2011) 933, Brussels

⁴ European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions Report Young People and NEETS in Europe: First findings(published 3 Jan 2012) Website: <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/>

Not only are young people confronted by changing labour markets, organisational forms and employment structures and the new economic realities, but also by increasingly complex transitions to adulthood. When linked to other indicators of deprivation, it was clear that young people in the 16 to 24 age group are amongst the hardest hit and face more barriers to economic and social inclusion than any other group in society. In 2010, 21.2% of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 were at risk of poverty compared to the average across all age groups of 16.4% and the EU Youth Report of 2009 stated that more than one third of all young people in the EU between the age of 18 and 24 were neither in education, employment nor training (NEETs)⁵. Yet, as the Social Exclusion Unit of the former UK Government stated: “Social exclusion is about more than income poverty. It is a short-hand term for what can happen when people or areas face a combination of linked problems, such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime and family breakdown. These problems are linked and mutually reinforcing” (SEU 2004: 3)

2.1.2 Young people and changing patterns of inequality

In spite of many European governments having devoted intensive energies to combating inequality among their populations over the past 25 years, the current climate of so-called austerity has considerably exacerbated the challenges facing both young people and governments at all levels. It has led to a rapid redrawing of social inequalities across Europe with young people at the heart of this. A retrenchment of longstanding inequalities, the emergence of new or forgotten disadvantages together with an erosion of the status and protections previously enjoyed by many citizens means the impact on a new generation is, arguably, the central most notable aspect of inequality in our time.

Evidence from psychological and sociological research continues to suggest that the factors that shape social exclusion and the risk of exclusion, for young people are complex and multi-dimensional. Young people’s welfare, risk behaviours and vulnerability to social exclusion are associated with their material, cultural and relational contexts, the resources and role models available, and the extent to which they feel connected, supported and recognized. This is linked to the social and cultural context in which they live, and can be influenced by the availability of ‘social capital’ within their communities. Family background and relationships, peer groups and peer relationships in turn help shape the symbolic processes and communicative practices that contribute to vulnerability, exclusion and survival. These are in turn shaped by profound changes

⁵ European Commission 2009: Youth - Investing and Empowering, EU Youth Report, Commission Staff Working Document, Brussels

in lifestyle, consumption patterns, cultural discourses and perceptions of identity (Alexandra Haché 2010).

This was particularly evident to us in the new generation of young Europeans who have migrant roots, yet who also share the experiences, aspirations and social spaces of young people of other ethnicities. While an older generation may continue to imagine Europe and/or their national spaces as culturally and ethnically homogenous, for many young people the experience of living in European cities is characterised by high levels of diversity and the emergence of a lived multiculturalism that arises alongside the varying official policies towards migration and diversity that exist across European nations. In addition, many European cities have faced significant shifts in their demographic make-up as a result of successive waves of more recent migration.

In assessing innovative social practices that exist among marginalised groups and young people in particular, it would be necessary to pay particular attention to the changed/changing demographic profile of urban centres in cities that can be characterised as ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec 2007). This brings into the analysis the experience of settled minority ethnic groups and the emergent generations of minority ethnic youth, as well as newly migrant communities who tend to be disproportionately concentrated in post-industrial urban centres of EU cities.

Young people living within densely populated parts of ‘superdiverse’ European cities have different experiences again of exclusion. Initial responses, however, have tended to assume that the young, irrespective of their particular circumstances, are in need of remedial assistance and that solutions must come (as so often in the past) from above and through official channels. This is in spite of the fact that public funding is diminishing and the problems such funding is oriented towards tackling remain defined by an understanding of inequalities which is no longer appropriate to contemporary conditions. All levels of government need to re-assess their approach to, and understanding of, inequalities in the light of changing public attitudes towards deprivation and the changing patterns of deprivation itself. Traditional public service models may no longer be fit for purpose and public authorities, especially at the local level, will need to adopt more flexible processes and more creative support frameworks for the most vulnerable individuals and communities. In particular, this may mean being more open to innovative responses generated by young people themselves to overcoming their perceived barriers to inclusion.

We know that young people face extreme barriers in the labour market and in access to usable welfare and education provision. There is, however, also evidence that some young people have chosen (or been forced) to re-imagine entry into the labour market through their own innovations in economic and social entrepreneurship. These varied forms of entrepreneurship among young people include imaginative engagement with the possibilities of youth culture, including alternative understandings of politics, culture and public space and adaptations of approaches to business and innovation that have been developed in response to social exclusion and/or extremely limited opportunities in Europe or in other locations.

The CITSPYCE project, then, set out to re-evaluate the potential of innovative practices that previously may have been overlooked as examples of low-status work in the informal or semi-formal economy, or as economically and politically insignificant articulations of passing trends among young people. The project considered how such practices could be co-opted as social innovations by policy makers enabling a broader understanding of the way inequalities manifested on the ground and how they are navigated by young people.

2.1.3 Social innovation and young people

At a time of major cutbacks in public spending, therefore, public bodies need to find not only more cost effective and efficient ways of providing services to citizens but ones that take account of changing social needs and demands. Thus, alongside the accepted wisdom of encouraging scientific and technological innovation to improve Europe's competitiveness, greater attention is now being focused on social innovation and its potential for helping the most vulnerable in society.

According to Social Innovation Europe, "Social innovation is about new ideas that work to address pressing unmet needs. We simply describe it as innovations that are both social in their ends and in their means. Social innovations are new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs and create new social relationships or collaborations" (Murray et al 2010: 3).

The project commenced with an understanding that the aim of social innovation in combating inequalities on a primary level, is to contribute to building the capacities of disadvantaged (young) people and the people who can help them. This can encompass strengthening resilience, building social capital and networks, providing access to media and information resources,

access to education and the labour market, support in starting one's own business (stimulating entrepreneurship), and so on.

We also recognised that social innovation can exist at several interrelated levels: bottom up participative actions to deal with a shared problem or social need at a local level; innovative responses from social actors to broader societal challenges for the greater good; and innovations in public governance to create conditions in which social innovation can flourish.

In these cases social innovation can be said to contribute to improving links between disadvantaged (young) people's needs, strategies and own resources on the one hand, and societal needs and resources on the other. In this regard, actions aimed at improving the quality of the relations between citizens and government play a crucial role. It should be noted, that social innovation in this sense can imply "doing more and better", but also "doing less". Mainstream policies, especially the tightening of requirements attached to social welfare provisions, which seems to be a common response to the crisis in most EU countries, can have adverse effects (often unintended), excluding some people rather than including them.

Minimising adverse effects of mainstream policies can also be seen as social innovation. This can be considered to be a second meaning of social innovation. Creatively keeping up the same level of services in times of economic crisis and budget cuts can be seen as a third meaning of social innovation. In the delivery of services there is room for more effectiveness and efficiency, as generally a lot of time and energy is spent on eligibility, control and management issues rather than on achieving results. Creative ways to shift the balance between satisfying taxpayers demands and meeting the needs of the clients of services can be regarded as a form of social innovation. Recent political discourse has seen an emphasis on shifts in 'responsibility' to individuals and communities, symbolised in the 'Big society', for example, in the UK. Such initiatives aim to break dependency on publicly funded support; yet can end up causing resentment among groups who feel a loss of legitimacy for their needs. This is also the case with wealth redistribution measures such as spending directed toward older care at the expense of young people. Also while volunteering may provide people who have otherwise been rendered 'useless' (Sennett 2006: 189) to be recognised as useful, the take-up of this can be hampered by the lack of recognition conferred by the state interpreted in the level of resources committed to volunteering. The project, therefore, emphasized the proactive engagement and co-option of social innovations by local government as crucial to legitimizing and sustaining action against the challenges of youth unemployment and tackling inequalities in a post-crisis Europe.

In a different understanding, social innovation does not result from government or third sector policies, but rather from technological and cultural developments. This is the case, for example, with new communications technology (such as mobile phones, social media, online communities). This is changing the way (young) people communicate, exchange information and views, and create new meaning together; or the way that media production technology that is now available on laptops has changed the making of popular culture. In these cases, a challenge for social policies is how to link to such developments, how to incorporate social innovations into the development and delivery of policies.

We found these to be helpful categories for analysing structures and processes which lead to or underpin innovative initiatives across different social groups. It also appeared that much of the literature on social innovation did not explicitly identify young people as either a key target group for social innovation, nor a key source of socially innovative practices. Little research seemed to have been done which focused exclusively on innovative social practices *by and for young people* to combat inequalities. Yet it would seem that many young people lack the resilience to overcome the repeated setbacks they experience in trying to overcome multiple barriers to inclusion, and at the same time it would also appear that many young people play an active part in social innovations already taking place.

It has been suggested that sustained and repetitive exposure to social and economic ills saps the collective spirit and therefore ultimately increases the vulnerability of those exposed to social and economic pathologies (Elstad, 1998; Kreiger, 2004; Berkman et al, 2000). This project sought to further explore the benefit to governments of being more innovative in nurturing and developing social intelligence and emotional resilience skills of young people beyond the school system in order to improve their chances of accessing the labour market and participating in civil society (McNeil 2011).

Although it is clear that a growing proportion of young people among the European population are vulnerable to 'precarious jobs, low pay and little social protection and health care', our initial hypothesis was that they may not only make up a disproportionate part of the problem (i.e. social inequalities), but also – potentially – contribute disproportionately to finding solutions. Young people are 'at the forefront' of many social developments, e.g. the use of social media, internet and online communities. In addition a number of different groups have developed innovative strategies for surviving such circumstances and some disadvantaged communities such as ethnic minorities display a greater resilience in the face of such challenges than others.

2.1.4 The urban dimension – communities as ‘sites of action’ rather than static containers of people

Whilst all levels of government are increasingly concerned by these issues, it is in cities that the problems are most clearly demonstrated and where some of the most innovative solutions are most likely to be found. There is a real need to create a sociability of content in order to generate innovation in societies that are becoming more and more complex.

Maintaining the same level of public services in times of economic crisis and budget cuts, certainly requires creativity. There is a real need and potential for innovation in the public sector, because it must increase its efficiency (budget constraints) and also deliver new and better quality services that respond to users' evolving needs and expectations. Over the past decade, there has been a move towards new forms of public/private and public/not for profit sector initiatives in cities aimed at tackling some of the longstanding societal issues which have been perceived to hold back economic growth. These have very often been targeted at young people who not only make up an increasing proportion of the overall urban population but include those who are amongst the most marginalised and vulnerable in society. Being often small scale, uncoordinated and under resourced, however, such initiatives have had limited impact beyond their immediate target group or area. Nevertheless, they may offer insights into social innovative practices from the perspective of both the client groups (or users) and the public and private organisations responsible for their design and delivery. In addition, there is a growing body of evidence which indicates that at the city level new forms of communication, social organisation and interaction between young people are leading to new types of economic activity, new ways of working and engaging with civil society.

This project, therefore, recognised the importance and centrality of existing structures of city and local government – but also sought to examine new ways of both engaging young people and of harnessing the creativity and innovation that arises among young people themselves in response to the recent challenges. The success factors at play, that are relevant for transferability, would not only be sought in the concrete form of, and ideas underlying, a socially innovative project or initiative, but also in the processes leading to a project or initiative.

A key objective of the project, then, was to uncover the various strategies for navigating, surviving and overcoming inequality that have emerged and are emerging, particularly among young people, in deprived parts of large cities. Through in-depth ethnographic research (see Chapter 2) with a range of stakeholders the project looked to uncover the conditions and resources that give rise to these ‘innovations’. We also aimed to map the current state of play

with regards to policy and practice aimed at tackling inequalities and the extent to which these register the changing demographic landscape of inequalities as this manifests in large urban centres of EU cities today. The project also examined the extent to which these strategies might be regarded as socially innovative and explore ways in which such strategies are transferable to contexts across Europe. This ‘top-level intervention’ would be complimented with detailed case studies of innovative strategies that exist at the everyday level among young people and disadvantaged groups, and which help them mitigate against the effects of deprivation and civic disengagement.

In assessing innovative social practices that exist among marginalised groups and young people in particular, the project paid particular attention to the changed/changing demographic profile of large urban centres within 10 EU cities that can be characterised as ‘super diverse’. Thus, bringing into the analysis the experience of settled minority ethnic groups and the emergent generations of minority ethnic youth, as well as newly migrant communities who tend to be disproportionately concentrated in post-industrial urban centres of EU cities.

In order to address these important issues, CITISPYCE brought together key stakeholders from across Europe that together had knowledge and experience of the issues and/or direct links to the communities and young people who were the focus of this project. They included:

- Universities
- Cities
- NGOs
- Representatives of civil society e.g. trades unions

Experts and practitioners from cities across 10 European countries worked on a three year multidisciplinary, multisectoral programme to examine the current state of the art concerning social innovation against inequalities faced by young people, particularly those disadvantaged by ethnic origin, cultural background, area of living, family and educational and economic situation. It also set out to test the transferability of local models of innovative practice in order to develop new policy approaches for the fostering of innovative social practices to combat youth inequalities across Europe. We did this at local, national and European levels by building on institutional and policy linkages that the key stakeholders in cities already had with each other locally, regionally and internationally in their own fields and with a range of public authorities.

In addition to the main consortium members and their local stakeholders, partners drew on the expertise of their own networks. For example, at least 10 consortium partners were either

members of the EUROCITIES network themselves (Birmingham, Krakow and Malmo) or are organisations and institutions working closely with their 'home' municipality that belonged to the same network. This provided an invaluable resource as local actors who witness social problems on the ground often have a clearer insight than national governments or EU institutions. Research was facilitated through these well-established relationships e.g. between the NGOs, KMOP in Athens and the municipality of Korydallos and PlusConfidence with the City of Rotterdam or Masaryk University and the City of Brno. Not only were these actors used to undertaking joint research but they were also accustomed to collaborating on piloting new initiatives and on monitoring and evaluation of policies and their implementation.

2.2 Aims and Objectives

2.2.1 Overall objective

The objectives of the project were set in the framework of the **Social Innovation Europe Initiative** and followed on from the establishment of **the European Platform against Poverty**, the **Social Innovation Pilot** within the **European Social Fund**, the **PROGRESS** programme and the focus on young people and employment through **Youth on the Move** and **New Skills for New Jobs**.

They came together around the key question:

In the rapidly redrawn landscape of deprivation and inequalities across Europe, how might policymakers (at local, national and EU levels) be assisted in their objectives to tackle inequalities through learning from innovative strategies developed for and by young people and particularly those from marginalised groups in major European cities, including an elaboration of the resources and technologies at the heart of these social innovations?

Among the outcomes the project envisaged were: a contribution to the knowledge base (for utilisation at local, national and EU policy and practitioner level) of the complex ways youth inequalities manifest themselves in the current economic climate; a contribution to the development of measurement frameworks on the characteristics of social innovation, particularly in relation to young people; a contribution to the knowledge base concerning the conditions in which social innovation can flourish so that policy-makers and practitioners will be better able to compare, validate, scale-up and monitor such initiatives or more easily transfer good practices. This top-level intervention would be complemented by detailed case studies of innovative

strategies (see chapters 6,7 & 8) that exist at the everyday level among young people and disadvantaged groups, and which help them mitigate against the effects of deprivation and civic disengagement.

2.2.2 Specific CITISPYCE Objectives

CITISPYCE had seven key objectives in order to try and enhance these policies and contribute to combating persistent socio-economic inequalities facing young people in Europe. They were as follows:

- To examine the current state of play with regards to policy and practice aimed at tackling inequalities, the extent to which these register the changing demographic landscape of inequalities as manifested in large urban centres of EU cities today and show evidence of a changing structural response involving social innovation, particularly towards young people;
- To gain a better understanding of how and to what the extent the public sectors of Member States innovate in dealing with the issues facing disadvantaged young people and what policy responses may be needed to enhance social innovation in the public sector;
- To map the changing demographic landscape of inequalities as manifested in large urban centres within the EU today and the particular challenges facing young people disadvantaged by reason of ethnic origin, cultural background, neighbourhood, family and educational and economic situation.
- To uncover the various strategies for navigating, surviving and overcoming inequality that have emerged, and are emerging, among young people aged 16 to 24, particularly in deprived parts of large cities, analysing their potential for providing more effective and efficient social support in post-crisis Europe;
- To examine the extent to which these strategies might be regarded as socially innovative and explore ways in which such strategies might be transferable to contexts across Europe and could be scaled up from city to transnational level through multi-disciplinary networking across Europe and the exchange of ideas and personnel from, and between, a wide variety of stakeholders.

- To develop a policy approach and make recommendations as to how bottom up initiatives might be encouraged by stakeholders and thus help shape the formal practices of policy making and implementation at local, national and European levels of measures to support social innovation to combat inequalities;
- To contribute to the delivery of the goals of the European Platform against Poverty and to assist in moving towards the goals set out in the European Commission's Innovation Union and Europe 2020 strategies, particularly the use of social innovation to find smart solutions in post-crisis Europe, especially in terms of more effective and efficient social support.

2.3 Progress beyond the State of Art

2.3.1 State of the art

Urban context and local policies for young people

Local governments have for many years been striving to fight exclusion of young people. Many cities have developed better insights into difficult to reach groups, now often referred to as NEETs: (young people not in education, employment or training). Also, in many cities special projects and approaches have been and are being developed aimed at these groups. Such positive local examples are, however, unfortunately the exception and could be used to inspire others. Recent data showed that due to the economic crisis, from 2008 – 2010, the number of NEETs has risen (again) in all countries, with today some 7.5 Million people being affected⁶. Special efforts to fight exclusion of young people exist alongside a tightening of conditionality of welfare state services in reaction to the crises. Even though many local governments devote intensive energies to combating social inequalities among young people, it is often the case that NEETs are partly being created through exclusionary effects of (other) mainstream policies, that follow from a stronger emphasis on 'responsibility' of individuals and communities (Spies 1996).

Social inequalities

There is a wealth of research on social inequalities. The general conclusion that we drew from this is that social inequalities seem to be increasing rather than decreasing; that attempts to counter inequalities through amongst other things: education and labour market policies may

⁶ European Commission 2011: Youth Opportunities, Com, 933, Brussels

reproduce inequalities as much as they decrease these; and that social inequality is more than income inequality (OECD 2011b).

Much of the academic and political interest in youth unemployment has focused on the low pay and temporary work that characterizes young peoples' employment experience and on the numbers of young people who have given up looking for work being at an all-time high. There are also wider social effects such as emigration, which threaten the future demographic profile of countries such as Portugal, Italy, Ireland in particular, and the potential for social unrest as experienced in Greece, Spain and the UK (WSJ 2011, Economist 2011).

Research shows the disproportionate impact of the economic crisis on young people across Europe, including in excessively high levels of youth unemployment and threats to the social provision enjoyed by previous generations. The OECD Employment Outlook 2011 points to the complexity of the challenge of youth unemployment when considering the difference in levels of young people unemployed across OECD countries ranging from 8.7% in the Netherlands to 41.6% in Spain. ILO data suggests that, while youth unemployment has risen across the world as a result of global economic downturn, developed economies including EU nations and central and Eastern Europe show the greatest increases in youth unemployment between 2007 and 2009. Young workers are more likely to be concentrated in precarious work and/or the informal sector. The disproportionate impact of the financial crisis on the employment prospects of young people has a longer term consequence as young people may find themselves unable to re-enter the labour market even when the economic climate improves. For this reason, it has been argued that resources must be devoted to assisting young people to access employment or remain connected to the labour market (IZA 2009). There is evidence that, while young people face challenges in accessing employment across Europe, there are different experiences across locations and nations.

Commentators have also stressed the emotional effects; for example, that periods of unemployment can lead to spells of joblessness later; the effect of the 'wage scar' on unemployed youth who can expect to earn less than people with experiences of continuous employment; young people being channelled into 'non-regular jobs' (as experienced in Japan and Spain); low pay and reduced prospects for professional development and career progression, and 'youth left behind' (OECD 2011a). There is also the impact on family life from young people staying at home longer such as the 'full nest syndrome'. While family support structures help cushion against the effects of unemployment, young people staying at home are also more likely to be unemployed than those living alone (CGIL 2011, Travis 2009).

Deprivation and inequality have well documented effects on individuals and groups, some of these are captured in quantitative measures that describe conditions of health or housing; or levels of attainment in education, employment/unemployment; income, crime, cleanliness of areas. These are mostly relative measures. They provide us with a single stable picture and tangible concepts of deprivation and poverty to work with in regeneration or anti-poverty work. Critics have argued that such measures of poverty and deprivation leave us with impressions of people who are incapable or with little or no agency and that static, quantitative measures alone can be damning of their capacities (Sen 1997).

We know that among young people, certain groups face extreme barriers to the labour market and in access to usable welfare and education provision (Schröder & Seukwa 2007). There is also evidence, however, that some young people have chosen (or been forced) to re-imagine entry into the labour market through their own innovations in economic and social entrepreneurship. This has also been a focus of KATARSIS, a coordinated action in the framework 6 program. These varied forms of entrepreneurship among young people include imaginative engagement with the possibilities of youth culture, including alternative understandings of politics, culture and public space and adaptations of approaches to business and innovation that have been developed in response to social exclusion and/or extremely limited opportunities in Europe or in other locations (Seukwa 2007, Pratt 2009).

The spatial dimension of inequalities has been widely discussed in urban studies, a focus point being residential segregation and neighbourhood effects that put an additional burden on individuals and households living in deprived areas. Findings are, however, mixed. There are many assumptions but no clear evidence that segregation reinforces social exclusion or that social mix, on the contrary, would promote inclusion (Musterd & Ostendorf 2005). So-called “deprived neighbourhoods” can play different roles for different groups living in such an area, resources and infrastructure that may be helpful for some might be less appropriate for others. A key lesson from this literature is that the assumption, a neighbourhood could equal a “local community” – which underpins many regeneration strategies - is oversimplifying and flawed (Lawless 2011).

Social innovation

We recognised that the research base on social innovation was quite broad, making it difficult to identify a clear picture. Some authors argue that social innovation cannot be classified, and is contextual: what is innovative in one context or country may not be innovative in another context

or country. On the other hand, other authors call for a general theory of social innovation (Hamaleinen & Heiskala 1997). There are also theoretical attempts at conceptual clarification and for developing a more encompassing, holistic view (e.g. ALMOLIN from the SINGOCOM project), linked to case studies in deprived city areas.

Social innovation has been tied to privatisation of services, and is often regarded as tied to private or third sector agency. On the other hand, cities and the EURO CITIES network also attempt to stimulate innovation of their own 'government' policy delivery.

Social innovation is tied to different levels: 'meeting demands' (personalised services), 'societal local challenges' and 'systemic change'. It also concerns ways to attract funding. For example, the use of social impact bonds represents a way of bringing together capital (in the form of venture funding) and innovation. This is the way the UK government is moving by encouraging philanthropists to invest in innovative schemes through buying shares which will either rise or fall depending whether there has been an impact on levels of people offending or claiming benefits.

Empowerment is generally considered to be a key element of social innovation, but there is hardly any evidence nor literature on the evaluation of social innovation that could show how this is to be measured.

The sustainability of innovation relies on its fruits trickling-down and across classes. When it is fragmentary, it is uneven and harder to exploit. The literature on innovation points to the importance of stages and managing its diffusion. For example, the importance of trust and networks is what helps build social capital, yet social capital on its own does not foster economic growth (Tonkiss 2000), but does indirectly when it promotes innovation (Oakley/Pratt 2010).

Transfer and scaling up of successful small scale social innovation is challenging (Ibid). Cities are laboratories for social innovation. To understand processes of social innovation, the importance of micro-communities in the production and transmission of innovation, the importance of historical processes and institutions need to be valued. The proximity of these spaces to formal economic sectors and the transience they foster of new groups passing through, contributes to unique qualities for innovation to prosper. These are characteristics to be found in densely populated areas of large cities (Oakley & Pratt 2010).

The EU relies strongly on social innovation for reaching the 2020 goals. Over the past two decades EU governments and statutory agencies, in their various reform agendas, have looked to

a range of innovations to enable the targeting of vulnerable and hard to reach groups while also promoting efficiency in the use of resources.

2.3.2 Going beyond the state of the art

Studies of young people tend to focus on the experience of school years and school effects on young people's subjectivities in which young peoples' lives are assumed to follow a trajectory that can be mapped from school through further education and into employment. Given the rising trend in numbers of young people unemployed across the EU, coupled with some of the social issues identified above, there is an urgent need to re-evaluate this trajectory and consider how to intervene in what are likely to be very uncertain times for significant numbers of young people.

Much work has been done that places young people in the midst of shifts taking place at global and national levels; youth identities in times of transformation – globalisation, competitive and achievement centred educational systems, celebrity culture and how these generate dispositions of self-control and individualisation. There has been little attention to youth cultures and practices among educated, highly networked and technologically adept young people at the intersection of shrinking economic opportunity, their relations with institutional structures deemed to be at the heart of the recent economic crisis and how the life-worlds of young people are influenced and formed by the use of social media.

CIVICWEB (FP6) has provided some insights into the use of the internet by young people. The CITISPYCE project will look at, among others, to what extent online communities affect young people in deprived neighbourhoods, and to what extent young people access public space and participate and/or create public arenas, including through cultural activity.

Collectivity, culture and intimacy - features associated with young people – become threatened as opportunities shrink in the current economic climate. Yet, despite the extreme challenges facing many young people across Europe, recent months have seen a resurgence of civic action led by young people, ranging from protest movements that re-imagine the space of the political, including through creative expression to new spaces of civic engagement to new forms of entrepreneurial activity. Some work has suggested that youth entrepreneurship is a result of limited economic opportunities and often lacks suitable business knowledge and support (ILO). Other studies, however, suggest that youth entrepreneurship in new industries can offer a model of local innovation that negotiates the barriers to economic participation.

Therefore, we recognised that in the post-crisis period, social policies will need to link to (a) changes in the way people communicate and produce meaning, changing public spaces and arenas (b) changing inequalities - by also focusing on descendants of migrants and the way they are influenced by experiences of exclusion, and the way they influence youth cultures, strategies, resilience, resources that young people develop, and the way this can be strengthened, as young people are generally more in 'learning and discovering mode' than other target groups (European Youth Forum 2010).

In conceiving the project, then, we acknowledged that Social Innovation can mean different things and that it can relate to processes and outcomes. We, therefore, set out to develop a classification for a structured collection of evidence and examples. But as the aim of this project was to not only describe and categorise, but also actively pilot socially innovative practices, we took a normative action perspective: we considered as social innovation those practices outside, or reforms from inside, mainstream policies that contribute to strengthening young people's resilience, either through protecting them against adverse (excluding) effects of mainstream policies, or through closing the gap between policies and policy-subjects.

The project sought to go beyond the state of the art in a number of important respects:

- It looked at dynamic changes in social inequalities (i.e. changes in the problem we are trying to solve).
- The project set out to develop a framework for conceiving inequalities that would be dynamic and interpreted changing circumstances and conditions in the lives of people affected by economic change and welfare retrenchment. In particular, this placed an emphasis on identifying causes and symptoms of inequalities and relating young people's responses to the extent that they addressed the causes of inequalities
- The project pointed to different needs that are not recognized by existing welfare services and existing quantitative poverty measures.
- Through its distinct aims, methods and nature of partners, the project pursued this by focusing on the micro-scale, individual practices and local communities, and by asking: how can policy makers and practitioners embrace some of the ambiguities that exist in deprived neighbourhoods toward tackling inequalities? - The project also proposed that a local focus not only enables a clearer picture of the deprivation and inequality that exist in places, but also enables a closer and up to date mapping of the forces that shape these (Allen 2006, Padovani & Guentner 2007). This offered a valuable new framework within

which to conceive and develop policies for fostering social innovation by and for young people.

- The project recognized that economic crisis and austerity measures produce more uncertainty in the lives of those affected; they prompt people to make adjustments to their lives to adapt to short term economic opportunities; people are forced to re-make themselves through having to re-skill for example, orienting themselves to opportunities as they might arise. Past experiences matter for little as ‘potential abilities’ come into play (Sennett 2006). In this situation, and in particular for most vulnerable groups and areas, the concept of resilience gains importance and demands further attention (Betty & Cole 2010).
- It emphasised the intersections between single determinants of inequalities (that still dominate much of the research and practice in this area) and that it is within the interstices and the density of diversity, age and economic situation that new forms of survival and creativity emerge (Keith 2005).
- It recognized the need to go beyond seeing social innovations in just a celebratory way. Social innovations are reactive devices, defensive mechanisms used to navigate adverse conditions, in most cases they may be the product of very local conditions and specific histories and, therefore, do not lend themselves well to being easily transferable from one place or community to another. Indeed, this may be a reason why such innovations resist becoming mainstream. The project, thus, analysed innovations in light of the various factors both specific to local spaces and shared across cities, to arrive at a typology of characteristics that can help policy makers target resources effectively.
- The project investigated the impact on social innovation of the distance that has appeared as welfare regimes have retracted and global neo-liberal market places have emerged. In this sense innovations are not hampered by distance between formal and informal institutions. Yet in some neighbourhoods the distance between formal structures and the neighbourhood level has widened to expose worrying levels of disengagement between deprived neighbourhoods, institutions of the city as well as other neighbourhoods and communities. The project was interested in social innovations that have managed to thrive within an element of distance (this acknowledges the reality that shrinking public finances will mean less spending) and aimed at uncovering the strategies such

innovations employ enabling them to maintain a critical relationship with institutions; what forms of technology are utilised; and what social and cultural capital is at play.

- It combined a descriptive and an action-oriented approach of social innovation; an ‘outside’ look at forms, actors, aims, organisations and so on, often associated with a policymakers perspective, with an ‘inside’ look at methods, good practices, ways of thinking and acting, normally associated with practitioners, to identify reproducible success factors.
- It suggested that at European and National government level there is less emphasis on the hardest to reach in communities where worklessness has persisted for generations and the lack of role models that creates aspiration gaps. At this level, one to one interventions championed by third sector organizations, civil society initiatives are considered to have more impact as they seek to tailor responses to local needs. This project seeks to intervene by bringing together actors from local government, civil society and from within deprived communities to help impact youth unemployment across 10 EU states.
- It focused on disadvantaged geographical areas within cities to go beyond the gap between official policies and social reality, gain better insights into problems as they are experienced by people living and working there, as well as into the visibility and impact of policies and projects (government, private and third sector) aimed at young people in their contexts;
- It built on the concept of resilience and coping strategies of young people that take their own capacities as a starting point, opposing the dominant concept of vulnerability (Theron et al 2011, Seukwa 2007).

Existing methods of understanding and addressing inequality have assumed that disadvantage is faced by a minority who can be assisted into full participation, whether that is conceived in economic or civic terms. As a result, measures to combat inequality have tended to be top-down initiatives that seek to engage disadvantaged groups, often with varying levels of success. Such approaches reflect a period when it was assumed that inequality occurred in known and predictable patterns – with policy-makers confident of their ability to identify the disadvantaged. The recent period of austerity has altered the map of inequality and disadvantage – so now, arguably, a far wider range of people face inequality in some aspect or other, including through the rapid loss or erosion of social welfare.

Taking a variation of the capabilities approach (Sen 1983, 1985, 1997) as a starting point, the project placed a spotlight on capabilities that exist within people/groups/areas and investigate how these can be supported. This in some part meant a shift in the way cities approach problems of inequality and deprivation, but which may be urgent in the current climate of shrinking welfare resources and public spending and, therefore, reduced capacities of governments to invest in designing new interventions.

Recognizing capabilities that already exist, mapping the resources and factors that enable these and the outcomes they affect; may be a prudent way of addressing new inequalities. The project aimed to bridge the gap between policymakers, practitioners and commissioners and spaces of vulnerability by supporting commissioners of services to recognise people's capabilities and co-opt these within policy planning to enable people to use those to solve problems (see Chapters 6,7,8 and 9). The project combined various disciplinary perspectives around the interaction between policy spaces and life worlds (see Chapter 2). The project placed a focus on person – and capacity-centred design and delivery of policies (moving from participation to coproduction) and on innovations in increasing effectiveness and efficiency (see Chapter 8).

2.4 Overall Implementation of the Project

The project was split in to a number of phases of fieldwork (work packages 2-4) followed by a series of practical activities in which young people, policy makers and practitioners were brought together to explore socially innovative practices being developed by and for young people in urban areas to improve their ability to participate in economic activity and to engage in civil society.

In the next section of this report we summarise key points from each of the work packages, which included:

- A baseline study in each of the 10 countries and designated cities, including a survey of employment, housing, education policy frameworks, post-recession changes and income inequalities as well as an analysis of the definition of /understanding of inequalities and social innovation relating to young people in these cities;
- A first phase of fieldwork to examine the attitudes and perceptions of policy-makers and practitioners in the public sector and other key stakeholders towards dealing with inequalities facing disadvantaged young people;

- A second phase of fieldwork to examine young people's self-generated activity to challenge economic and social barriers and the potential of such innovation to combat both longstanding and more recently emerging forms of inequality;
- Analysis of findings in order to identify possible ways of improving knowledge transfer between 'clients' (young people) and policy-makers at local, regional, national and European levels and possibilities for the scaling up and transferability of social innovation initiatives to combat inequalities by and for young people across Europe;
- Exploring the potential for the transfer of socially innovative practices developed in one location to other locations across Europe.

The quality and consistency of research that underpinned the project was assured through detailed determination at the outset of the methodologies to be used and regular monitoring throughout by the Scientific Supervisor responsible for this aspect of the project (see next chapter).

As a result of the above activity we also produced detailed case studies and draft policy recommendations (Chapter 9) that have been shared with a range of audiences including EU policy makers. To ensure the longevity of our findings we also developed a dedicated Cascading Network to ensure widespread dissemination (see Chapter 2).

A key focus of the project was to gain a better understanding of social innovation from the perspective of young people who experience the changing nature of inequalities on the ground. Thus, efforts were made throughout the course of the project to ensure participation from young people at the 'grassroots' as well as policy-makers and other 'official' stakeholders from formal as well as more informal structures. All partners were required to identify the most appropriate personnel for the different work packages and involve them in the work as necessary.

In summary, the CITISPYCE project attempted to provide a representative and 'well-rounded' approach towards the subject of social innovation against inequalities as they impact upon Europe's young people and particularly those from established or recently arrived minority ethnic communities. It addressed some of the challenging issues currently facing Europe in terms of the need to capitalise on its 'intangible' assets through the stimulation of greater innovation and will seek to provide solutions through exploring and exchanging good practice and testing new methodologies.

3. Key Outputs

This section of our final report features key findings from each of the research work packages as well as action phases of the project. More detail about the methodologies employed during these is laid out in Chapter 2: Methodological Framework and Approach.

3.1 The baseline study

The final comparative report from this first data gathering exercise highlighted various structural determinations and causes of inequality. It emphasised that all these structures do not actualise themselves; they always have to be actualised by people on the basis of their interpretations, understandings, interests etc; and there will always be scope for individuals and actors of various kinds, including politicians, to make a change. Ideas, desires and even dreams may have the potential to be actualised, but whether and to what extent they do get actualised depends on among else their coherence, but also the context that they are getting actualised in, regarding for example support. When they do get actualised, however, they are co-constitutive of social relations by assigning them with a certain meaning.

This report highlighted one such meaning-making with a profound implication for the inequality affecting young people and that is the neoliberal conceptualisation of social exclusion. Such a conceptualisation belongs to what can be called a problem-oriented approach. That means to take the problems for granted without paying attention to their underlying causes. This approach restricts itself to what seems to be and draws attention away from the injustices among the included. It blames the victims because they seem to be the problem. A problem-oriented approach is NOT premised on critical realism.

The report also claimed the existence of social exclusion and that we should talk about it, but both as a process and as a state. As a state, some of the individual national reports from the ten partners in the project contain descriptions of what it means. As a process, it occurs on conditions determined by society. In order to clarify these conditions, Levitas' distinction between the three definitions of social exclusion can be used, but seen as three different aspects or criteria. Social exclusion may depend on that you do not have, do and/or feel what is required. If you do not have, you belong to the have-nots and that is the aspect emphasised by RED. Similarly, SID is concerned with the ones who could be called the do-nots while MUD deals with the feel-nots, i.e. those who do not express the "right" moral. At least one more aspect needs to be added, however, concerning those who do not want to be included and which can

therefore be called the want-nots. They cannot be identified on the basis of a process definition solely. Exclusion has not been done to them by others but by themselves.

A process definition does not recognise what the excluded want, have, do and/or feel. It presents the excluded only on the basis of what they do not want, have, do and/or feel. This makes these people (in our case, young people) appear as almost helpless. It becomes, therefore, our responsibility, those of us who happen to be included, to help them in again, or perhaps even force them to it. The process definition can thus quite easily be linked to patriarchal solutions. Therefore, defining social exclusion as a process has to be supplemented by defining it as a state (situation). Then, we do not need to assume what these people lack. Instead, it makes us attentive to what they actually want, have, do and/or feel. They want, have, do and feel perhaps not what is required to be included. But they probably want, have, do and feel something else. It may well be the potential for a positive societal development, if only society became liable to it.

This first data gathering exercise helped set the frame for the subsequent fieldwork phases. It shaped our subsequent investigations to look at an alternative approach than the problem-oriented one, which can be called potential-oriented. Such an approach paid attention to the potential (the real) whether it gets actualised or not. The concept of potential is used here in the Aristotelian sense, explained by Britannica as “existing in possibility: capable of development into actuality”, covering both the positive and the negative. Thus, some potential that does get actualised contributes to causing the inequality affecting young people. The main outcome of the baseline studies and the comparative report that brought these together, was to highlight such causes. On the basis of the analyses in that report, important conclusions were drawn that highlighted the needs for change and prospects for social innovation.

Firstly, the report presented another understanding of Europe; an understanding that underlined the dependence between the countries, to the advantage of some and to the disadvantage of others. Patterns of inequity are growing, certainly within cities but also between countries. Social innovations that aim to change causes need to take this into consideration. Indeed, the development and dissemination of such an understanding should be regarded as an important category of social innovations.

Secondly, such an understanding clarified the need of solutions that do not restrict themselves to individual neighbourhoods or even cities. There is a need for young people to get to know each other across Europe and address the causes of inequality collectively. The problems may express themselves in a particular neighbourhood or city but they depend to a high extent on a fundamentally flawed integration of Europe. Therefore, the solutions have to be European. Thus,

initiatives that show how young people can work jointly to combat the inequalities on a European scale should certainly be regarded as social innovations.

Thirdly, the report used a range of indicators, displaying several symptoms of inequality. Comparisons on the basis of these indicators revealed that young people were affected in different ways, across Europe. These differences become even more pronounced when the underlying causes are considered. The same symptom may have different causes. If all these symptoms of inequality have something in general, it is uncertainty. Young people in general across Europe are exposed to a growing uncertainty. Thus, social innovations that counteract this uncertainty should be given a high priority. As the Malmö report states, building social relations with mutual trust is a key for change.

Fourthly, the report has shown how financialisation has penetrated almost every aspect of European societies, also to the detriment of the productive sector and productive potential. There is a strong need of developing the productive sector and even to re-industrialize parts of Europe (Becker, Frieder Otto Wolf). What social innovations developed by and with young people can contribute to spread the work organization of discretionary learning? How can financialisation be revealed, dealt with in a competent way and even counteracted? Social innovations that respond to such questions should be more than welcome.

Fifthly, as Novy (2011: 249) has underlined, the welfare state has proved to be one of the most important social innovations of the 20th century and while successive Presidents of the European Commission have commented on this, the practice too often contradicts the rhetoric, however, and the welfare state is being dismantled across Europe. For example, the European Commission putting pressure on Sweden to abandon its universalist housing system when it plays such an important role in one of these “most effective social protection systems. The Netherlands has already abandoned its universalist housing system due to a similar pressure from the EC. There is an urgent need of social innovations that contribute to maintain the successful aspects of the welfare state and show how to improve it, instead of substituting it.

Sixthly, besides the uncertainty mentioned above, another general characteristic among young people across Europe is the lack of rights. The *EU Youth Strategy* addresses this and the second of its two overall objectives is to “promote the active citizenship, social inclusion and solidarity of all young people”. This is too often promoted, however, at arenas and in contexts where it does not mean much. In contrast, there is an urgent need of social innovations that show how young people can gain an influence where it means something, for example in the class room regarding the approach to knowledge and what to learn. How could trade unions become more

open to the needs of young people and collective agreements be developed in order to secure the rights of young people?

Seventhly, we should welcome social innovations that show how to take advantage of, support and actualise young people's positive potential. The Athens report (Avatangelou et al., 2013: 21) finds it important to emphasise, "that youth, have not yet resigned, but rather fight for their rights and all kinds of inequalities they are experiencing, through their calls for democracy and end of austerity measures on the streets and through various solidarity actions." The Barcelona report (Roiha et al., 2013: 22) expresses a similar belief in young people, underlining that "one of the traits that characterise many young people in the city is their active stand against injustice.

3.2 Fieldwork at the city and neighbourhood level

This first phase of fieldwork focused on the ten cities in the CITISPYCE project. Interviews were carried out with policy makers and practitioners in order to describe and analyse in a comprehensive way policies and infrastructure at neighbourhood level that might be working against social inequalities, with a particular focus on young people. For each city, two neighbourhoods were selected as case studies; availability, outreach, accessibility and quality of local social infrastructure, services and projects were assessed, underlying values, normative-cognitive frameworks and governance arrangements were deciphered. Particular emphasis was put on the relation and division of labour between state, non-governmental welfare organizations and small-scale bottom up initiatives at the local level.

It followed on from the baseline studies brought together in Chapter 3 below, which identified drivers of social inequality at a macro level. With these local case studies the CITISPYCE project turned to the meso-level.

The findings suggested that the "local" matters: good quality housing, good transport connections, a good school, sports or cultural association or youth club, a competent teacher or mentor can make a huge difference in the path of life of young people. In this phase of research, which included interviews with policy makers and practitioners based in the 20 case study areas from the ten European cities, we explored that areas, places and service facilities are three scale levels at which practices of "othering" manifest themselves, (re)producing, mitigating or even counteracting social inequalities.

The findings from this phase of research represented professional (and respectively: adult) views on the areas, and most of the interviewed experts were not themselves facing the hardship, deprivation, discrimination or exclusion they talked about. They see it, know of it or work with it through their professional and adult lenses. The perspectives of the young people experiencing these inequalities may well differ.

So, the findings need to be seen in the wider context of the CITISPYCE project. This phase focused on neighbourhoods and local services, which were conceptualised as a meso-level of society. But to really comprehend the role of this level, the findings needed to be balanced with factors that operate at macro-level and micro-level. Hence, we aimed to return to this material after the second phase of fieldwork (see next section).

The ten city reports were rich in what they revealed about the causes of inequalities. The comparative report (See Chapter 4) concentrated on those elements that point towards the significance of neighbourhoods and services as such. By this approach, we excluded in particular the at times dramatic stories of deprivation and precarious living conditions in those areas that relate to wider, not spatially bound phenomena such as discrimination against minority groups (irrespective of where they live) and, specifically pronounced in Athens, the financial and economic crisis. For young people, a most decisive of all local factors of inequalities might be schools. We briefly touched on education systems, as these are usually designed at regional and national level (the baseline study includes a look at education systems). Some of the case studies went into more depth on this, and the second phase of the fieldwork shed some light on how young people experience education and respective facilities and services.

The fieldwork revealed some ambivalences of social innovation: Fragmentation and piecemeal servicing appear to be a serious problem, local experts refer to the need of reliable infrastructure rather than new ideas, and past social innovations seem not to have sustainably mitigated social inequalities but in some cases even led to their reinforcing; and as recent policy fashions are met with reservation by practitioners, new supposed innovations need to be handled with care and put into perspective. We anticipated that new ideas would be piloted in the action phases of the CITISPYCE project, and that we may well think again in project formats (that may fit with funding rhythms and objectives). We should then at least be sensitive to the consequences and side-effects of formating and packaging practices and consider these in our concepts.

3.3 An ethnographic study within twenty deprived neighbourhoods

This phase of fieldwork with young people involved listening to their experiences in relation to the effects of the economic crisis impacts, which resonate on them and their prospects and participation, as well as in the constrained resources within their local neighbourhoods. It also involved observing young people's social and cultural practices as they sought to mitigate against the area effects identified in the previous phase of fieldwork and those of a shrunken economy and shifting macro political climate of welfare retrenchment outlined in the baseline studies.

The fieldwork revealed that there seems to be promise in young people being connected with alternative life worlds, such as things going on across the country or around the world, with young people being able to imagine and live a world beyond their neighbourhoods. What limited young people's sense of an outside (beyond their localities or limited frames of 'community' based on area or ethnicity) were their perceptions about statutory agencies and, more specifically, experiences of treatment at the hands of statutory agencies, such as the Police, educational establishments, careers services as well as macro-economic forces that had resulted in reduced opportunities for young people.

The combined effect of these forces tended to reinforce pathologies about young people, minority ethnic groups and deprived areas and ultimately new forms of inequality. In addition, the symbolic relegation imposed on highly segregated local neighbourhoods, has an explicit connection with how young people are perceived and how they perceive themselves. Improvements to resources and spaces within local neighbourhoods are part of their narrative, as well as the need to find ways to engage in society beyond the local area.

Young people were able to break away from limiting factors when connections were brokered *across* generations, spaces and ethnic groups and also *within* the constituency of young people as well. While young people themselves could initiate some of these, as illuminated in examples above of networks and innovative uses of social capital and space beyond their own neighbourhoods, the sustainability of innovations is a key next question.

The innovative practices we encountered were in their infancy but are nonetheless remarkable in a context of segregation, stigmatisation and resource constraints. Primary techniques and mechanisms for initiating innovations include: new forms of networking and movement around the city as well as the expansion of zones of familiarity for young people who might be

condemned to lives in deprived neighbourhoods. The ability to sustain innovations beyond initiation remains a challenge.

This phase of fieldwork also raised a further set of questions to explore. For example: how city authorities can work with young people to cultivate and enhance their social innovations. This may include: considering what actors are successfully engaging with young people with positive effects and finding ways of supporting these; nurturing spaces (public and private) that promote contact between young people to discover, experiment and innovate; brokering dialogue between bureaucracies and social/civic platforms serving young people; and providing signposts that help young people to make a successful transition from childhood to adulthood and which register the new vocabularies and risks that are at the heart of young people's lives.

3.4 Developing a Menu of Innovative Practices

After examining the causes and symptoms of social inequalities at the macro level, analysing the effects of deprived neighbourhoods in the (re)production of social inequalities among young people at the meso level, and gathering the perspectives of young people to overcome them at the micro level, a series of social innovations were identified in ten cities of the CITISPYCE project. A main task was to detect emerging themes related to the innovative practices against inequalities uncovered in the fieldwork and draw up a Menu that collates and structures them along key variables.

The Menu of Innovative Practices was based on a collection of 45 projects, initiatives and practices regarded as socially innovative to tackle, navigate and overcome social inequalities affecting young people in the ten mentioned cities. Such practices had been developed and fostered by public bodies, by associations, grass-root organisations or by groups of young people with varying degrees of organisation and different structures of governance.

In order to foster dialogue between researchers, policy makers practitioners and service users, an Interim Workshop was organised, at which a selection of projects was presented and discussed. Participants included interviewees from earlier phases of fieldwork and policy-makers or further stakeholders interested in testing innovations from elsewhere.

The Workshop was held in Krakow on 19 September 2014 with representatives of academics, stakeholders, policy-makers and young people from the ten cities, organised in two sessions. The sessions used interactive methods to foster debate and proved successful with regard to the reactions and feedback from young people invited, and the gathering of preliminary expressions of interest from policy-makers to implement pilots. Both the Menu and the workshop, in turn,

served as the basis to inform the selection and implementation of Pilot Actions in the next phase of the project.

3.5 Piloting innovative practices across the EU

In this initial phase of action nine pilots were set up in the consortium cities to test success factors identified in previous work packages, and to test the transferability of innovative approaches from one locale to the next. The success factors implemented in various ways and in various mixes were identified as:

- (1) building trust through empowerment, an individual integrated approach, and involvement and co-determination;
- (2) ‘communing’ through creating and strengthening supportive social networks;
- (3) Bridging through familiarising with social worlds they do not know.

The implementation of the pilots showed that a consistent philosophy underpinning a pilot, and its consistent application in design, method, management, marketing and professionalism, seemed to be the single most important success factor in mobilising young people and network-partners. Other factors that are mentioned in social innovation literature (Moulaert et al 2013), such as NGOs and strong leaders as important change agents, seemed less important in the implementation of the pilots.

The implementation of the pilots also showed that there are some tendencies in the operation of public organisation – such as an aversion to risk, policy silos and an emphasis on rules and regulations – that need to be overcome, for which ‘institutional entrepreneurs’ may be needed. Windows of opportunity were important for the selection and feasibility of pilots.

Initial assessments of the pilots showed that different, partly conflicting philosophies can all be successful when applied in the right context. Pedagogical, facilitating, supportive and compensatory approaches to implementing the success factors, all seemed promising in their respective contexts.

A typology was developed to systematise the different, predominant approaches and their appropriate contexts, based on Vobruba (2007), Levitas (2005) and Hersey & Blanchard (1977). Two central dimensions of ambition and ability are used to distinguish four different basic approaches and their implicit view of persons, and to distinguish four types of young people that these approaches link to:

- a predominantly pedagogical approach for young people motivated to participate in the secondary labour market, but unable to enter. This approach corresponds with the social integration discourse;
- a predominantly facilitating approach for young people able and motivated to work. This approach corresponds to a redistribution discourse;
- a predominantly supportive, participating approach for young people able and motivated for alternative forms of participation. This approach corresponds to a social innovation discourse in a narrow meaning;
- a predominantly compensatory, directive approach for young people in ‘survival mode’: unable and not motivated to participate in societies’ dominant areas of social inclusion. This approach corresponds to a moral underclass discourse, although with a strong emphasis on empowerment.

Among the pilots and especially case studies there were successful examples of each of these approaches, examples of (temporary) mismatches between an approach and participants’ ambitions and abilities, and examples of a development in approaches linked to the make-up of participants and their learning curve.

3.6 Case Studies

This important phase of action related activity offered up 21 case studies of pilot projects as well of the other innovative practices which were identified in the Menu of Innovative Practices. These included evidence on the design, implementation and outcomes of these innovative practices, their innovative elements as well as to their transferability. A key objective of this action phase of the project was, after completing the case studies and presenting them, to discuss the case studies and emerging policy implications (recommendations) with the stakeholders (during an evaluation workshop) and to formulate a list of recommendations (see Chapter 9).

The case studies represent ex-post evaluation studies which were focused on the design of the practices/projects, their implementation and their outcomes/effects. The purpose of evaluation was to provide a complex picture on what were the objectives and key activities (modus operandi), what were the implementation conditions like, the resources needed and the actors involved, the implementation processes, and finally, the outcomes. The links between the design, implementation and outcomes are in focus. Lastly, the context in which the practices/projects were implemented was also analysed. The methodology combined two approaches: theory driven evaluation and, as much as possible, alternative/practice driven evaluation.

In addition, the case studies were placed into the broader societal context of the cities, neighbourhoods, and also related to the existing (mainstream) policies for young people. The outputs from this action phase of the project went some way toward explaining how the social innovative practices (SIPs) addressed the causes and symptoms of social inequalities and which target groups of young people were participants in these practices. Next, the success factors were identified. Based on all of this, a draft list of policy recommendations was advanced.

3.7 Policy recommendations

Although there were clear limitations regarding the capacity of social innovative practices (SIPs) to change the structures of inequalities which are embedded in labour market structures or in welfare state/mainstream policies objectives and design. The innovative practices, however, could serve as ‘policy models’ or ‘policy guidelines’ for broader (mainstream) public policy reforms in addressing discrimination, neglect of the most disadvantaged and changing wrong approach consisting in policy of enforcement/work first activation. The *individual* or more localised causes of inequalities were addressed more extensively and intensively like lack of self-efficacy, empowerment, human and social capital/potential, creativity, personal development, trust, sociability, motivation and ambition.

The emerging policy recommendations represent a significant challenge since they suggest a change in paradigm is needed: to suppress the principles of conditionality and enforcement but involve young people instead by recognising their potential, empowering them, and helping them with their self-development. The related problem is stimulating and measuring “good policy making” - indications of empowerment, trust, personal and community development, participation and civic engagement are not considered to be a part of evaluation indicators of policies/projects. Similarly, job quality is not assessed by job placement indicators as long as more easily available indicators are in use. Although the recommendations address the national, regional and municipality levels of governance such changes could be extensively promoted and supported by the Commission among others through the conditions attached to relevant grant programmes and financial instruments.

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CHAPTER 2: The importance of listening: Adopting a qualitative methodology

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1. Introduction

This chapter explains and debates around the key methodological issues of the research project “Combating inequalities through innovative social practices of, and for, young people in cities across Europe: CITISPYCE” in terms of approaches, methods, techniques, tools and guides that have been applied in order to ensure a cohesive framework of interpretation, according to the objectives and rationale of this investigation. Whilst several methods have been applied, the framework of analysis has been qualitative with a strong reliance on ethnographic methods, namely as in-depth interviews, participant observation and focus groups. Secondary quantitative data has also been used prior to the fieldwork to frame the state of the art in each city. Due to the methodological strategy set out at the beginning of the project, we have been able to design and assess the methods for data collection and data analysis in a cross-national research by integrating both qualitative and quantitative data from a triangulated and complementary approach.

As an action-research project, CITISPYCE has also focused on the assessment of Socially Innovative Practices (SIPs) aimed to tackle social inequalities. This has implied the design of other methodological approaches to first identify and gather SIPs, implement and transfer some of them in pilot actions, and finally to analyse their impact and policy implications. This has posed several challenges in terms of interdisciplinary work, i.e. how to translate the needs and concerns of young people identified during the fieldwork into policy recommendations, considering the local policy contexts, gaps and failures. Yet, it has been this unusual

methodological approach what has enabled to grasp young people's voices from the ground and formulate recommendations at the policy level.

1.1 Research debate

This investigation reflexes upon the main debate on qualitative and multi-method research, arguing for the relevance of its nature when approaching a complex object of study such as the one CITISPYCE deals with. Qualitative research is of special importance to the study of social relations, owing to the pluralisation of life worlds. As Flick (1998) argues, key expressions for this pluralisation are the 'new obscurity' (Habermas 1985), the growing 'individualisation of ways of living and biographical patterns' (Beck 1986) and the dissolution of social inequalities into the new diversity of milieus, subcultures, lifestyles and ways of living (Hradil 1992). The lives of young people are, without doubt, a field of study which engenders a complex world of social relationships. In this sense, qualitative methods allow a deep understanding and comprehension of, in this case, young people's needs and concerns in the face of the economic crisis and growing social inequalities.

Rapid social change and the resulting diversification of life worlds are increasingly confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives. Traditional deductive methodologies – deriving research questions and hypotheses from theoretical models and testing them against empirical evidence – tend to fail in the differentiation of objects. Thus, research is increasingly encouraged to make use of inductive strategies: instead of starting from theories and testing them, 'sensitising concepts' are required to analyse social concepts (Flick 1998). The goal of the research is less to test the well already known (e.g. theories already formulated in advance) than the approach to discover and develop grounded theories (Charmaz, 2009).

This is linked to the complexity of the object of study. The object under study is the determining factor for choosing a method and not the other way around. Objects are not reduced to single variables, but are studied in their complexity and entirety in their everyday context. Therefore, the fields of study are not artificial situations in the laboratory, but the practices and interactions of the subjects in everyday life (Flick 1998). In this sense, it is important to frame the methods of study openly to maintain the necessary flexibility and fluidity towards the objects.

Following postmodernism theses, the era of big narratives and theories is over: locally, temporally and situationally limited narratives are now required (Flick 1998). As Geertz (1983) puts it, knowledge and practice are studied as *local* knowledge and practice. In a similar vein,

Toulmin (1990) discusses why modern sciences are dysfunctional and observes four tendencies in empirical social research: the return to the oral; the return to the particular, the return to the local and the return to the timely. Qualitative research is thus oriented towards analysing concrete cases in their temporal and local particularity, starting from people's expressions and activities in their local contexts.

Qualitative research is guided by certain features which differ from those of quantitative research. As Flick (1998) argues, these are: the appropriateness of methods and theories; the recognition and analysis of different perspectives (according to the diversity of participants' opinions); the researchers' reflections on their research as part of the process of knowledge production; and the variety of approaches and methods (e.g. based on visual or verbal data). Regarding the reflexivity of the social research, qualitative methods take the researcher's communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge production instead of excluding it as an intervening variable. The subjectivities of the researcher and of those being studied are part of the research process, from initial selection of topic to final reporting of results. While relevant for social research in general, issues of reflexivity are particularly salient for ethnographic research in which the involvement of the researcher in the society and culture of those being studied is particularly close. The term 'ethnography' is used to refer both to a particular form of research and to its eventual written product. Taking a broad interpretation of ethnography, this refers to "a research process based on fieldwork using a variety of (mainly qualitative) research techniques but including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time" (Aull Davies 1999: 4-5). In this investigation, researchers have undertaken ethnographic work during approximately four months in each city, spending time with young people, interviewing them and doing some focus groups.

Following Aull Davies (1999) philosophical foundation for doing ethnographic research, the main approach in this research incorporates insights from postmodernist perspectives, such as their attention to multiple perspectives and their critique of meta-narratives, while avoiding the extreme relativism and antipathy to generalized explanation that is essentially destructive of the research enterprise. According to the author, such foundation is to be found in Bhaskar's critical realism (see for instance Bhaskar et al 2008), which accepts the existence of a separate social reality whose transcendently real nature makes it a possible object of knowledge. In its recognition of the separation, yet interdependence, of the two levels of social structure and individual action, critical realism encourages a form of explanation that builds on the creative tension between theoretical abstraction and descriptive detail. The features of qualitative

research outlined above are in turn straight related to several principles which are of special relevance when carrying out fieldwork:

The principle of contextualisation

This is the process of critical reflection on the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audiences can see how the current situation under investigation emerged. This is especially relevant when using case studies.

The principle of interaction between the researchers and the subjects

Data is produced as a result of the social interaction between participants and researchers. Qualitative research therefore calls for the researcher to confront his/her own preconceptions and reflect on this process, i.e. the researcher should be aware of the fact that the interaction between him/herself and the participant may change the interpretation of the participant's experiences.

The principle of dialogical reasoning

This principle requires the researcher also to be critical with the principles and hypotheses that guided the original research plan, in order to perceive possible contradictions between the theoretical preconceptions of the research design and the actual findings, with subsequent cycles of revision.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, the triangulation approach is fundamental in the processes of data gathering and data analysis. This involves the application of different approaches, procedures and methods in order to obtain a complete picture of the reality from different perspectives, thus minimising the inference of a single viewpoint. It also allows the use of quantitative and qualitative sources overcoming the dichotomy between the two in favour of complementarities (Ragin 1987). Triangulation was first conceptualised as a strategy for validating results obtained with individual methods. The focus, however, later changed towards further enriching and completing knowledge, and towards transgressing the limited epistemological potentials of individual methods. Triangulation may also be used as an approach for further grounding the knowledge, by systematically extending and completing the possibilities of knowledge production (Flick 1998). Triangulation in data-gathering involves the use of different sources and techniques, whilst triangulation when analysing the data is ensured through the use of diverse indicators and theoretical elements. In the framework of the CITISPYCE investigation, the triangulation approach has allowed for comparison, reliability and

validity of findings, both within each national context, and also at the European level (cross-country analysis).

1.2 Research structure

The research has followed a structure based on four different phases, where each one has comprised its own methods and has reinforced each other, echoing the reflexivity of qualitative methods.

1st phase: The baseline study → This stage relates to the examination of the current state of play at EU, national and city levels with regard to tackling inequalities and fostering social innovation through key secondary statistical data.

2nd phase: Fieldwork → The first stage has focused on the description and analysis of policies, social infrastructure and specific projects working against social inequalities affecting youth in each partner city, zooming in on two deprived neighbourhoods, taking into account the opinions of ‘experts’ and stakeholders. The second stage has gathered the lived experience of social inequalities among young people in these areas, as well as their forms of civic engagement and resilience through an ethnographic study.

3rd phase: From research to policy → this phase has comprised three main tasks, following the rationale of the action-research. First, a selection of most innovative and effective practices against inequalities uncovered in the fieldwork, which may be feasible to transfer to a new context, were gathered in a Menu of Innovative Practices. Then, some of these were selected to implement pilot projects (in the majority of the cases, through the transfer of practices of one city to another). Last, a range of 20 case studies (informed by pilot actions and socially innovative practices) were analysed and assessed following evaluation theories.

4th phase: Policy recommendations → This final stage draws on the case studies, a policy workshop was organised to discuss key findings and policy implications, as well as to gather specific recommendations by areas. These were then put together and included in the present Final Report together with the rest of findings.

2. Research methods and fieldwork

2.1 Working with secondary data

The baseline study has been enriched with the use of secondary statistical data to frame the context in each city and country. This data has mainly referred to issues of inequality and the situation of young people in the labour market, education, housing and political participation. In particular, as the section 3.1 displays, the baseline study reports have looked at indicators such as youth unemployment rates and young people in temporary employment; at-risk-of-poverty and material deprivation rates; the mean age of young people leaving parental home; early school leavers and NEETs; and the level of participation of young people in political organisations/parties and in the elections.

The sources that have been used mainly refer to Eurostat and Eurofund (2012). The Labour Force Survey (2012) has been useful for the indicators related to youth unemployment and levels of education. The data on health status and determinants has served to analyse the access of young people to social and health services (e.g. those who have suffered psychological distress) or the scope of young people at-risk-of-poverty and suffering from material deprivation. The Flash Eurobarometer on youth has also been used to report issues of political participation.

Moreover, secondary data was used to select the deprived neighbourhoods in each city to undertake the fieldwork. These had to be socio-economically disadvantaged, with a significant number of young people and with a significant number of migrants or ethnic minorities too. To this aim, each city relied on local data sources comprising statistics on youth unemployment, average income, share of households dependent on social assistance, etc. In addition it gathered data on age structure and percentage of foreigners and ethnic minorities in comparison to the city-wide average.

2.2 Conducting qualitative interviews

Qualitative interviews have been conducted in the two stages of fieldwork to build a deep understanding of young people and social innovation at neighbourhood level. The interviews have been face-to-face and semi-structured, following the “natural conversation” approach (Gillham, 2000). Face-to-face interviews are especially useful where depth of meaning is important and where the research is focused on gaining insight and understanding. The specific instruments for conducting the interviews have been articulated in diverse common interview

guides. These were then adapted to the different types of informants (e.g. young people; policy officers) included in the study, the topics to be covered and each city context.

When contemplating interviews as a tool for social research, it is important to bear in mind a number of variables which could influence the outcome, namely: who is conducting the interview; who is being interviewed; the location of the interview; the form of questioning (Byrne, 2004); and the timing (e.g. the time of day, or whether enough time is set off for the interview). In other words, semi-structured interviews require attention to the interview context and the relationship between interviewee and interviewer beyond what is said (Aull Davies, 1999). This means that the interviewer should also be aware of *the way of listening* to the interviewee, keeping an open mind and listening for the context, the background and even the silences, aiming to go beyond what we know and our possible preconceptions. S/he should keep an “imaginative attention”, which entails noticing how small details in the interviewee’s story connect to larger contexts of public issues (Back, 2007).

The interviews were recorded, selectively transcribed and coded. A confidentiality letter was provided to respondents explaining the purpose and aims of the research and promising anonymity and confidentiality of the data.⁷ On the other hand, the leaders of each research teams have been responsible for ensuring that researchers conducting interviews were adequately prepared and trained, in lines with the project methodology guidelines.

2.3 The weight of Focus Groups

Focus groups have been applied within the ethnographic study when discussing the young people’s and community organisations’ experiences and perspectives on overcoming social inequalities. To this aim, a guide was elaborated with a rationale of why focus groups were needed and some general indications to bear in mind when designing and implementing them.

2.3.1 Why did we use focus groups?

Focus groups reveal a wealth of detailed information and deep insight. When well executed, a focus group creates an accepting environment that puts participants at ease allowing them to thoughtfully answer questions in their own words and add meaning to their answers. Participation in a well-run focus group should make people feel natural and comfortable to be

⁷ See section 7 of the present report for further information.

talking with a group of strangers. However, to achieve this, a good focus group requires planning beyond a mere invitation of a few key people to casually share their opinions about a topic

2.3.2 A CITISPYCE Focus Group

- For the purpose of this investigation, a focus group is understood as a small group of six to ten people led through an open discussion by a skilled moderator. The group needs to be large enough to generate rich discussion without leaving out relevant participants.
- The focus group moderator nurtures disclosure in an open and spontaneous format. The moderator's goal is to generate a maximum number of different ideas and opinions from as many different people in the time allotted.
- The ideal amount of time to set aside for a focus group is from 45 to 90 minutes.
- Focus groups are structured around a set of carefully predetermined questions – usually no more than 10 – but the discussion is free-flowing. Ideally, participant comments stimulate and influence the thinking and sharing of others. Some people even find themselves changing their thoughts and opinions during the group.
- A homogeneous group of strangers comprise the focus group. Homogeneity levels the playing field and reduces inhibitions among people who will probably never see each other again.
- It takes more than one focus group on any topic to produce valid results – usually three or four. You will know you've conducted enough groups (with the same set of questions) when you are not hearing anything new anymore, i.e. you've reached a point of saturation.

2.3.3 Recruiting and preparing participants

Participant inclusion/exclusion criteria were established upfront and based on the purpose of the study. In CITISPYCE, participants were selected, according to sampling criteria (e.g. belongingness/involvement in deprived neighbourhoods, age) related to the objectives and methods of the ethnographic study. A sample of participants is included in Section 4 of this Chapter.

2.3.4 Conducting the focus group

The focus group was conducted by a team consisting of a moderator and assistant moderator. The moderator facilitates the discussion, whilst the assistant takes notes and runs the recorder.

All participants completed a consent form provided by the Ethics Standards Committee⁸. Once consent forms and demographic surveys were collected and reviewed for completeness, the moderator used a prepared script to welcome participants, remind them of the purpose of the group and set ground rules. Before asking the first focus group question, an icebreaker can be inserted to increase comfort and level the playing field.

The focus group moderator has a responsibility to adequately cover all prepared questions within the time allotted. S/he also has a responsibility to get all participants to talk and fully explain their answers. Immediately after all participants leave, the moderator and assistant moderator debrief while the recorder is still running and label all tapes and notes with the date, time (if more than one group per day), and name of the group.

2.4 Participant observation

Participant observation is usually seen as the archetypal form of ethnographic research. The goal of participant observation can be defined as reducing the gap between the researcher's account of the situation and that of a participant in the situation. This means that the researcher wants to understand and interpret the situation in the same way as the participant would (Davies 1999).

The traditional form of participant observation implies spending a significant amount of time in a certain social or cultural context, with the researcher gaining understanding of a situation to such a degree that he/she is able to behave appropriately in the specific context. This method can, however, also be executed adapted to the needs of the research. In the case of CITISPYCE, the time frame for fieldwork was limited, so it was essentially about spending time with the research participants outside the interview situation and in the contexts relevant to their life worlds. This allowed for zooming in and familiarising with the case study neighbourhoods; making site visits to projects; and establishing informal contacts with young people in the selected areas.

In this manner, participation in the everyday lives of people was taken as a means of facilitating observation of behaviours and events as well as more open discussions with the research participants, gaining a better understanding of their worldview. While we should undertake the

⁸ For more detailed information on this Committee, please refer to section 7 of the present report.

participant observation with an open mind, trying to be free from preconceptions and not “steering” the situation, within this method use was also made of unstructured interviewing, a conversation in which the researcher still has particular directions of inquiry in mind (Flick 1998). To this aim the method was seen as ongoing (in contrast to a one-off event) and not perceived as restrained to a certain space. A further important aspect of participant observation was that the researcher tried not to instigate or programme the activities of the research participants for the purpose of the research, but rather “tag along” when they did their normal activities. In a final stage, observations were recorded through a field diary.

2.5 Site Visits

The site visits defined within the project were incorporated as part of the participant observation, but space-focused. Compared to participant observation in general, these visits were more about observing the interactions between people and space. However, the visits were also a way of starting out the observation and gaining access to research participants. In general terms, the visits were one-off events depending on the information to gather. Photos of the sites were useful to get a clearer idea of the social and urban environment and infrastructure of the selected deprived neighborhoods in each city.

3. Methodological tools and guides

The table below shows an overview of the research methods and techniques that have been applied in each phase, with their corresponding instruments and guides, and main outcomes.

Phase	Method / Techniques	Guides	Outcomes
Baseline study ⁹	Quantitative and qualitative desk-based research	Methodology plan	10 Country Reports
		Reporting guidelines	1 Comparative Report
1st Stage of Fieldwork: city and neighbourhood level ¹⁰	Analysis of policy documents Site visits of infrastructures	Methodology plan	146 Interviews
		Interview guidelines	10 City Reports

⁹ In the CITISPYCE context Baseline Study relates to Work Package 2

¹⁰ In the CITISPYCE context Stage of Fieldwork: city and neighbourhood level relates to Work Package 3

	Ethnographic methods including in-depth interviews	Sources to be reviewed in text analysis Templates for mapping Reporting guidelines	A set of maps of policy frameworks and interventions per city 1 Comparative Report
2nd Stage of Fieldwork: ethnographic study¹¹	Participant observation In-depth interviews Focus groups	Methodology plan Interview guidelines Focus groups guides Reporting outline	445 Interviews 28 focus groups 10 City Reports 1 Comparative Report
From research to policy¹²	Workshop with partners and stakeholders Pilot activities Case Studies	Template to select innovative practices Guidelines to design, set-up and implement pilot activities Guide to evaluate and analyse Case Studies	Menu of innovative practices & Interim workshop report Implementation of 9 pilot projects and report 20 Case Studies in web-based repository
Policy Recommendations¹³	Policy workshop and evaluation seminar	Background material and report for workshop	Policy recommendations Final Report

3.1 The baseline study

The rationale for the baseline study focused on the need to explore inequalities to be combated through innovative social practices of and for young people, concentrating on both the symptoms and the causes of such inequality. In line with this distinction a differentiation was also made

¹¹ In the CITISPYCE context Stage of Fieldwork: ethnographic study relates to Work Package 4

¹² In the CITISPYCE context activities framed in "From research to Policy" relate to Work Packages 5, 6 and 7

¹³ In the CITISPYCE context Stage Policy Recommendations relates to Work Packages 7 and 8

between two types of social innovations: symptom-oriented social innovations (compensating for symptoms/effects of inequalities) and cause-oriented social innovations (challenging the causes of inequalities at the structural level). It was important to consider that what is regarded as socially innovative in one city may be mainstreamed in another, depending on the different contexts. Also, whilst a typology of social innovations included more types than symptoms- and cause-oriented, the research at this stage emphasised the distinction between these two.

As the research progressed to gathering firsthand accounts from policy makers, practitioners and young people, it became apparent that causes and symptoms were in themselves complex. For example; what appeared to be a symptom could also be a cause. This revealed the complex workings of power manifest in the multiple layers of bureaucracy and governance that mediated relations between the economy and young people.

The research focused on four key objectives:

1. To examine the state of play of policy, practice and language used at EU, national and city levels with regard to tackling inequalities and fostering and supporting social innovation
2. To improve our understanding of the policy context across Europe within which public sector policy-makers and their social partners currently act.
3. To uncover the public sectors' policies and support directed at encouraging young people's economic activity and civic engagement at EU, national and city levels.
4. To identify the extent to which these policies register the changing demographic landscape of inequalities as manifested in large urban centres of EU cities today and show evidence of a changing structural response involving social innovation, particularly towards young people

Two observations moments took place: the first one dealt with the need to include EU, national and city levels. Secondly, the objectives were understood on the basis of the distinction between the two sides derived initially from the title of the project. Thus, the objectives concerned both the problems and the solutions, which meant dealing with the contexts of inequality on the one hand, and with policies and social innovations on the other. This was articulated in specific tasks:

- A macro-contextual picture of the study's 10 partner countries
- A qualitative case study evidence as part of a mixed-method research strategy
- Comparison of this picture with the EU as a whole

- Comparison of characteristics and patterns of Spain, UK, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Czech Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy and Greece
- In-depth examination of current policy, legislation and initiatives with regard to social innovation, inequalities and young people and their impacts on national and international instruments in relation to engaging community actions and promoting social cohesion
- Analysis of data to reveal the effects that recent political, economic, cultural and social shifts have had on social policies in Europe
- Focus on interpretations of inequalities and young people (16-24) and innovation in the social field

3.1.1 Five contextual areas

The five contextual areas consisted of societal structures and systems of crucial importance for young people. The focus was on the structural causes of inequality, also understood as the structural determinants or the generative mechanisms. Focusing on structural causes meant that the areas had to be defined analytically, bearing in mind that there could be significant overlaps and these were neither possible nor desirable to fully avoid. Therefore, the analysis had to be supplemented by a synthesis with an emphasis on the intersections.

These five areas are presented briefly below. They all contain both symptoms and causes of inequality. In each area, indicators of inequality were selected on the basis of various requirements: the indicators had to be well known and well defined at the European level. Other requirements were that data on these indicators had to exist at the EU and national levels, enabling comparisons between the countries. That may also make it likely that data existed at the city level, although this may not have been the case for all indicators. If not, well-grounded assessments made by partners were sufficient.

Most of the indicators were selected from the so-called “dashboard of EU youth indicators”, released by the EU Commission in spring 2011. They were also used in the latest *EU Youth Report*, published in September 2012 (European Commission, 2012a). This report includes data on all the indicators for each one of the countries involved in CITISPYCE. Besides the EU youth indicators, additional indicators were selected from a recently published report by the Eurofound (2012) called *NEETs – Young people not in employment, education or training*. The partners used the indicators as points of departures for the following work procedure:

- Indicators of inequality: partners were asked to find the corresponding data at the city level and when possible, showing variations within the city. If the data did not exist, well-grounded assessments were sufficient. The indicators were selected in order to indicate the symptoms of inequality, also allowing for comparisons between countries.
- Causes of inequality: in addition partners had to explain the causes behind them, with regard to each one of the five areas; i.e. to make the causes of inequality understandable.
- Structural policy support and response: partners had to examine the current state of play of policy, practice and language used at national and city levels with regard to tackling the symptoms and causes of these inequalities. For each one of the areas, the public sectors' policies and support directed at encouraging young people's activity and engagement had to be uncovered. Furthermore, partners had to identify the extent to which these policies register the inequalities and showed evidence of a changing structural response. A useful help and starting-point was advised to be the recently published *National Youth Reports 2012* (European Commission, 2012c).

The five contextual areas with their respective indicators are classified as follows:

1. Economy and labour market

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth unemployment and Long-term youth unemployment rate <p>Definition: Share of unemployed youth 15-24¹⁴ without a job for the last 12 months or more among all unemployed in this age group</p> <p>Source: Eurostat EU LFS.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 23)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth unemployment ratio <p>Definition: Share unemployed among total population (employed, unemployed and inactive), aged 15-24.</p> <p>Comment: This balances out differences in MS activity rates, influencing unemployment rates.</p> <p>Source: Eurostat LFS.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 22)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth employment rates, EU Member States, 2007 and 2011 <p>Reference: Eurofound (2012: 11)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people in temporary employment, EU Member States, 2007 and 2011 <p>Reference: Eurofound (2012: 16)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people in temporary employment because they could not find a permanent job, by country,

¹⁴ This is relatively flexible as age bands may be different at city level and also between cities/states.

2007 and 2011

Reference: Eurofound (2012: 17)

2. Welfare regimes

2.1 Access to social income, social and health services

- Psychological distress

Definition: Young people (15-24) having had psychological distress during the past four weeks.

Source: Eurostat, EHIS. ECHIM #38.

Reference: European Commission (2012a: 73)

- At-risk-of- poverty or exclusion rate for young people (18-24) compared to total population

Definition: The share of young people (18-24) at risk of poverty and/or severely materially deprived and/or living in a household with very low work intensity compared to total population.

Source: Eurostat EU SILC.

Reference: European Commission (2012a: 48)

- At-risk-of- poverty rate for young people (18-24) compared to total population

Definition: The share of young people (18-24) living in families with a disposable income below 60 % of the national average disposable income (after social transfers) compared to total population.

Source: Eurostat EU SILC.

Reference: European Commission (2012a: 50)

- Severe material deprivation rate for young people (18-24) compared to total population

Definition: Percentage of the population that cannot afford at least three of the following nine items: 1) to pay their rent, mortgage or utility bills; 2) to keep their home adequately warm; 3) to face unexpected expenses; 4) to eat meat or proteins regularly; 5) to go on holiday; or cannot afford to buy a: 6) TV 7) Refrigerator, 8) Car, 9) Telephone; compared to total population.

Source: Eurostat EU SILC. Reference: European Commission (2012a: 51)

2.2 Housing

- Mean age of young people leaving the parental household

Definition: Mean age of young people leaving home.

Source: Eurostat EU LFS.

Reference: European Commission (2012a: 47)

2.3 Education and training

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early leavers from education and training <p>Definition: Percentage of population aged 18-24 with at most lower secondary education and who is no longer in education or training.</p> <p>EU target: Less than 10 % by 2020.</p> <p>Source: Eurostat EU LFS.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 38)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people (20-24) having completed at least upper secondary education <p>Definition: Percentage of young people aged 20-24 (ISCED level 3c)</p> <p>Source: Eurostat EU LFS.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 36)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people not in employment, education or training (NEET) <p>Young people not in employment, education or training (NEET)</p> <p>Definition: Young people (age group 15-24 not in employment, nor in any education or training.</p> <p>Source: Eurostat LFS.</p>

3. Power, democracy, citizenship

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people's participation in political organisations/party or community/environmentally-oriented organisations <p>Definition: Self-reported participation in activities of a political organisation or political party or a local organisation aimed at improving their local community and/or local environment in the last 12 months. Age 15-30.</p> <p>Source: DG EAC Flash Eurobarometer on youth.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 81)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation of young people in political elections at local, regional, national or EU level <p>Definition: Percentage of young people aged 18-30 who declare that they participated in political elections at either local, regional, national or EU level in the last three years.</p> <p>Source: DG EAC Flash Eurobarometer on youth.</p> <p>Reference: European Commission (2012a: 77)</p>

3.1.2 Outline of the ten reports

The national reports were divided in three sections, considering the following transversal topics: the European context of increasing divisions and austerity; the EU response to the crisis, in

particular regarding young people; and key socio-demographic features as age, class, gender and origin/ethnicity. The key sections of the reports included: i) *a description of the city* in terms of socio-demographics (e.g. age groups, gender, ethnicity), the position in their country, the historical background, the cultural understandings, etc; ii) *inequalities in the cities and the response to them*: the symptoms and causes of inequality in the five areas as well as the policy support and response to it; and iii) *life for young people in the city*, with a more qualitative assessment of each city, using the results from previous sections but also adding new facts, impressions and experiences in a reflective way.

3.2 Fieldwork at the city and neighbourhood level

The first stage of fieldwork was aimed at achieving a comprehensive description and analysis of policies and social infrastructure working against social inequalities in selected neighbourhoods of each partner's city, with a particular focus on young people. Using the legislative frameworks to support young people (youth policy) and to promote equal opportunities more generally identified in the baseline study, this part of the fieldwork undertook a mapping exercise.

This included an agreed framework for description and analysis of policies, social infrastructure and specific projects working against social inequalities in each partner city, zooming in on two deprived neighbourhoods that formed the case study areas. These were selected, according to data gathered in the baseline study and available socio-economic indicators in regard with levels of deprivation. Social infrastructure and services available in the neighbourhood case study areas and specific projects in neighborhood areas to promote social innovation and fight inequalities were also visited.

3.2.1 Approach

This part of the fieldwork turned to local social infrastructure, services and projects, encompassing specifically their availability, outreach, accessibility and quality. It also looked at underlying values and normative-cognitive frameworks as well as governance arrangements and how they have emerged over time. Particular emphasis was put on the relation and division of labour between state, non-governmental welfare organisations and small-scale bottom-up initiatives at the local level. In addition to assessing what was in place, the analysis was extended to addressing how these policies were developed (e.g. bottom-up vs top-down, gradually vs rapidly...), discussing the extent to which local/regional policy-processes were open to participation of service users, residents and groups affected by the policies more generally.

The first stage of fieldwork focused on a territorial entity (neighbourhoods) whilst the second looked at life-worlds of individuals who lived in them but may as well use other parts of the city in their everyday life. Some landmarks approaches in urban theory inspired dividing these two parts of our research analytically, to later confront the respective findings and reflect on them in their complementarity. Nevertheless, the analysis in the first was crucial groundwork in itself. Based on the approach outlined here, the analysis went beyond a merely descriptive understanding of “mapping”. It allowed to understand why infrastructures, services and projects are in place, how they are run, whom they reach, etc.

3.2.2 Selection of Case Study areas

Case study areas involved between 5,000 and 50,000 persons in size, and were perceived by local people as a neighbourhood (relying on the assessment of the local experts), although this did not necessarily coincide with administrative boundaries. Moreover, they had to comply with the following description:

1. *Socioeconomic status* and deprivation measures. The key indicators (always compared to city-wide average) were: unemployment level, average income; at-risk-of-poverty rate; and share of households dependent on social assistance.
2. *Age structure*: a significant number of young people living in the areas (city-average or above). The indicators used were: children 0-14 in % of overall population; and young people 15-24 in % of the overall population.
3. *Migration and/or ethnicity*: the areas had to be diverse as regards the ethnic background of the population, with a number above city-average of immigrants, foreigners or ethnic minorities. This could have many expressions, be it a high number of one particular group or a more subtle and complex mix of different communities (super-diversity). The indicators used (always compared to city-average) were: foreigners in % of overall population (age groups 0-14 and 15-24); and ethnic minorities in % of overall population (and within the age groups 0-14 and 15-24).

Taken together, the three variables gave a first idea of the diversity in a city and its manifestation at the neighbourhood level. It was not expected for each city to follow the same indicators in selection but rather a plausible explanation on why these areas were reasonable sites for carrying out research. In addition, the two selected areas had to differ in terms of *social history*: one area with a longer history of immigration and an established group of former immigrants and/or

ethnic minorities that form a part of the local community; and one area with a less clear and established pattern of immigration and integration, and more recent dynamics. The areas also had to differ in terms of *opportunity structures*: one area with easy accessible and frequented public space and low-threshold social infrastructure, formal or informal meeting points for young people; and one area with a more monotonous urban environment with few opportunities for young people to meet.

3.2.3 Area analysis

The analysis was structured along two dimensions, treated in a dynamic way to trace why and how the situation of deprivation and inequality came about.

a) Socio-spatial development and characteristics

The analysis presented a story about the more recent social history of the area. Who is living there and why? This included housing (providers, allocation mechanisms), local economy (what type of industry and businesses were there, main patterns of employment), public space (opportunities to meet, etc). It had to provide explanations for the local social structure too. Why is the composition of the population as it is today? What is the relation of the area compared to the city as a whole (e.g. working class area close to industry, social housing area constructed in 1970s)? Have there been recent population dynamics, and why? Finally, it also enabled to look at the patterns of inequalities and discrimination with questions such as: have there been particular inequalities related to housing, economy, use of public space, health or other issues? On which grounds? Have there been incidences of discrimination related to housing, economy, use of public space? On which grounds?

b) Social infrastructure and social innovation

The analysis had to map the local social infrastructure: which services are in place? Then, it had to go beneath the surface and identify the historical configuration of infrastructure development. Social infrastructure was understood to be the result of social innovation in the past, which, over time, has been institutionalised. By tracing the development of infrastructure and services that are in place today we were able to identify drivers for social innovation. This could be a social movement that led to establishing a youth club, or some people within public administration who pushed for specific offers, an NGO that received money for an experimental project that was rolled out later, neighbours that came together and formed a child care facility, a local business that sponsored local projects, etc. These forces and actors were important factors to consider

when elaborating new ideas that could eventually turn into new social innovation. Researchers were encouraged to trace these developments through the following questions: Why are these services in place? Have any conflicts occurred over time? Which services are no longer in place (and for which reasons)? Who is providing the current service to whom? What are the underlying values of the service (faith-based, political...)? Have there been any recent more experimental projects for young people? If so, who initiated them and why?

Since full accounts of all social infrastructure could not be expected, we relied on the judgement of the local experts to include services that are particularly relevant for the social inclusion of young persons in that neighbourhood. The services that were considered are: employment, education and training (formal and non formal); housing; social services and health care; sports/leisure/culture; and specific youth services / youth work (such as youth clubs).

It was also important to raise questions, such as: are services places of institutional discrimination, recognition or transformation? The analysis of a service had to go beyond a description of what it is and include how services are delivered and experienced. Do services tackle inequalities, or do they to some extent reinforce inequalities? There may be more or less subtle barriers (physical, financial etc) and eligibility criteria (age, income, gender...) that exclude some groups or prioritise some over others (e.g. boys over girls, poor over rich). Which (unintended) effects does this have? The analysis of the services had to reflect the settings in which they take place, condition of buildings, rooms, how they are equipped and staffed. How do these places appear to (potential) users? Are they attractive places where people want to be, or rather bureaucratic offices where people want to get out as soon as possible? Do users have a say in what is offered and how? Are the services participant- or client-oriented? Two key questions emerge: how do services relate to inequalities (reinforcing or eradicating)? How do services relate to overarching welfare system change?

3.2.4 Conducting the research

The analysis has drawn on a broad mix of research methods. We aimed at a thick description (Geertz 1973) of the local situation: the analysis should be sensitive to the history, the context and interpretative. As the emerging narratives were supposed to be highly interpretive, it was crucial to receive feedback from local experts (such as social workers, teachers, inhabitants, public officers, etc.) to ensure some level of validity. Visual material and maps were suggested to be included in the reports, where appropriate, as well as historic material to show changes over time. The empirical basis for the area analysis included:

- *Document analysis*: Administrative documents, policy reports and plans; research reports and papers; and archive material (having in mind the historical perspective)
- *Site visits*: observation, description of features of existing infrastructure, including the availability, accessibility, condition and appearance (new, run down...), which services are offered to whom and when, etc.
- *Thematic expert interview focusing on*:
 - socio-spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood,
 - characteristics of local social infrastructure,
 - relation of social to inequalities (reinforcing, eradicating, transforming)
 - incidences of social innovation in the area,
 - expert's position in the local social infrastructure (e.g. networks, organization)
 - Experts included policy-makers, service providers, local associations, businesses, researchers, inhabitants and service users; and at least five to ten different voices per area were selected (total: 10-20 per city).

3.3 An ethnographic study within two deprived neighbourhoods

3.3.1 Objectives and approach

After establishing the European, national and local frameworks in regard to inequalities affecting young people, the second stage of fieldwork aimed at conducting ethnographic research in two deprived neighbourhoods in the selected cities in order to grasp the lived experiences of young people and their strategies to combat inequalities. It moved to the micro-level (i.e. investigations with young people) while remaining connected to the meso-level (WP3) through exploring young people's connections and sentiments to the social and spatial infrastructures unearthed during the first part of the fieldwork. The ethnographic study was also connected to the macro-level through exploring young people's experiences in relation to some of the macro dynamics and forces (i.e. social exclusion, disengagement with national and EU processes and networks, and social agents such as trade unions, etc.) as well as young people's situations vis-à-vis changing welfare dynamics captured in the baseline study and fieldwork comparative reports.

A key objective of the ethnographic study was also to uncover social innovations involving or targeting young people. Therefore, the research methodology to be employed (outlined below) included a range of methods that enabled us to map the various factors that emerged from

socially innovative practices among young people. Clarity around what constitutes social innovations was supposed to emerge during the process of fieldwork. Partners had already started developing a sense of factors contributing to social innovation in the previous phases; the ethnography then brought into play dynamics relating to young people.

3.3.2 Ethnographic methods

As mentioned, the ethnographic study was mainly concerned with understanding social innovations that exist among young people or the conditions in and around young peoples' lives that might give rise to social innovations or impact their potentiality. The uncovering of social innovations required an investigative approach that drew on a range of methods to help the investigator bring into the 'field of vision' (Amin & Thrift 2013) the range of possible actors – including people, associations, organisations, technologies, environments, policies and administrative practices.

A range of interdisciplinary methods was encouraged to document and analyse how young people organise/live their everyday lives in light of difficult socio-economic circumstances and how they gained orientation toward combating these. These include semi-structured interviews, participant observation and focus groups.

The methods were intended to focus on the ontological (i.e. bottom-up) status of social life, pointing us toward the unpredictable or 'indeterminate' (Rosaldo 1993:112) sources of social life, and, therefore, the unlikely or 'hidden' contexts in which social innovations emerge. The methods also enabled researchers to get "up close" (Keith 2005: 6) to places and peoples enabling an uncovering of the interrelatedness of life too. How people's lives were constituted through relations and encounters with others, institutions and places around them. The project after all, was intended to help inform policy makers and practitioners about new dynamics in young people's lives prompted by the recent economic crisis, and which were as yet not apprehended by local governments.

Analysis from the first fieldwork revealed the extent, qualities and directions of social infrastructure acting for and against social inequalities and social innovations, whilst the second helped to uncover a perspective from young people toward policies and practices. A guide for interviews and observations was elaborated to assist in interrogating and critically assess some of the social and other resources people employ in their everyday lives to help mitigate social

inequalities. This included youth centres, ICT, social media and employment support services, as well as people, groups and technologies within the neighbourhood and beyond.

The use of visual images, data and materials was encouraged to help add meaning and analysis to things that were said and heard in interviews and field interactions. Partners were reminded to consider issues around informed consent when doing this. Taking the two neighbourhoods as urban contexts enabled a mapping of different resources and influences from outside and within deprived neighbourhoods. Young people's situatedness in these neighbourhoods was investigated. This discursive approach also helped in challenging fixed notions of territory and community that policy interventions are often predicated on; helping to illuminate young people's social and imaginary worlds beyond their postcodes. For more details of the sampling process of the ethnographic study, please refer to the section 4.

3.3.3 Focus groups

It was agreed to conduct at least one focus group per area, having a total of 20 focus groups (2 per city). Sampling followed along the lines outlined for the interviews, including the possibility to conduct a focus group with a group of young people already associated with a particular organisation, space or association in the selected areas. This had the benefit of being easier to recruit and arrange, bearing in mind that it may not offer representativeness. Partners were warned about the fact that the dynamics within such a focus group consisting of young people already familiar with each other were likely to differ from a focus group made up of young people not familiar with each other. Focus group numbers had to be manageable to ensure a meaningful and sufficiently rich conversation between the participants and researcher(s). This allowed partners to test and further explore issues young people raised in interviews and in participant observation already.

3.3.4 Participant Observation

This method was meant to compliment interviews and offer a thicker understanding of the social world from young people's points of view. Participant observation involved accompanying people on their journeys throughout the day or over a space of time. This helped trace participant's attitudes as they evolved. It also enabled the investigator to gather valuable information about infrastructure in young people's neighbourhoods, city or 'world'.

Investigators had to be cautious about intruding with their own beliefs and values into the research process, thereby, influencing the way respondents replied to questions or the

researchers' behaviour. Entry into young people's spaces or lives therefore had to be carefully negotiated. The regularity of engagement was sympathetically calculated and negotiated, as was judging when to enter and exit observation scenarios.

4. Mapping and sampling processes

The sampling process is related to both the fieldwork at the city and neighborhood level, and the ethnographic study. As regards the first one, there have been a total of **146 interviews** (approx. 15 interviews per area) with local policy-makers, service providers, local associations, businesses, researchers, inhabitants and in some cases also service users. These focused on the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood, characteristics of local social infrastructure, the relation of social infrastructure to inequalities, and on incidences of social innovation in the area. Here, there were no specific socio-demographic criteria to select interviewees; the most important criterion was to opt for experts that had experience, knowledge and a close relationship with the neighbourhood.

For the ethnographic part of the fieldwork a total of **607 people were interviewed**, focusing on young people in the ten cities. The following guidelines were intended to select the sample:

- Between 40-45 interviews with young people connected to the two case study areas.
- Young people's selection according to an age band prevalent in each country/context.
- Representativeness of age spectrum to capture the breadth of experience of young people.
- Consideration of a particular segment of the youth spectrum that was especially deprived (if applicable), such as school leavers, NEETs, recent graduates or certain minorities. In such an instance, partners had to qualify their sampling choice when compiling the analysis.
- Representativeness of each area's demography in terms of migration/minority groups.
- Gender equity, as far as possible.
- Young people identified as 'socially excluded' utilising local indicators for targeting deprivation such as long-term unemployed, NEETs, young people on training schemes, accessing enterprise support schemes, etc. or who were deemed 'at risk' of social exclusion. Young people not identified as such but with a connection to the area sharing other demographic characteristics of those recognised at risk or affected by social exclusion were considered too.
- Young people that are members of an organisation, project, association or initiative that addresses social inequalities or with links to the social infrastructure described in the previous stage of the fieldwork.

Yet, the sampling process needed to consider national adaptations in order to allow for the diversity of the youth social structure in each local context. As a result, there was some variation in the age ranges, spread of young people from the case study neighbourhoods and socio-economic profiles. For example: in Krakow the sample was representative more of the younger end of the 16-24 age spectrum; in Brno and Sofia the sample was exclusively focused on Roma communities concentrated in the two case study areas; in Rotterdam, Barcelona and Hamburg the sample consisted heavily of migrants and, in some cases, their children who are still officially identified as such; in Venice, Malmö and Athens the sample was a contrast between two case study areas drawing in a range of ethnic groups and socio-economic profiles; while in Birmingham the sample drew on young people from different socio-economic backgrounds, albeit almost all from ethnic minority backgrounds in the case study areas as well as from around the city.

Access to the target group of young people was gained through previous interviewees or contacts made during dissemination activities, among others. Investigators also sought to apprehend young people through routine visits to the neighbourhoods as fieldworks sites. The use of social media was also encouraged to access and maintain contact with young people. Key features of the sample of the ethnographic study are as follows:

- 445 interviews with 607 respondents¹⁵ (of which the 54% are males and 46% are females, and the 63% of participants were aged between 18 and 26)
- 26 focus groups

The total number of interviews for the fieldwork was 591 interviews and 753 respondents.

5. Methodological approach to the action-research phase

5.1 Menu of Innovative Practices

In order to produce the Menu of Social Innovation Practices, several methodological tools were designed. In the first place, a fiche template was elaborated to structure the information along common indicators¹⁶. These included: a short description of the practice, the innovative nature and the social inequalities addressed, the origins and structure of the practice, the territorial scope, the actors involved, the target groups, funding and resources, results and success factors, and transferability issues.

¹⁵ The number of respondents differs from the number of interviews, as there were some collective interviews with two or more people.

¹⁶ See chapter 6 for more details.

In addition, a table with a summary of the five practices for each city was produced (see Chapter 6 of this Report), as well as a matrix to obtain a larger picture of all social innovations identified, structured along dimensions of social innovation and policy areas. The result has been the gathering of 45 projects, initiatives and practices regarded as socially innovative by researchers and/or policy makers. These practices have been top-down developed and fostered by institutions and municipalities, as well as bottom-up by associations, grass-root organisations and groups of young people, with varying degrees of organisation and structures of governance.

Later, a workshop was organized as a space of exchange between academic partners, policy-makers and young people from the participating countries, with the following objectives:

1. To share project findings and the selection of social innovation practices in ten cities across Europe
2. To gather feedback from those on the ground: stakeholders and young people
3. To reflect on these innovative practices in terms of transferability to other cities
4. To identify together which innovative practices could be of interest for exporting and implementing as pilot actions in other cities.

In order to ensure their involvement and stimulate the debate, an interactive methodology was designed together with Beatfreaks (one of the practices selected in Birmingham). After a welcome and presentation of the objectives of the day, a dynamic ‘marketplace’ was settled where each city had a stall to present their practices. Whilst there was a member of each city explaining the initiative in each stall, the rest of participants circulated from stall to stall listening to the presentations with the opportunity to make any questions, if interested. In order to encourage participation, many of the practices were presented by the same people involved in them and creative mechanisms were designed to ensure communication and transcend language barriers. Each city selected two practices (a total of 27 out of the 45) with potential to be transferred in terms of timing, resources and with no need of complex organisational structures.

Following the marketplace, there was a round table with young people to discuss the most striking points of the practices presented in relation to their needs, concerns and interests. Simultaneously there was time allocated for stakeholders and policy-makers to initiate discussions about the practices that had been presented and the potential transferability in their own cities. These were then gathered in the session for stakeholders and policy-makers who took place after lunch time. Stakeholders were mainly related to City Halls (e.g. Departments of Youth), NGOs, private initiatives, or public centres. After the workshop a space for feedback and

evaluation was allowed, and partners were invited to complete a form and send it back for inclusion in the workshop report.

5.2 Pilot Actions

After the celebration of the workshop in Krakow, the expressions of interest by policy-makers and stakeholders in each city to implement pilot actions were followed, based on the exchange of socially innovative practices during the workshop. To this aim a table was designed so that it could be estimated what pilot actions would be in place and based on what success factors in order to assess their interest and viability.

<i>Name of city:</i>				
What pilot?				
What success factors?				
How sure the city/NGO wants this pilot(s)	Sure	Probable	Not sure	Doubtful
How sure the city/NGO has required resources	Sure	Probable	Not sure	Doubtful
Input for which other cities?				
Remarks				

Setting up a pilot consisted of:

1. A transfer of an innovative practice from one location to another, with adaptation to a different local context;
2. The development of a new initiative based on opportunities identified in fieldwork, and informed by good practices from other cities;
3. Adding new elements to existing initiatives, informed by good practices from other cities.

Every pilot had to provide a pilot-plan following a checklist (see template below), in which the aspect of perceived success factors or ‘working ingredients’ were especially important, in order to be able to relate what is being done to the production and reproduction of social inequalities described in earlier work packages.

CITY & PILOT TITLE	
Timeframe/duration	
Aims/objectives in brief	
What? (activities in brief)	
Target group(s)	
What needs, what social inequalities?	
Success factors/working ingredients (intended)	
Expected effect, impact on employment and education (how is the pilot expected to work?)	
Number of participants (expected)	
Where will you get your participants from?	
Publicity tools to be used to attract participants	
Who will carry out the pilot? (actors) Which stakeholders are involved?	
How? (involvement of the actors and cooperation)	
Expected measurable results and targets	
Role of researchers and planning of interviews	
GENERAL RESOURCES	
Financial	
Personnel	
Other	

CITISPYCE RESOURCES	
What do you need from the consortium?	

9 pilots were implemented across the CITISPYCE cities.

5.3 Case Studies

After the pilots, the next tasks were to provide at least two case studies from each city; to identify critical success factors with potential for transnational learning; and to provide a list for policy recommendations. The method to achieve this was to conduct evaluation (case) studies, or in other words, evidence based evaluation of the practices/pilots/projects. The methodology combined two approaches: theory driven evaluation underpinned by program theory and, as much as possible, alternative/practice driven evaluation concerned with the viability of the practice/project in the real word (for more detail see Chapter 8).

Case studies captured the three interlinked elements:

- Design (objectives and philosophy, methods and instruments, resources, activities)
- Implementation (how this all has been put into practice)
- Effects and outcomes (hard and soft)

The links between Design – Implementation – Effects/Outcomes were crucial to explain. This meant to show the key elements of the practice which implied certain effects/outcomes, and provide empirical evidence. Such an exercise was a pre-condition for formulating policy recommendations. It was advised that policy recommendations based on case studies should address preferably the local level of the practices/projects (and when possible the national level) and explain what practices/projects might be useful to support young people. Also, what were the critical success factors (including the implementation conditions) and how these practices might be implemented (transferred). In addition, attention was paid to the innovativeness and transferability of the practices/projects.

The pilot actions represented the case studies to be evaluated and provided information for completing the cover page and assessing the action plan (activities, implementation, evidence on outputs, success factors and preliminary impact/effects). Yet, the case studies went more into detail in project design and implementation, and also included more information on the organisational context, the project results /outcomes /effects and on the final reflections.

There were two options for evaluating case studies:

Option 1 based on pilots: The cities that implemented a pilot elaborated a case study based on its evaluation. It was agreed that this practice/project should address the causes of inequalities, what means that employment and education related projects/practices were to be selected for evaluation. This made it easier to capture the evidence of the impacts of employment or education oriented practices than of those practices with indirect and longitudinal effects which mobilise human potential, creativity, communing, build trust, etc. Another option was to evaluate the same project that was transferred from a partner's city. Here, the case study was built on the evaluation from WP6, but provided more evidence, especially about the effects.

Option 2 based on SIPs gathered in WP5: Partners that did not implement pilots, case studies were selected from the socially innovative practices (SIPs) identified in the Menu of Innovative Practices. Again, it was agreed that in order to meet the objectives of CITISPYCE, both practices/projects should address the causes of inequalities directly (involving employment and education related projects/practices). In the case where a pilot was transferred from one partner's city into another partner's city, the same practice/project in the original setting was evaluated.

Key points of the evaluation:

1. To recognise the effects/outcomes and how these are related to the causes (and symptoms) of inequalities.
2. To recognise the critical success factors related to the internal factors of the project (design and implementation), as well as to the contextual/external ones.
3. To recognise how the innovations in design and implementation of the project help to improve the effects/outcomes of the practice/project.
4. To assess transferability of the practice/project to the other city. In the case where pilots were transferred to the host city, the original aspects and the modifications were recognized. Likewise, the reasons of the modifications (the context) were explained.
5. To provide a good description of the pilot/practice/project (design, implementation) including the objectives, philosophy, approach and the arguments behind.

5.3.1 Difficulties envisaged

At the time when the methodological guidelines were designed, some potential difficulties were envisaged, such as the difficulties to identify and document the effects. The first reason is that in many cases the effects are coming after time, while pilots and case studies would be carried out only in very short time span from the perspective of the evaluation research. This difficulty could be overcome to some extent by using the retrospective perspective (and documentation). For

example, in case studies (not pilots), the practices/projects may last for a longer period of time, as they were at place possibly since preceding years. The evidence of the effects/outcomes of the activities performed in the past could be then very helpful, if available.

The other reason is that in many cases the effects of practices in one area are indirect in the other area (education and employment in particular) and this is why they also take longer to show/prove themselves. For example: practices focused on civic engagement, community/trust building or on creating places of intimacy may have crucial beneficial effects in terms of improvement of life quality, self-efficacy, empowerment, general educational effects on the youth, bridging distances, increasing human potential and social capital, creativity, and providing better access to institutions, education and labour market. However, these effects not only take some time to come, but there is also the difficulty to trace them, unless there is some kind of monitoring by the community participating or performing the practices. If not, the evidence may be possibly reached either from the former participants, if they assess their own personal experience or from the experience of the stakeholders (project leaders or key participants/promoters).

The last option is to document just the expectations of the stakeholders: such expectations are typically based on their long-term practical experience with the target groups and with practices/projects they have performed or observed in the past. These expectations could also have a value of evidence, however, in such a case the selection of informants should be careful.

Evidence on the effects could be qualitative and/or quantitative, depending on the character of the practice/project. Nevertheless, in all cases there should be clear evidence about what activities happened, where and when, what was the coverage/reach of the practice/project (target group) in order to relate any kinds of the effects to the concrete events/realities. This should be reached with the gathering of documentation on the practices/projects, interviews with stakeholders, experts, participants and former participants, focus groups, and field observation of the practices.

Once the Case Studies were finalised, these were presented together with key findings in a seminar with policy makers held in Brussels on September 2015. This was aimed at discussing policy implications arising from the evaluation of case studies and at gathering specific recommendations tailored by area (e.g. employment, education, empowerment)¹⁷.

¹⁷ For more details on the seminar/workshop, please see chapters 6 and on policy recommendations

6. Monitoring of Ethical Issues

Ethical issues were of key concern within the research, and were continuously addressed throughout the project's implementation and strategic development. A CITISPYCE Ethical Standards Committee was created at the initial phase of the project to ensure that ethical standards and practices were to the highest degree throughout the research. The Committee convened to decide upon ethical issues that were implied within the work, and furthermore, that may arise during the conduct of fieldwork, analysis, and exploitation of results. The Committee incorporated both project coordination teams: Aston University (UK), with Jill Robinson and Ajmal Hussain, and the University of Barcelona (Spain), with Olga Jubany and Berta Güell.

As Scientific Coordinator of the investigation, the University of Barcelona (UB) counted on a Committee on Bioethics¹⁸ and a Unit of Data Protection¹⁹, which provide assistance and support to research groups dealing with any ethical issues that may arise before or during the conduction of fieldwork. The Bioethics Committee is also responsible for elaborating certificates which ensure the fulfillment of ethical standards by any research activity undertaken from the UB. The CITISPYCE Ethics Standards Committee has relied on these bodies for any required support and on further related bodies that exist in partner countries.

The project management teams belonging to the CITISPYCE Ethical Standards Committee also ensured that ethics were maintained in research activities. This mainly included the upholding of respondents' confidentiality and the promotion of inclusion whilst conducting the research, as well as within research teams (e.g. not discriminating with regard to participation because of physical ability, age, sexuality, ethnicity or gender).

CITISPYCE is familiar with the national and EC legislation regarding the fulfillment of ethical standards, as well as with the ethics guidance documents produced by the EC, in relation to:

- The Charter of Fundamental Human Rights of the EU
- Directive 95/46/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 1995 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of data
- The Helsinki Declaration latest version and the international conventions and declarations

¹⁸ The Bioethics Committee also deals with ethical issues of the social sciences. More information available at: <http://www.ub.edu/recerca/comissio.bioetica.htm>

¹⁹ More information available at: http://www.ub.edu/secretariageneral/ca/proteccio_dades/pd_proteccio_dades.html

- The Guidance Note for Researchers and Evaluators of Social Sciences and Humanities Research
- The Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology²⁰

Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) research poses specific ethical issues in terms of methodology. These derive primarily from the research methods employed (e.g. qualitative and observational studies), which are dynamic, progressive and developmental. On the other hand, SSH research is often carried out over long periods of time and outside institutional settings and it focuses on time-limited events, public behaviour, and contentious/stigmatised behaviour. In this framework, unforeseen risks at the beginning of the research could arise during the course of the study. In CITISPYCE, researchers took a systematic approach to risk assessment, which considered not only individual, but also society-based risks. Particular emphasis was also placed on issues of data protection and privacy, the process of obtaining informed consent, and on the prevention of stigmatisation and discrimination.

Another area of ethical concern which is central to much sociological research and was included in this project pertains to the observational research. In this sense, the Ethical Standards Committee made certain that researchers had the skills and experience to ensure that there was nothing about their personal attributes that offended or intimidated the subjects. When employing observational approaches, researchers devised a risk-management plan in order to minimise/avoid any harm that might inflict on those observed. This was based on the argument that an ethical situationism tailored to the specific contexts and the development of study during the various phases of research help researchers deal with the ethical issues encountered (Hurdley, 2010). In this type of research, the way relationships between researchers and research participants are established and how these develop during the course of the study must all be given equal consideration.

6.1 Informed consent

Obtaining informed consent is a crucial part in SSH projects like CITISPYCE. Although informed consent procedures are primarily derived from a human biomedical research model, there are nevertheless important aspects that SSH researchers must take into account. For example, the power relationship between the investigator and research participants, the

²⁰ The last two documents are available at the EC Participants Portal web (http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal/page/fp7_documentation)

vulnerability of the population under study, the impact of the research results on individuals and communities, with particular emphasis placed on avoiding stigmatisation and discrimination.

At the two stages of fieldwork, interviewees and focus group participants received written information on the research project and were asked to provide an informed consent in a standardised bi-sectional practice to be strictly followed in all involved locations. This was to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity, both in the data-gathering and data-analysis processes. Letters for gathering consent from participants were produced by the Ethics Committee.

6.2 Protecting personal data and privacy

Researchers in SSH must also consider the ethical implications of privacy. This is a contested concept which has different understandings in different cultural contexts: it is the right to be left alone, but it can also be something positioned at the interface between private life and public life. It entails a dynamic relationship between private persons in different situations and different degrees of interaction. It is crucial to respect the privacy of research participants, but in SSH research there are other relevant rights' holders that the researchers should consider. It is therefore important to detail the purpose of the research according to the different understandings and legal definitions of privacy.²¹ CITISPYCE researchers have kept the data securely and made sure that any publication, including on Internet, breaches agreed confidentiality and anonymity.

Codification guidelines were provided by the Ethical Standards Committee after having conducted interviews and focus groups, so that researchers could use codes when dealing with the analysis of transcriptions in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the project. Also when writing the fieldwork reports, quotes from interviewees and focus groups participants were used to illustrate their experiences, discourses and points of view. In order to make a responsible use of their privacy, the authorship of quotes was coded, according to the kind of actor interviewed and the country involved. This way the origin and context of quotes can easily be identified, while the identity of the person cannot. The following are some examples:

- IV-ES-Y1: interview with the first young person of the sample in Spain
- IV-DE-PO2: interview with the second policy officer of the sample in Germany
- FG-UK-P3: third participant of the focus group held in the UK

²¹ For the legal definition of this concept see The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 12 and Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

7. Methods for knowledge transfer: the Cascading Network

7.1 Rationale and method

The University of Barcelona has provided a method to promote the knowledge transfer gained in the investigation on Social innovation and Young People to combat inequalities across the academic community, policy officers and civil society. This is the creation of a Cascading Network, within the tasks of dissemination. This was launched as an ongoing virtual policy and practitioner exchange during the CITISPYCE Final Conference and was aimed to be used beyond the project's life. The main object has been to multiply the impact of the research findings (e.g. publications, reports, policy briefs) across all of Europe and internationally by expanding the dissemination of the project's results and creating a database with contacts of different target groups interested in the topic. A further aim has been to exchange knowledge and experiences with other related projects and create new synergies for future collaborations. The method designed has been structured as follows:

- Each country contacted target institutions in neighbouring countries not represented in the consortium. The invited institutions confirmed their interest to actively collaborate in the dissemination of the project results across their country. From their agreement these institutions have become CITISPYCE Collaborative Entities (CCE).
- The CCEs are: policy-makers, academics and/or civil society organizations (including youth organizations) with a relevant national network and common interests with the topics involved in the investigation.
- The total number CCEs was meant to be around 20, trying to reach as many new countries outside the consortium as possible.
- Each partner in each country sent the links of the project webs (www.citispyce.eu and www.citispycevoices.eu), and any other material/outputs that could be of interest to the CCEs (e.g. fieldwork reports, Final Report, Policy Briefs, links of interest, visual material on the deprived areas, leaflets).
- CCEs contribute to the dissemination of the research in different ways: placing the link (and if possible the logo) of CITISPYCE in their own web/blog/social media, as well as the name and email of the person with whom the contact has been established in each country. Moreover, they are encouraged to contact other organisations (academic, non-profit, policy...) of their own networks to disseminate the project through the web, highlighting the material that can be found there. Other ways of collaboration, if feasible,

informational events or joined sessions (e.g. dissemination of similar research studies on social inequalities and innovation, projects with young people) can also be organised.

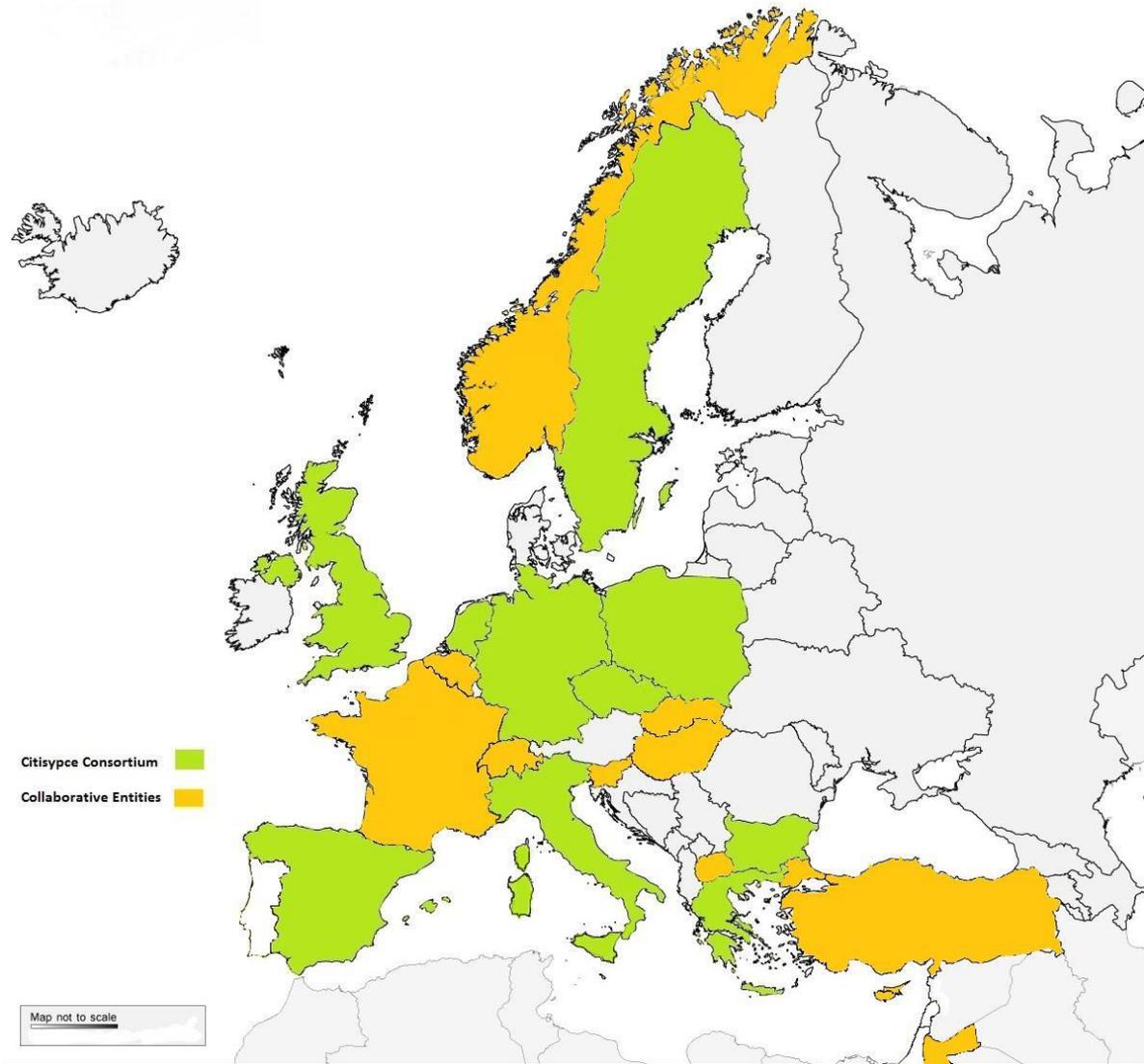
- CITISPYCE will place the links and logos (when possible) of the CCEs in the its web, as well as their contact details.
- A table was created with the CCE's details, which can be easily updated with new incorporations (if applicable).
- A map was elaborated and presented at the Final Conference to illustrate the network that CITISPYCE has generated across Europe (and internationally), differentiating between the partner countries and those that have joined the network.

7.2 Table with CITISPYCE Collaborative Entities

	Policy-makers		Academics		Civil society organisations	
	Institution	Name	Institution	Name	Organisation	Name
France					La Ligue d'Enseignement	Mélanie Schoger
USA	Chicago City Hall	Erik Kinnhammar				
Israel			Israel Innovation Institute			
Cyprus					CARDET, Nicosia	Sotiris Themistokleous
Slovakia			Institute for Labour and Family Research & Department of Sociology at Comenius University	Daniel Gerbery		
Hungary			Budapest Institute for Policy Analysis	Ágota Scharle		
Slovenia			Slovenian Migration Institute	Mirjam Hladnik		

France			Science Po Paris	Tommaso Vitale		
Turkey			Istanbul Bilgi University	Asli Aydin		
Norway			HiOA, Oslo	Ivar Loedemel		
Belgium			University of Antwerp	Danielle Dierckx		
Switzerland			School of Business and Engineering, University of Applied Sciences in Western Switzerland	Mario Konishi		
Jordan					Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society development, Amman, www.hayatcenter.org	Mr Daniel Amareen
Macedonia	Macedonian Agency for Youth and Sports	Zorica Stamenkovska				

7.3 Map with CITISPYCE Collaborative Entities



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